

A N
Universal HISTORY,
FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time to the Present:
COMPILED from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
And ILLUSTRATED with
Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and
Other Tables.

V O L. IV.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχισθαι μὴ καταύου, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ὑψηλὸς ἀνόνως,
ἀπὸς ἱστορίων συνῆξαι ἑνόνως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



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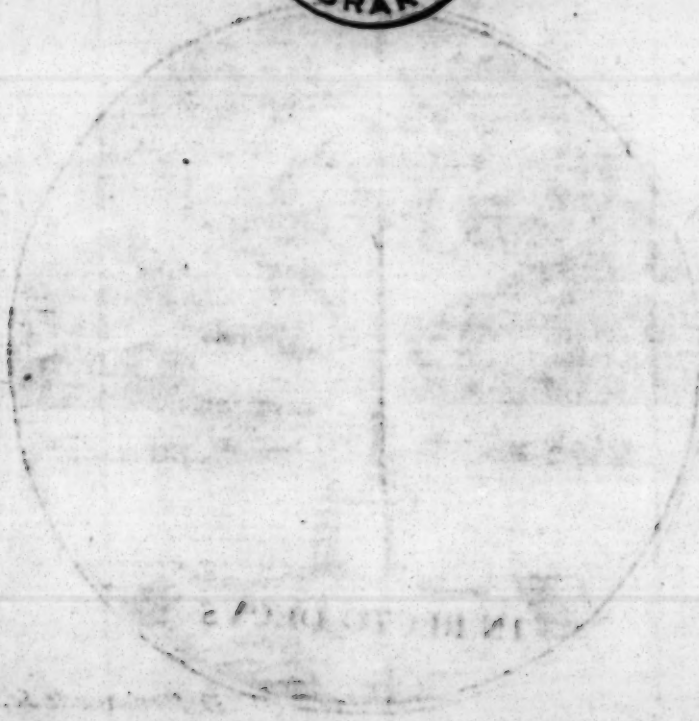
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UNIVERSAL HISTORY

FROM THE
FIRST ACCOUNT OF THE WORLD

CONTAINING
ORIGINAL AUTHOR'S

AND
A NEW
AND
IMPROVED
EDITION



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A N

Universal History.

FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

C H A P. VII.

Continuation of the History of the Jews
to the *Babylonish* Captivity.

S E C T. VIII.

*Continuation of the History of the Jews under their mo-
narchical Government.*

WE return to the king of *Israel*, who, to celebrate the dedication of this new temple with greater magnificence, chose to defer it till the next year, which was the jubilee (L), at which solemnity there used to be always a vast concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom, as we have elsewhere observed*. The ceremony *The dedi-
cation of
the temple;* began on the eighth day of the seventh month of the sacred year, which was the first of the civil year, answering to the

* See Vol. III. p. 195, & seq.

(L) This was their ninth jubilee, which, according to archbishop *Usser*, opened the fourth millenary of the world (1).

latter end of our *October*, and lasted seven days; at the end of which began the feast of the tabernacles, which was one of the three solemn feasts of the *Israelites*, and lasted likewise seven days; so that the vast concourse of people, who were invited by the king, and flocked to that solemnity, stayed at least fourteen days in *Jerusalem*. The ceremony opened with a pompous procession, in which the priests carried the ark, from the tabernacle which *David* had erected for it, to the temple; and deposited it in the most holy place, between the two golden cherubims, which *Solomon* had caused to be made by *Hiram*, and to be set up there, to be a kind of covering to the ark (M). The king himself, accompanied by all his chief

(M) We have spoken elsewhere of the shape and position of those which covered the mercy-seat (2). These that were made by *Hiram* for the most holy place differed from them, and were of two sorts; namely, these two which spread one wing over the ark, and touched the wall with the other; and those which were made in bas-relief, to adorn the sides of the wall, being placed between palm-trees likewise in bas-relief, and all of the finest gold. What the bigness of these last was we know not, but that of the two massive standing ones may be guessed at by the length of their wings, which reaching to the north and south walls with one extremity, and joining at least by the other over the centre, must have been each five cubits long, because the place was twenty cubits in length and breadth; so that one may reasonably suppose the cherubims themselves to have been about ten cubits high. As to their form we can affirm nothing certain concerning it, beyond what was said in the place above quoted.

There we took also notice, that *Solomon* made all the other utensils and ornaments of the temple proportionable, both in bigness and richness, to that of the edifice: the *Mosaic* altar of burnt-offering, for instance, was set by on account of its smallness, and another placed in lieu of it, which was twenty cubits in length and breadth, and ten in height. The same was done by the altar of perfume, and the table of shew-bread; which last, as well as the golden candlesticks, he increased the number of five or six fold.

Besides these, there was a prodigious quantity of other gold and silver vessels and utensils; concerning which the text only says, that they were without number (3); but the *Jewish* historian has given us such a detail of them (4) that we choose to refer the reader to him for it, because we can neither tell whence he had it, nor indeed find room enough or use for such vast quantities. Thus he tells us,

(2) See Vol. III. p. 273. not. (V). (3) 2 Chron. vi. 18. & alib. (4) Antiq. l. xv. c. 14. xx. & alib. & de Bell. Jud. c. 6. & alib. pass.

chief officers, and the elders of *Israel*, marched before the ark; these were followed by a great number of priests and *Levites*, who sang some canticles proper to the occasion, and played upon various instruments. Next to the ark followed another number of singers and players, with other priests bearing the golden candlesticks, altar of incense, and other sacred utensils of the sanctuary, which had been brought from *Gibeon*, where they and the tabernacle had stood ever since. These were not deposited in the sanctuary, because the king had caused a new set of them to be made, which were larger and more answerable to the spaciousness of the place; but were laid up in some other repository prepared for that purpose. To add the greater magnificence to the procession, the king ordered the ark to stop at proper distances, and there caused a prodigious number of victims to be offered up before it, till they had reached the sanctuary. Whilst the priests were depositing the ark in the most holy place, the air rang with the sound of 120 trumpets, and with the voices of the *Levites*, who sang the praises of God, repeating these words at proper stanza's, *Give thanks to the Lord, for he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever.* It was then that God seemed to come down in a visible manner, to take possession, as it were, of his new temple, by filling it with a glorious cloud, as he had formerly done the tabernacle; inso-much that the priests could not stand to offer up the sacrifices, which they had prepared upon that occasion².

² 2 Chron. v.

that there were 10,000 tables to hold the sacred utensils, besides those of the shew-bread. He mentions likewise 10,000 candlesticks, besides those that were in the holy place; 80,000 cups for drink-offerings; and though the text mentions but 100 basins of gold, which seem to us to have been for the same use (5), and to have been sufficient for it, he has multiplied them to 100,000, besides double that number of silver ones. We may say the same thing of 1000 priestly ornaments, which he tells us *Solomon* caused to be made for the sole use of the high priest; the 10,000 linen robes and girdles for that of the common priests; and 200,000 more for the *Levites* and musicians: all which, if we may believe him, were never to be mended when torn, nor washed when stained with the least spot, but were to be made into wicks for the lamps. To these we shall only add the 200,000 trumpets, and 400,000 musical instruments made of a mixt metal between gold and silver, such as was called by the antients *electrum*; concerning all which we can only say, that the text is either silent, or contradicts his prodigious account, as well as where he says, that the 200,000 trumpets were made according to *Moses's* appointment.

DURING

(5) 2 Chron. iv. 8.

A vast
number of
victims
offered.

DURING this time, *Solomon*, who stood upon a brazen scaffold three cubits high, and prepared for the purpose, having commanded the attention of the people who stood in the court and the galleries round about; kneeled down, and spread his hands towards heaven, and dedicated the building to God in an elegant and devout prayer, which he then made in their hearing; intreating the Divine Mercy to make it its residence in favour of *Israel*, and to be ready from thence to hear the prayers which his people should direct thither, from whatever part of the world, and what condition soever they were in, to grant their request, and pardon their offences. All this while the priests had covered the spacious altar with proper victims, which as soon as his prayer was ended, were consumed by a miraculous fire, as a token of the divine favour and acceptance. The king then, turning himself about, blessed the audience; after which they went about offering a vast multitude of other sacrifices, which were furnished both by the king, and by the heads of the tribes; insomuch that they were forced to rear a number of other altars in the court, the great one not being sufficient for them. On the very first day of this ceremony, which lasted seven days, they (N) sacrificed 22,000 bullocks and 120,000 sheep for peace-offerings, which served to feast the concourse of people; besides a prodigious number of burnt and other offerings, which were brought in every day. The feast of the tabernacles, which immediately followed this, was likewise observed with unusual magnificence; after which the people were dismissed in peace, and returned to their homes, with their hearts full of joy and admiration of their wonderful monarch. At the same time, lest that young prince's heart should be too elated by this extraordinary grandeur, God was pleased to appear to him in a dream, on the first night of the dedication, expressed his acceptance of that sumptuous edifice, and renewed his promises to him and his posterity, provided he and they served him with an upright heart: on the other

1 King. viii. 12. & seq. 2 Chron. vi. & vii.

(N) The text says, indeed, that *Solomon* himself offered that vast number of victims (6); but it appears from the end of the verse, and that which goes before it, that all *Israel* joined with him in it. We may likewise observe here, that it is not altogether clear from it, whether they were all sacrificed in one, or in the seven days of the feast; the latter indeed is the most probable of the two, but the tenor of the words seems to lean more to the former.

(6) 1 Kings viii. 63.

hand

hand he assured him, that in case they provoked him by their idolatry and disobedience, that glorious building, which was now the wonder of the world, should infallibly become a desolation, a dwelling for owls and bats, and a proverb of reproach among all nations †.

As soon as *Solomon* had finished this noble structure, he ^{Solomon's} set his artificers to work upon two other buildings, one for ^{palaces.} himself, and another for *Pharaoh's* daughter ‡, and spared nothing that art or riches could furnish, to raise it to a proportionable splendor with it (O). He was almost thirteen years in building them, so that he finished those three magnificent edifices, with all their costly furniture, utensils, and ornaments, within the space of twenty years (P). After this he sent

† 1 King. ix. 1, & seq. § Compare 1 King. iii. 1. vii. 8. ix. 24. & 2 Chron. viii. 11.

(O) One of these palaces is called the house of the forest of *Lebanon* (7), though it was at *Jerusalem*; the reason of its being so called, is not certainly known. The *Chaldee* paraphrast calls it a summer-house, or house of refreshment; others think it to have been built in that forest, after he had taken the city of *Hamath-zobab* (8); but the general opinion is, that they gave the name of the forest of *Lebanon* to the city of *David*, by reason of the prodigious quantities of cedar and other trees, which had been brought from thence to build the temple and other sumptuous edifices; inasmuch, that it seems as if *Lebanon* had been transported to *Jerusalem* (9). Upon this account, and perhaps also from the fragrance of the cedar, both the city and temple, as well as the palace, are called *Lebanon* by the psalmist and some of the prophets (10).

(P) These palaces were built with the utmost magnificence, whether for the prodigious quantities of gold, silver, cedar and other precious woods, marble and other costly stones, the stupendous bigness of them, or the exquisiteness of the workmanship, or for the richness of their furniture, and the sumptuousness of the galleries, porches, courts, and apartments. Among these there was one more spacious than the rest, which was called the porch, or hall of judgment, in which was placed the king's throne, and, on each side of it, the seats of his counsellors. This porch was by far the most magnificent of all, because it was both his seat of judgment, and the place of public audience, where he shewed himself, either to his nobles, or to the strangers that resorted to him. It was placed in the midst of a flight of rich pillars of cedar, curiously carved and covered, or rather inlaid, with gold. The throne

(7) 1 Kings. vii. 2. (8) Vid. Jun. in loc. & 2 Chron. viii. 3.
(9) Ita Rabbin. vid. & Munst. Calm. & al. in Psal. xxix. xcii. 12, 13. (10) Psal. xxix. pass. xcii. 12, 13, & alib.

itself,

sent back a great part of his *Tyrian* artificers; and to express his gratitude to their prince, who had so generously furnished him, not only with vast quantities of stones and wood, but also with great sums of gold, he presented him with twenty cities in *Galilee*; but *Hiram*, coming soon after to view them, was so disgusted at them, that he could not forbear breaking out into some complaints against his brother *Solomon*, and expressing his dissatisfaction by his refusal of them, and by the contemptible name which he gave to that whole land (Q); upon which, *Solomon* built them anew himself, and planted colonies of *Israelites* in them †. The rest of his workmen,

† Compare 1 Kings ix. 10. & 2 Chron. viii. 1, & seq.

itself, which was in the fashion of a nich, was covered with ivory, inlaid, and intermixed with curious ornaments in gold: the ascent to it was by six steps, each step being supported on each side with a small lion, and the arms of the seat with two large ones as big as the life. All these, and even the steps themselves were likewise covered with gold and ivory. The richness of the furniture of these sumptuous edifices may be guessed at, by the plate and drinking-vessels which were used in them, which were all of the finest gold. To these he added 300 shields of the same rich metal, which used to be carried before him when he went abroad, and then were suspended along the rows of pillars as an ornament. Besides these, he likewise caused 200 targets to be made of a larger size, which were hung up in some conspicuous places of the temple. All these were made of some precious wood, and covered with gold; these latter amounted to 600 shekels each, and the former to three pound weight (11).

(Q) כְּבֻל *Cbabul*, which is the name he gave it, comes from כָּבַל, which signifies a fetlock; and is supposed to have alluded to the extreme dirtiness of it, because one could not travel in it without being up to the ancles in dirt.

Josephus derives it from a *Phœnician* word, which signifies *dislike*, and adds, that *Hiram* refused to take them from *Solomon* upon that account (1); but as we find a city of that name as early as *Joshua's* time (2), it is not improbable, that *Hiram* took the hint from it, and gave that contemptible appellative to all the rest.

This *Cbabul*, which our author calls *Cbebalon*, was, according to him, situated in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, or between that and *Ptolemais* (3); that of *Joshua* could not be far from it; and yet *St. Jerom* places them on the other side *Jordan* (4), in that part which was called *Decapolis* (5).

(11) 1 Kings x. 16, 17. 2 Chron. ix. 15, 16. (1) *Ant. lib. 8. c. 2. See Vol. II. p. 340.* (2) *Josh. xix. 27.* (3) *Ibid. & in vit. sua.* (4) *Hieron. in Amos i.* (5) *Vid. Calm. sub voc. Cbabulon.*

whether Tyrians or others, together with the *Canaanitish* slaves, who were by that time probably become very expert builders, were employed in surrounding the city of *Jerusalem* with a strong and stately wall, and fortifying *Millo*, *Hazor*, *Megiddo*, *Gezer*, *Beth-horon*, *Baalath*, *Tadmor*, or *Palmyra*, and other places of consequence; besides several other store-cities for his chariots and horses, for his magazines of corn, wine, oil, and other provisions and ammunition. He built moreover some fortresses in *Lebanon*, probably to secure a free communication between his kingdom and that of *Syria*. Soon after this he brought under his yoke the remainder of the *Amurites*, *Hittites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebusites*, who seem to have remained unconquered till his time, and made them all tributaries to him^a. These were also probably forced to his works with the rest; for as for the *Israelites*, the text expressly says, that they were exempt from all kind of slavish business, and only employed either as overseers over them, or as officers and soldiers in his army^b.

To supply all these vast expences, *Solomon* went and built *Solomon's* a navy at *Ezion-geber*, upon the coasts of the *Red-sea*, and navy. put it under the care of some expert Tyrian sailors, who, with his own men, went with it to *Ophir* (R), and in about three years

^a 1 Kings ix. 15, & seq. 2 Chron. viii. 1, & seq. See Vol. II. p. 188. ^b 1 Kings ibid. ver. 22, 23.

(R) It is not to be expected, that our readers will be contented with being told, that *Ophir* is to us a *terra incognita*, that has been sought in vain in all parts of the world, and through every point of the compass. And indeed one would hardly believe such a discovery to be so difficult, considering the various indices, by which the scriptures seem to lead us to it; such as those that follow. 1. That *Moses* speaks of *Ophir* the son of *Joktan*, who went with his brethren and dwelt from *Mesha* towards *Sephar*, a mount of the east (6). 2. That the same fleet went both to *Ophir* and *Tarshish* (7), and set out from *Ezion-geber*, a sea-port near *Eloth*, in the land of *Edom* upon the *Red-Sea* (8). 3. That the voyage took them up three years (9). 4. That it brought gold, precious stones, spices, ivory, ebony, and algar-wood, peacocks, and monkeys (10). 5. That *Ophir* not only afforded the greatest quantity of gold, but that it also exceeded all other gold in fineness and value (11); and, lastly, That according to *Eusebius*, an antient author quoted by *Eusebius* (12); the *Uphi*, or *Ophir*, from whence this

(6) Gen. x. 29, 30. (7) Conf. 1 Kings ix. 28. x. 22. xxii. 48. & 2 Chron. ix. 36. (8) 1 Kings ix. 26, & alib. (9) Ibid. x. 22. & alib. (10) Ibid. & 2 Chron. ix. 10. (11) Ibid. & alib. pass. (12) Præp. Evang. l. 9.

years time, brought him back an immense weight of gold and silver, besides several kinds of precious stones, spices, ebony and other curious wood, ivory, peacocks, monkeys, and other rarities^c. The gold itself amounted to 450 talents yearly,

^c Ibid. ver. ult. x. 22. 2 Chron. viii. 17. 18. ix. 21.

metal was brought, was an island in the *Red-Sea*; not that which we commonly understand by that name, which lyeth between *Arabia* and *Egypt*, but the great southern ocean, which extended itself between *India* and *Africa* and washeth up to the coast of *Arabia* and *Persia*, and was called the *Red-Sea* from the colour which the perpendicular sun-beams give it in those hot climates (13). To this let us add, that *Josephus* says, that *Ophir* was in *India*, or was since called *India*, or the *land of gold* (14), which may probably mean the *Aurea Chersonesus*, now called the island of *Malacca*, over against *Sumatra*; these, one would be apt to think, might have chalked out such a chart, as would have directed us, if not to the very spot of ground, yet at least to the region, whence all these riches came, and yet there are scarce any two authors that have steered the same course.

But not to dwell long upon a subject that affords so little certainty, we shall content ourselves with a bare mention of those who seem to have visibly erred from the point, and then give a short account of those who have spoken with a greater degree of probability.

Among the first we may rank those who have gone to *America* for it (15), it being inconceivable, how they could steer thither and back again in those early days, without charts or compass, with so imperfect a knowledge of geography and astronomy, and knowing no more of navigation than bare coasting. If it be said, that this was the method they steered by, and that they coasted along *India*, *China*, and the north parts of *Japan*, to the north part of *America*, and so on to *Hispaniola*, or any other place, whether of *Mexico* or *Peru*; besides that in such a case, eighteen months will scarce be sufficient for such a prodigious round, how many islands might they have met with in *India*, that could have supplied them with all those commodities, and especially with gold? how came they at first to have such knowledge of those parts, as to go thither for that metal? Was *America* peopled so early? and if it was, which is scarce credible, were either its inhabitants such expert sailors, as to bring those merchandizes to some famous emporium nearer to *Asia*, or did any of the *Asiatic* nations fetch them from thence?

2, Those who have gone no further than the coasts of *Africa*, or even nearer for it (16); because though it be probable, that se-

(13) *Vid. Prideaux Connect. lib. 1.* (14) *Ant. lib. viii. c. 2.*

(15) *Genebr. Arr. Mont. Christ. Columb. Vatabl. Postel. & al.*

(16) *Grot. in 1 Reg. ix. Huet. Dissert. de Navig. Salom. Jean dos Sant. & al.*

ly, besides the profit which he made of all the other commodities. Some of those precious woods the king did bestow in adorning the galleries about the temple, and in making a great number of musical instruments for the service of God ^d.

ALL

^d Ibid. ver. 11.

veral parts of *Africa* might abound with gold, spices, ivory, and those other merchandizes, or according to others, that the *Indians* might bring them thither; yet the farthest coast of *Africk* was not distant enough from *Exion-geber*, to have taken up so much time as three years, though we should allow, that they went to a different sea-port for each merchandize; much less to those places mentioned by some of those authors, which are a great deal nearer to it.

Lastly, we may reckon among them who have missed the mark those who have fallen into the notion, that *Exion-geber* was not on the coasts of the *Red-Sea*, but of the *Mediterranean* (17); in order to avoid the difficulty into which *Huetius* stumbled, by making the canal of communication between those two seas to have been opened in *David's* time, which is confuted by several learned authors (18). But whatever the difficulty be of finding a passage from *Exion-geber* to the *Mediterranean*; it cannot be supposed to have been situated any where but on the *Red-Sea*, without doing manifest violence to the text; because there is not one single instance of יָם סוּף *Yam Supb*, signifying the *Mediterranean*, or any other than the *Red-Sea*; and secondly, because *Exion-geber* is said to have been beside *Eloth*, which last is always placed on the *Red-Sea* (19).

Among those who have conjectured with more probability, we shall mention, first of all, those who place it with *Josephus* in some part of the *East-Indies* (20), though without adhering too close to the particular place, which each of them has made choice of; whether in the kingdom of *Malabar*, or the isles of *Seylan* or *Taprobana* (21), or in *Siam*, (22), or in any of those neighbouring islands or kingdoms beyond the *Ganges* (23), or that of *Pegu*, whose inhabitants pretend to be descended from the *Jews*, whom *Solomon* sent thither to work in the golden mines (24); for we think it labour lost, to seek for a country that produced all the different kinds of merchandizes, which the fleet brought into *Judea*, when they had time enough to fetch some from one place and some from another; or, which is equally probable, when they might be all brought by *Indian* merchants, from several parts of *India*, into some common emporium. All these are probable conjectures, by supposing the

(17) Gorop. Becan. Bivar. Horn & al. (18) Marsh. Can. Egypt. sec. 15. Calm. prolegom. in Genes. (19) Vid. Euseb. loc. Hebr. sub voc. יָם סוּף. Abulfed. Descr. Arab. Plin. Strab. Hieron. Procop. & al. (20) Luc. Holstein. not. in Ortel. (21) Vid. Bochart. Pbal. (22) Ab Choiff. in vit Salom. (23) Vid. Lipen. Traç. de Ophir. (24) Vid. Maff. & aut. ab eo. citat.

ALL this time, *Solomon* was still mindful of the concerns of religion, repairing to the temple at the solemn festivals, and settling the courses of the priests, *Levites*, musicians, and other officers of the temple, according to the model of his

fleet to sail from the *Red-Sea* into the ocean, through the *Persian gulph*.

Dean *Prideaux* observes next, that it was the voyage to *Tharshish* which took up three years going and coming; from which he conjectures, that *Ophir* might be much nearer *Judea*, and the voyage performed in less time, if they had not been obliged to go quite to the former, for some commodities which the other did not afford; and consequently, that any place in the great *Indian sea*, at the distance of three years voyage, which yielded gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks, might be the *Tharshish*; and any other, though much nearer, where they could have gold, algum-trees, and precious stones, might be the *Ophir* mentioned in the scriptures. So that if the southern parts of *Arabia* produced the greatest quantities of the best gold, as he shews they did from good authors, then that might be the land of *Ophir* (25).

But though it be granted, that *Tharshish* and *Ophir* might be distinct places, and at some considerable distance from each other; yet if the latter had been so nigh as south *Arabia*, and had yielded such plenty of the finest gold, algum trees, and precious stones, it is scarce credible, that they would have gone so much farther for such inferior trifles as silver, ivory, monkeys, and peacocks; it is more likely, that they went farthest for the finest gold, precious stones, and things of greatest value.

Lastly, A late author (26) has taken quite a different rout from all the rest, and thinks, that he has found out the *Mesha* and *Sephar*, where *Ophir* the son of *Joktan* went to dwell; between mount *Mafus* and the mountains of *Sephar*, somewhere towards *Armenia* and *Media*, where are the heads of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*; which rivers might be subservient to this commerce. He adds several ingenious reasons for his conjectures, which we cannot dwell upon, and may be better read in the author. The main objection against this hypothesis, and which, we think, he doth not sufficiently answer, is, that the nearness of the place doth not admit of a three years voyage, though we should suppose, with him, that they took a large compass about from coast to coast; and that the three years, mentioned in the text, might mean only three summers and two winters, or thirty months.

Upon the whole then, the most probable conjecture, and beyond that it is impossible to go, is, that *Ophir* was in some of those remote rich countries of *India* beyond *Ganges*, and perhaps as far as *China* or *Japan*; which last doth still abound with the finest gold, and with several other commodities in which *Solomon's* fleet dealt.

(25) *Prid. Connec. book 1.*

(26) *Calmet. Proleg. in Genes.*

his father; and making all proper regulations for maintaining the service of God, with a splendor and magnificence equal, at least, to that of his kingdom^e. Upon all which accounts he is justly observed, more than once, to have exceeded all the kings of the earth.

AMONG the great persons whom his fame brought to Jerusalem, the most considerable was the queen of Sheba (S),^a *The queen of Sheba's visit to him.*

^e 1 Kings ix. 25. 2 Chr. viii. 12, & seq.

as silver, precious stones, ebony, and other valuable sorts of wood; to say nothing of spices, peacocks, parrots, apes, and other such creatures †; and by its distance doth best answer to the length of the voyage.

All that we shall say farther is, that this Ophir gold was in great plenty in Judea even in David's time, since he left 3000 talents of it for the service of the temple, besides the 5000 talents which the princes of the people offered for the same purpose (27). Now as we can hardly believe either of them to have been so munificent, as to have given more than a certain proportion of it; should we suppose it to have been even a third part, there must have been at least 24,000 talents of that metal in his kingdom; this prodigious sum could never be heaped together from the bare spoil of the neighbouring nations; it is more reasonable to believe, that having conquered the Edomites, and taken Eloth and Exion-geber, David set himself about opening a commerce from thence, by the assistance of Hiram's expert sailors; so that his son did but improve what the father had begun, by enlarging and fortifying those two places, and peopling them with the best mariners and ship-builders, and, in a word, by encouraging navigation and commerce to such a degree, as made him by far the richest prince of his time, and his kingdom the most flourishing in the world.

(S) Josephus calls her Nicaulis, and says, she was queen of Egypt and Ethiopia (28); and elsewhere, that Saba was the metropolis of the latter, till Cambyfes called it, by his sister's name, Meroes (29). The Ethiopians accordingly pretend, that she was queen of that country, and preserve still a list of her successors (30). They add, that she had a son by Solomon, whom she sent to be brought up by him; they call him Meilik or Menilebek, and pretend, that twenty-four of their kings are descended from that prince successively down to Basilides, who reigned in the middle of the 17th century (31). Some antient writers do likewise acknowledge, that that country was sometime governed by women (32).

† Vid. Varen. & al. descr. Japon. (27) Vid. 1 Chron. xxix. 4, & seq. (28) Ant. l. viii. c. 2. (29) Ibid. l. ii. c. 19. (30) Vid. Hier. Almeid. & Ludolph. Hist. Ethiop. (31) Id. ib. lib. ii. c. 34, & seq. (32) Strab. lib. xvi. c. 17. Plin. l. vi. c. 26.

a princess of such excellent wisdom and extraordinary opulence, that she seemed to have come to vie with the *Jewish* monarch, by the sumptuousness of her equipage, the richness of her presents, and the number of hard questions she put to him. She brought with her a vast number of camels, laden with gold, precious stones, and such rich spices and perfumes, as had not till then been known even in *Solomon's* court. By all these one may guess at the splendour of her equipage and retinue; and it is not to be supposed, that she would have engaged with a prince so universally famed for wisdom, if she had not had some considerable share of it herself; but, after having tried him with all the subtle and enigmatic questions she had prepared for him (T), she found in him such a readiness in solving, and such a sagacity in explaining his an-

The *Arabians*, on the other hand, claim this queen as their own; they call her *Balkish*, and pretend, that she was queen of *Arabia*, had her residence in the city of *Mareb*, which they make the metropolis of the province of *Saba*. They have preserved also her genealogy, as well as the history of her journey to *Judaea*, which they have stuffed with other fables; among others, that she was married to *Solomon*; and that, after her return into *Arabia*, that prince used to keep an epistolary correspondence with her, by means of a bird which they called *Hudhud*, a kind of lapwing or puet, which used to carry letters between them (33).

But, setting aside these trifling stories, the opinion of those who think that that princess came from *Arabia*, seems certainly the most probable of the two, among many other reasons, because she is called, in the gospel, *the queen of the South*, and is said to have come from the uttermost parts of the earth (34); which answers exactly to *Arabia Felix*, which lieth south of *Judaea*, and is bounded by the ocean. To which we may add, that it abounded with gold, precious stones, and fine perfumes, more than any other country thereabouts.

(T) We have seen in a former note, that it was part of the diversion of princes in those times to puzzle one another with riddles and hard questions. An annalist tells us, that among other ways that this princess tried to pose the king, she took a number of boys and girls, which she had brought with her, and having arrayed them all alike, she presented them to him, to see which way he would take to know those of one sex from those of the other. Wherefore he ordered them to wash their faces before him; and easily found out the difference, by the robustness and effeminacy with which each sex performed his command. The reader may see his authority for this story in the author himself (35).

(33) *Vid.* D'Herbelot. *Bibliot. Orient.* sub voc. *Balkish*.
Matth. xii. 42. (35) Mich. Glycas. *Agval.* p. 182.

(34)

swers, that he seemed even to prevent her thoughts ^f; inso-
much that she owned herself fully satisfied, that he was not
without just reason esteemed the wisest prince of his time.
The king did then entertain her with a view of the temple,
of his palaces, and gardens, of his court, tables, and of the
richness of their furniture, the great number and excellent
order of his servants, stables, chariots, guards, and, in a
word, of all the magnificence that reigned both in his court
and in the city. So many surprising instances of his wisdom
and greatness could not but strike that princess with the deep-
est wonder; which as soon as she could recover herself from,
she owned with a kind of extasy, that the half of it had not
been told her. After this, she expressed her extreme satis-
faction in the most respectful terms, and presented the king
with 120 talents of gold, a great number of precious stones,
and rich perfumes. *Solomon*, on the other hand, was too ge-
nerous not to make her suitable returns, and dismissed her
with the strongest proofs of his munificence ^g (V).

HITHERTO we have seen nothing in that prince's life,
but what gives us the highest idea of his wisdom, piety, and
magnificence; but the remainder of his reign proved far o-
therwise, and *Solomon*, emphatically called the wise, beloved
of God, and admired by all the world for so many excellent
virtues, did become such a slave to the passion of love in his
old age, that he ventured to marry an amazing multitude of
strange women, without distinction of nation, country or re-
ligion, and without the least regard to God's express com-
mands to the contrary; till at length he but too sadly verified
the divine warning ^h, by suffering himself to be seduced into
all manner of idolatry. The number of his wives amounted
to 700; besides 300 concubines, or wives of the second rank;
and his complaisance for them went so far, as to build al-
tars and temples to all their deities; insomuch that the neigh-
bourhood of *Jerusalem*, if not the city itself, was filled with idols
and temples; and the mount of *Olives*, which was over-against

*His defea-
tion;*

idolatries;

^f 1 Kings x. 3. ^g Ibid. 1, & seq. 2 Chron. ix. 1, & seq.
^h Vid. Deut. vii. 3, & seq.

(V) *Josephus* adds, that the *Jews* had a tradition, that the queen
of *Sheba* brought with her the first branch of that precious balsam-
tree, or balm of *Gilead*, which *Judaea* came afterwards to be so famed
for. He mentions likewise a grove belonging to the house of *Leba-
non*, which was such a masterpiece of art, that it raised the admira-
tion of that princess, above all the rest of his stately works (36).

and death.
Year of
the Flood,
2024.
Year be-
fore Christ
975.

it, was defiled with two altars, one to *Chemosh* the god of *Moab*, and another to *Moloch* the god of the *Ammonites*. Such a shameful defection could not but be highly displeasing to God; and *Solomon* was soon after made sensible of it, when he appeared the third time to him in a dream, and told him, that his ingratitude would cost his successors the loss of his kingdom, the tribe of *Judah* excepted, which he would leave them, in consideration of his former promise to *David*, for whose sake he also forbore to rend the other tribes from him till after his death. Whether this severe denunciation awaked him to repentance, or whether he died immersed in his idolatry and lust, the text doth nowhere tell us; what the opinion of *Jews* and *Christians* is about it, may be seen in the next note (W). He died in the fortieth year of his reign,

(W) Among those that believe that *Solomon* did heartily repent of all his extravagancies, are, among the *Jews*, the *Talmudists*, who affirm, that God sent *Asmodeus* to strip him of all his glory, and drive him from his throne; upon which, that prince wandered about all the cities of *Israel*, weeping, and crying out, *I, the preacher, was once king of Israel* (37). 2. The generality of rabbies, antient and modern, if we except the author of *Ecclesiasticus*, who finishes his elogy with an account of his crimes, and the ill effects which it caused in his posterity, without ever mentioning any thing about his repentance (38); these pretend to have a tradition, that in the height of his remorse, he caused himself to be dragged several times about the streets of *Jerusalem*; and that he came to the temple with five bundles of rods, desiring the doctors to chastise him for his faults; which they refusing to do, out of regard to his dignity, he scourged himself severely before them, and thinking himself unworthy to reign any longer, he stripped himself of every thing, and went a begging about the kingdom (39). Some of them have gone another way to work, and have affirmed, that it is false that his heart was ensnared by women to sin, or that he built any altars to *Moloch*, or any other heathenish diety; and say, that the text meant no more, than that he would have done it, if he had not been with-held from it by God's special grace (40). As for *Josephus*, he only attributes his vices to the weakness of old age, without saying any thing of his repentance (41).

The *Christians*, both antient and modern, who have embraced the notion that *Solomon* repented before his death, are too nume-

(37) Vid. Talmud. Tractat. קהלת. (38) Vid. Eclus. xlvii. 19. & seq. (39) Ex fragm. cui titulus de Solomone judicium, in fin. tom. vii. oper. Bedæ. (40) Vid. Pined. de reb. Solom. Calmet. Dissert. de salut. ejusd. (41) Ant. l. viiii. c. 3.

reign, and about the fifty eighth of his age, and was buried in the stately sepulchre of his father *David*, and succeeded by his son *Rehoboam*¹. *Josephus* gives him eighty years reign, and ninety four of age^k. Were that indeed true, his impieties might

¹ 1 Kings xi. 43. 2 Chron. ix. 30, 31. ^k Ant. l. viii. c. 3:

reus to be quoted here; we shall insert their names in the margin (42), and mention the principal reasons which have led them to it. In the first place, many of them have followed the notion of some of the fathers above quoted, that the book of *Ecclesiastes* was the result of his penitent meditations, after he was returned to a sense of himself, and these are very numerous (43). There are indeed in that book a number of expressions, which are very like those of a person, who feels a sensible remorse for his past extravagancies, and is desirous to forewarn others against them (44).

Another argument for his repentance is taken from the promise made by God to his father, where speaking of *Solomon*, whom he had chosen to build his temple; he adds, *I will establish his kingdom for ever: I will be to him a father, and he shall be a son to me: If he commit iniquity, I will chastise him with the rod of men:—But my mercy will I not cause to depart from him, as I did from Saul:* and much more to the same purpose (45).

It is likewise said in another place (46), that *Rehoboam* and his subjects walked in the way of *David* and *Solomon* but three years; and afterwards, that he did evil in the sight of the Lord (47). *Solomon's* way therefore being put with that of *David*, and opposed to that of his wicked son, argues, according to them, that it was right; which could not have been said of it, if he had died impenitent.

Some pretend, that the *Proverbs* were written after his repentance, and quote two places for it; the one where he complains, that he was more brutish than any man, having neither understanding, wisdom, nor knowledge of the holy one (48); for they pretend, that *Agur* there is *Solomon*: the other is still wider, being only, according to the septuagint version, which makes him say, *At length I repented, and have applied myself to live after a better rule; whereas in the original he only says, that having observed the field of a*

(42) Iren. l. iv. Marcio ap. Epiphani. de Hæres. Bacchiar. Epist. de recipiend. lapsis. Hilar. in Ps. lvi. & cxxvi. Cyril. Hierosol. catech. 2. Hieron. in Ezek. xiii. & alib. Gregor. Taumat. & al. (43) Th. Aquin. Hugo. Cardinal. Paul. Comestor. Genebrard. Chemnit. J. Henr. Heideg. Reymers. Mercer. Usser. Jun. Tremet. & al. plurim. (44) Vid. int. al. Ecces. i. 1, & seq. ii. pass. iii. 17, & seq. xi. & xii. pass. (45) 2 Sam. vii. 13. & seq. Ps. lxxxix. 19. & seq. ad 37, & alib. pass. (46) 2 Chron. xi. 17. (47) Ibid. xii. 14. (48) Prov. xxx. 2, 3.

might well enough be attributed to his extreme dotage ; perhaps also this was the motive, that induced the Jewish historian to spin out his life so far beyond the text. Solomon is recorded to have written a great number of books ; of which we have only his *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticles* ; all the rest are lost, as well as those of the prophets Nathan,

stothful man over-run with nettles—he considered well about it, and received instruction (49).

Lastly, so willing are they to make a penitent of him, they quote the words, *And Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried, &c.* (50), as a token of his repentance ; because there is nothing reproachful added to them, as is generally when a wicked king dieth impenitent ; such as, *that he did evil in the sight of the Lord ; that he perverted his way ; that he made Israel to sin ;* and such like.

Notwithstanding all these reasons, many learned fathers, as well as modern authors, have not scrupled to call his repentance in question, and some of them even to deny it (51). We shall subjoin some of their reasons for this opinion. 1. Solomon's sins of idolatry and love of strange women are recorded in the strongest terms ; but not a word is mentioned in the whole scripture about his forsaking them. 2. God, being highly offended with him, actually cut off ten tribes from his posterity, according to what he had told him (52). Would he have executed it so punctually, if Solomon had repented ? 3. David and others, who repented of their sins, had not only part of the punishment abated, but their conversion is particularly recorded. Why should Solomon be the only person whose repentance is omitted ? Could he write the book of *Proverbs*, or of *Ecclesiastes*, after his conversion, and yet leave all the monuments of his idolatry to continue ? or, if he had destroyed them, Why was it not recorded ? or rather, Why is it said, that they subsisted till Josiah's time (53), that is, about 350 years after his death ? What proofs are there, that the book of *Ecclesiastes* was not wrote before his defection, rather than after it ? Lastly, as to the *Rabbinical* traditions, doth not the authority of the book of *Ecclesiasticus*, mentioned above, out-weigh them all, and doth not that seem to imply, that he died in his sins ? Upon the whole then, we shall not venture to conclude any thing on either side, much less enter into the more dark and dangerous question about his salvation, which almost all the authors above-quoted, and many more, have presumed to handle with greater freedom than certainty.

(49) *Prov.* xxiv. 30, & seq. (50) 1 *Kings* xi. ult. 2 *Chron.* ix. ult. (51) Cyprian. *de Unit. Eccles.* & *epist.* 6. ad Rogat. Tertul. *lib.* ii, iii, & v. cont. Marcion. Origen. August. cont. Faust. l. xxij. In *Pf.* cxxiv. & alib. Gregor. Mag. Theodoret. Prosper. Beda. de Lyra. Tostat. Bellarm. Perer. Vega. Maldonat. & al. mult. (52) 2 *Kings* xi. 9, & seq. (53) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 13.

Abijah, and *Iddo*, who are said to have penned the history of that prince * (X).

WHILST *Solomon* spent the last years of his life in pleasure and indolence, the seeds of the threatened defection were sowing both in *Israel* and out of it; so that when his son *Rehoboam* came to the crown, he had three potent adversaries to encounter against. The first was *Hadad*, king of *Edom*, who bore a mortal hatred against *Israel*, ever since *David's* general had caused such an universal massacre in that kingdom. He was now returned from *Egypt*, where he had been forced to take sanctuary, during *David* and *Solomon's* reigns¹. The second was *Rezon*, a subject of the king of *Zobah*, who fled likewise from *David's* conquering sword, and having put himself at the head of a band of brave warriors, went and established a petty kingdom at *Damascus*, and never ceased annoying *Israel*, and revenging *David's* old hostilities on the *Zobe-*

* 2 Chron. ix. 29.
p. 142, 143.

¹ 1 Kings xi. 14, & seq. See Vol. II:

(X) Several other books have been attributed to *Solomon*, especially those of *Ecclesiasticus*, the *Wisdom* and the *Psalter of Solomon*, which are now universally owned to be of more modern date. The latter consists of 18 psalms, artfully collected out of the other psalms and some of the prophets, a copy of which is in the *Vienna* library, and placed between the two former books (54); they seem also to have been in our *Alexandrian* manuscript, by their being mentioned in the index, however they came to be torn, or lost out of it. As for the other writings, which the *Greeks* and *Arabians* attribute to that prince, they are less worth enquiring after: some of them are written in the magic strain, others upon natural philosophy, and others upon moral subjects (55). Some indeed pretend, that the magic books were written by demons, who envied his glory, and wanted to asperse his fame, by making him the author of them; but that prince, who was not only monarch of the world, but whose power extended over all creatures, and even over spirits, caused all those writings to be locked up in a strong iron chest, and buried under his throne; out of which however they were fetched after his death, by some demons or magicians, and published again under that monarch's name (56). There are some eastern authors, who attribute the invention of the *Syriac* and *Arabic* letters to him (57), and some make him the author of the book of *Job* (58); all without any foundation.

(54) Lambec. *Bibliot. Vindob.* (55) Vid. Fabric. *Apocryph.*
(56) Vid. D'Herbelot. *Biblioth. Orient. sub voc. Solyman.* (57)
Vid. Abr. Echellens, & Abulfarag. *Hist. Arab. & al.* (58) Vid.
Polychron in Job. Dieg. de Stunic. & al. *præfat. in Job.*

ans^m. But the most dangerous of the three was *Jeroboam*, a young daring man of the tribe of *Ephraim*, whom *Solomon* had formerly made overseer over his tribe and that of *Manasseh*, in the carrying on of his works. This man had been told by the prophet *Abijah*, that God would give him the ten tribes, which were to be rent from *Solomon's* successors; and either upon this account, or for some particular misdemeanour, he had been forced to fly into *Egypt*, to avoid the king's resentment, and there probably he concerted with the king of *Edom*, about causing an insurrection in *Israel*. As soon therefore as he heard that *Rehoboam* was upon the throne, he returned from *Egypt* to watch a proper opportunity for it, and that weak prince soon after gave him such a one as his heart could wish.

Rehobo-
am.

Rehobo-
am's folly
occasions
ten tribes
to revolt,

who chose
Jeroboam
to be their
king.

Rehoboam was gone with his court, and the elders of all the tribes, to receive their homage at *Shechem*, but they refused to acknowledge him, unless he promised to lighten their yoke, which they complained his father had made too heavy for them. The king took three days to consider of an answer, and, as he had attained to the fortieth year of his age, one might have expected, that he would have hearkened to the wholesome advice of his grave counsellors, and given the people some fair promises, which if he had, it is possible, he might have deprived *Jeroboam*, who was at the head of the mutineers, of an occasion of revolting; but he unfortunately preferred that of some hot-headed youths, who had been brought up at court with him, and instead of soothing the people on the third day, he answered them in a haughty tone, That he designed to govern them with greater severity than ever his father had done, and that, if they dared to murmur, he would use scorpions instead of whips to chastise their insolence. This inconsiderate answer did so provoke them, that they disclaimed all further allegiance to the house of *David*, and having murdered *Adoram*, whom the king had sent to appease the tumult, ten of the tribes chose *Jeroboam* to be their head. *Judah* and *Benjamin*, however, did cleave to *Rehoboam*, and conveyed him with all speed to *Jerusalem*, to avoid any insult being offered to him by the revolters. As soon as he was come thither, he caused an army to be raised out of the two tribes, which mustered 180,000 valiant men, to reduce the rest to their obedience; but, whilst they were preparing for a battle, the prophet *Shemaiah* came and acquainted them, that this defection was from God, and persuaded them to desist, which they readily did for the present, though there were

continual bickerings between those two kings all their life. *Jeroboam*, on the other hand, thought on nothing, but how to secure his new-gotten kingdom, and took the advantage of that peaceful interval, to rebuild *Shechem* and *Penuel*, the former of which he made the place of his residence (Y). But there was still one thing which he feared might, in time, reconcile the ten tribes to the house of *David*, namely, their going three times a year to *Jerusalem*; and *Jeroboam* did not sufficiently rely upon the prophet's promise, to run the risk of becoming the victim of the people's inconstancy. This apprehension made him sacrifice religion to his safety, and to set up a couple of golden calves, the one at *Dan*, and the other at *Bethel*, which were at the two extremities of the kingdom, to which places he commanded the people to repair for the worship of God, without going to *Jerusalem*. He likewise built some temples and altars in the high places, and because the *Levites* did cleave to *Rehoboam*, he made priests to his deities out of the lees of his people, without regard to tribe or desert ^a.

THE dedication of the two calves was proclaimed through *Israel*, and a great concourse of people had flocked to *Bethel*, when a prophet was sent thither by God, to denounce the destruction of the new altar, by a future king of *Judah*, named *Josiah*, and, for a proof of his prediction, he told them, that it should then receive such a crack, that the cinders would run out through the rent; and the thing happened accordingly upon the spot. *Jeroboam* was standing by the altar, being just going to offer incense upon it (Z), and when he heard the prophet's

^a 1 Kings xii. pass.

(Y) These two places had been in a manner destroyed, the former by *Abimelech* (59), and the latter by *Gideon* (60). This last was an important place on the other side of *Jordan*, very proper to keep the two tribes and a half in awe. *Shechem* was also a strong place by nature, about 40 miles from *Jerusalem* (61), and so conveniently situate to become the metropolis of this new kingdom, which it continued to be till the building of *Samaria* by *Omri*, and resumed that dignity after this latter had been destroyed by the *A Assyrians*. We find it called *Sycbar* in the gospel (62), which is a term of contempt, which the tribe of *Judah* gave it after the revolt, and signifies *Drunkard*.

(Z) It seems by this action, as if *Jeroboam* had designed to join the high-priesthood and the royal dignity together in his own per-

(59) *Judg.* ix. 34. & seq. (60) *Ibid.* viii. 17. (61) *Vid.*
Reland. in Shechem. (62) *John* iv. 5.

prophet's threatening, he stretched out his hand to cause him to be apprehended, but, to his great surprise, felt it withered in an instant. Upon his submission however he had it restored again, and invited the prophet to his house, intending to have rewarded him for the cure, but he, having been expressly forbidden to stay in *Bethel*, even to drink a cup of water, refused his offer and went his way. He was nevertheless unadvisedly brought back by another prophet, who pretended a new command from God; but whilst he was refreshing himself at his house, he was told by him, that his disobedience would be punished by a speedy and extraordinary death, which happened accordingly soon after; for, as he was returning into the land of *Judah*, he was killed by a lion, which did afterwards lie quietly down by his carcass, without offering any further violence either to it or the beast he rode upon.

Jeroboam was nothing moved at these extraordinary events, but continued debauching the people from the worship of God^o. At length his son *Abijah* being fallen into some dangerous disease, he took it into his head to send his wife in disguise to *Abijah* the prophet, who had foretold him that he should be king over the ten tribes, to know whether he would recover. *Abijah*, though blind with age, knew her at her first coming, and, having called her by her name, bid her go and tell her husband, that since he had proved so ungrateful to God, and had filled *Israel* with idolatry, the death of the child would be the least punishment that should fall upon him, for that his posterity should be cut off, so that they which died in the city would become the food of dogs, and those that died in the field should be devoured by the crows, all which was verified by the sequel accordingly. Notwithstanding all these threatenings, *Jeroboam* persisted still in his idolatry, and gave thereby no small advantage to the king of *Judah*^p.

^o 1 Kings xiii.

^p Ibid. xiv. 1. ad 21.

son. The places he made choice of to set up his two idols were not only very commodious on account of their situation, but had been frequented, time out of mind, by the people. *Bethel* was had in great reverence, as having been resorted to by the patriarchs, and consecrated in a peculiar manner by *Jacob*, after he had seen the glorious vision we read of in *Genesis* (63); and *Dan* was become famous, or rather infamous, for the idol which had been brought thither from *Micah's* house, and for the concourse of people that went afterwards to sacrifice to it (64).

(63) *Cb.* xxviii. 12. & seq. vid. & *Cb.* xxxv. 1. & seq. (64) *Judg.* xviii. pass.

WHILST *Jeroboam* was strengthening himself in *Shechem*, *Rehoboam* was doing the same at *Jerusalem*; he built and fortified a considerable number of places in *Judah* and *Benjamin*, put garisons in them, and stored them with arms and ammunition. At the same time the tribe of *Levi*, which was dispersed over *Israel*, being displeased with *Jeroboam*, came flocking to *Jerusalem* from their respective cities, besides a vast number out of the other tribes, who abhorred his calves and idolatries, and came thither to serve God according to the law of *Moses*; so that he saw his subjects in a little time as numerous as those of his revolted rival ¹. But that weak prince had scarce continued three years in the true service of God, before he fell into the vilest idolatries, and even outdid the revolted *Israelites* in them; inso-much, that his memory is branded for having suffered the people to set up groves, and to provide them with men and women, fit for the most abominable and unnatural practices ². For these God stirred up a potent adversary against them, *Shishak* king of *Egypt*, who came and took many of their fenced cities, and drove the wealthiest of *Judah* into the metropolis for shelter. Here the prophet *Shemaiah* took occasion to upbraid them with their wickedness, which had brought this distress upon them; he threatened the ruin of the city; and his speech had so good an effect upon them, that they humbled themselves before God, and, by acknowledging the justice of this punishment, avoided the severity of it ³. *Shishak* contented himself with stripping the temple and palaces of all their golden shields and vessels, and left them to substitute in their room others of a baser metal. This happened in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*, after which he reigned 12 years longer peaceably, except a few skirmishes with the king of *Israel*, and died in the 18th year of his reign. He had 18 wives and 60 concubines, and by them 28 sons and 60 daughters; but of all his wives, he loved *Maachab*, the daughter, or rather grand-daughter, of *Abishalom* ⁴, by whom he had four sons, the eldest of whom he preferred to all his other sons to succeed him, for which end he had him brought up under him, whilst he disposed of all his children in other cities of his kingdom, to be educated under proper tutors, in a manner suitable to their rank ⁵. His history was written by the prophets *Iddo* and *Shemaiah* ⁶.

Rehobo-
am's
death.

¹ 2 Chron. xi. 5, & seq. ² 1 Kings xiv. 23, 24. ³ See
2 Chron. xii. pass. ⁴ Comp. Ch. xiii. 2, & 1 Kings xv. 2.
⁵ 2 Chron. xi. 18 ad fin. ⁶ Ibid. Ch. xii. 15.

Abijah's
reign.

Year of
the Flood,
2041.
Year be-
fore Christ
958.

Defeats
Jerobo-
am's army.

Jeroboam had reigned eighteen years in *Israel*, when *Abijam*, or *Abijah*; as he is called in the book of *Chronicles*, came to the crown. He immediately put 400,000 men in arms, and went and incamped with them upon mount *Zemaraim*, upon the borders of *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* met him with an army of double that number. The two kings being within hearing of each other, *Abijam* began with upbraiding his competitor with his base extraction and baser actions; in that, from being a servant to *Solomon*, he had taken the advantage of *Jeroboam's* weakness, to deprive him of the largest share of his kingdom, and had endeavoured to secure it by debauching the people from the worship of God, to the most abominable idolatries; he concluded with telling him, that he could expect nothing but ruin and destruction, as a just punishment for his rebellion to his God, and to his prince, who came against him with an army of men, which had faithfully adhered to the service of both. *Jeroboam* was too hardened a politician to suffer himself, or his men, to be intimidated by such reproaches, and whilst he seemed to give him the hearing, he had cunningly ordered a body of men to file round the hill, and to surprise him in the rear, whilst he attacked him in front; and this was so punctually executed, that the king of *Judah* saw himself surrounded by the enemy before he was aware of it. This surprise caused an universal outcry in his army, and would, in all likelihood, have injected an universal panic, had not providence declared on their side, so that they gained a complete victory over the *Israelitish* army, of which there fell 500,000 on the spot. *Abijah* pursued his victory, and retook several considerable places from them, particularly that of *Bethel*, and weakened *Jeroboam* so much, that he never could recover his strength again, during the short time of his reign, which lasted but three years in all. *Abijah* left 14 wives and 22 sons, and was succeeded by *Asa*; his history was written by the prophet *Iddo* *. All that is further recorded of him is, that he followed the sinful ways of his father, instead of serving God with the same sincerity that *David* had done †. About two years after *Jeroboam* also died (A),

* 2 Chron. xiii. pass. † 1 Kings xv. 3.

(A) It is said in the 2d book of the *Chronicles* (65), that the Lord struck him with death; by which is meant, that he died some unnatural death; and, indeed, his character is constantly loaded with infamy, for the idolatries which he introduced in *Israel*, which lasted till the dissolution of that kingdom.

(65) *Cb.* xiii. 20.

after

after having reigned in *Israel* 22 years, and was succeeded by his son *Nadab*^a.

Asa succeeded *Abijam* in the twentieth year of *Jeroboam*. *Asa's* He was a religious prince, and as the ten first years of his reign were blessed with peace, he spent a great part of that time in purging his kingdom from the heathenish abominations, which his predecessors had introduced in it. So sincere was his zeal and piety. in that good work, that he spared not his own mother, but deposed her from the regal dignity, which she had abused by patronizing idolatry, and erecting a grove for the worship of some idol; both which he caused to be destroyed, with all the other monuments of irreligion, except the high places, which he endeavoured in vain to divert the people from. He also put his whole kingdom in a good posture of defence, by fortifying several important places, and entertaining an army of 580,000 men, 300,000 of which were of the tribe of *Judah*, famous for handling the target and spear; the rest, which were most of *Benjamin*, are likewise celebrated for their uncommon dexterity in the use of the shield and bow^b. His riches increasing with his might, he likewise adorned the temple with a quantity of gold and silver vessels, in the room of those which the king of *Egypt* had carried away. In the second year of his reign, *Nadab* succeeded *Jeroboam* in *Israel*; but nothing happened remarkable during his two years reign, except his cleaving to the sins of his father, and his being killed at the siege of *Gibbethon*, a fortress belonging to the *Philistines*, by *Baasha*, a man of the tribe of *Issachar*, who, having seized upon the kingdom, destroyed the whole race of *Jeroboam*, according to the prophet's word^c.

AT length *Asa* saw his kingdom attacked by an army of His victory 1,000,000 *Cushites* besides chariots, with *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* over the at their head (B). *Asa*, who trusted more in his God than *Cushites*.

^a Ibid. ver. 25. ^b Comp. 1 Kings xv. 9, & seq. & 2 Chron. xiv. 1, ad 9. ^c 1 Kings xv. 27, & seq.

(B) Archbishop *Usher* (66) places this famous action in the first year of *Asa's* reign; other chronologers about the fifteenth, more or less (67) of it. We have followed the author of the 2d book of *Chronicles*, which affirms, that there was peace during the first ten years (68); and that *Asa* offered great sacrifices at *Jerusalem* in the fifteenth year of his reign, as a thanksgiving for his late victory (69).

(66) *Ann. sub. A. M.* 3063. (67) *Vid. & S. I. Newt. Chronol.* p. 99. *Calmet. & al.* (68) *Ch. xiv. 1.* (69) *Ibid. ver. 10. & seq.*

in his own strength, was nothing terrified at this numerous host, but came against him with his army; and after a sharp battle, which was fought at *Marefbab*, did totally rout the *Ethiopians*, and returned to *Jerusalem* laden with their spoil. At his return he was met by a prophet, who encouraged him with fresh promises from God, that he should still prove successful against his enemies, provided he continued firm in his zeal and obedience to God. Soon after his arrival at his metropolis, he sacrificed a considerable portion of the spoil to the service of God, and had the pleasure to see multitudes flock to him from several of the revolted tribes, whom either his zeal or success drew away from *Baasha*, the new-made king of *Israel*.

Makes an
alliance
with Ben-
hadad.

It was probably this continual defection, which caused a series of skirmishes between the two kings, and obliged the latter to build the fortress of *Ramah*, to stop the communication between the two kingdoms. He was then leagued with the king of *Syria*; and *Asha*, afraid of engaging two such powerful enemies, found no better expedient, than to bribe *Ben-hadad* to break his alliance with him, and to cause some powerful diversion in his kingdom. To this end, he sent him all the gold that he could find, both in his own treasury, and in that of the temple; which had such an influence upon the *Syrian* king, that he took all the fenced cities of the tribe of *Naphtali*, and obliged *Baasha* to desist from his enterprize, to go and defend his territories^e. As soon as he was departed from *Ramah*, *Asha* issued out a proclamation, and ordered his subjects, none excepted, to transport all the materials of that fortress to *Geba* of *Benjamin*, and to *Mizpah* in the tribe of *Judah*, and to fortify those two places with them. In the mean time, the prophet *Hanani* took the liberty to come and reprove *Asha* for his weakness in seeking help from *Ben-hadad*, when he had been so lately victorious over the *Ethiopian* host; but the king, who was by this time grown impatient, by reason of a distemper in his feet, probably the gout, was so exasperated at his boldness, that he cast him into prison. He was likewise guilty of some cruelties towards other persons; upon what pretence the text doth not say, but it is likely, that his disease had inclined him to it, because it is observed to have lessened his confidence in God, and to have sent him to the physicians for help^f. He died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son *Jehoshaphat* (C).

and death.
Year of
the Flood,
2085.
Year be-
fore Christ
914.

Baasha

^e 1 Kings xv. 18, & seq. See Vol. II. p. 275.

^f 2 Chr. xvi.

12. & seq.

(C) The book of *Kings* doth barely say, that he was buried with his

Baasha all this while continued in the idolatries of *Jeroboam*, and in constant war with the king of *Judah*; when *Jehu*, the son of *Hanani*, came from the Lord to tell him, that since he had imitated his predecessor in his sins, he should likewise share in his punishment, and be cut off with his posterity. *Baasha* died soon after, and was succeeded by his son *Elah*, who ascended the throne in the 26th year of *Asa's* ^{Elah, king} reign; he had scarce reigned two years before he felt the ^{of Israel,} effects of *Jehu's* prediction; he was then at the siege of *Gibbethon*, where *Zimri*, who commanded over his chariots, ^{murdered} slew him, and seized upon his kingdom. *Zimri's* reign lasted ^{by Zimri,} but seven days; *Omri*, another general officer, being chosen king by the army: yet found he time enough, in that short space, to destroy the whole race of *Baasha*, even to his farthest relations. *Omri* left *Gibbethon*, and came to besiege him in *Tirzah*; but before he could enter that city, *Zimri* went into the royal palace and set it on fire, and burnt himself in it^{*}; however, he reigned long enough to shew himself unworthy of the kingdom, by his propensity to *Jeroboam's* idolatry.

Omri had another competitor, *Tibni* the son of *Ginath*, whom one part of the people had elected king; but the party of *Omri*, being much the stronger, soon persuaded the rest to join with them; so *Tibni* was killed, and *Omri* reigned unrivalled. This happened in the 31st year of *Asa's* reign.

DURING the first six years of his reign, *Tirzah* being then the royal palace of residence, *Omri* bought the hill of *Somer*, or *Samaria*, of one *Shemer* for two talents of silver, and built the city of that name upon it, which he made afterwards the metropolis of his kingdom. We have nothing more recorded of him, except that he reigned another six years in *Samaria*, in all the sinful ways of his predecessors,

^{*} 1 Kings xvi. 1, & seq. ad 18.

his ancestors^{*}; but that of the *Chronicles* (70) adds, that he was embalmed, and laid upon a stately bed, covered with spices and odoriferous drugs; and that they made a great burning for him; from which some have concluded, that the custom of burning the bodies of princes began from *Asa*, and that they deposited the bones and ashes in their sepulchres. We have endeavoured to confute this notion, and to reconcile the seeming contradiction of these two accounts in a former note, to which we refer the reader †.

^{*} 1 Kings xv. 24. (70) 2 Chr. xvi. ult. † See Vol. III. p. 362. note (V).

and was succeeded by his son, who proved still more wicked than any of them ^h.

Ahab king
of Israel.

Year of
the Flood,
2081.
Year be-
fore Christ
918.

Ahab began his reign in the 38th year of *Asa's*; his unlawful marriage with *Jezabel*, the daughter of *Eth-Baal*, king of *Zidon*, proved a constant source of idolatries and wicked deeds in him, and of plagues and misfortunes to his kingdom. His complaisance for her made him suffer her to introduce the worship of the *Zidonian* deities, which consisted in human sacrifices, and in the most abominable ceremonies †. These were at first introduced into his court, for which a sumptuous temple, an altar, and grove, had been built to *Baal* in *Samaria*; but as his weakness suffered him to assist at those hellish ceremonies, his example soon spread the infection through his whole kingdom. However, the prophet *Elijah* was sent to him very early, to deter him from his wicked courses, by assuring him, that God would shortly punish the land with a grievous famine, during which there should be neither dew nor rain to refresh the earth, until he obtained it again by his prayers; after which he went and concealed himself, during the space of three years (D) ⁱ.

WHILST

^h 1 Kings ver. 21, & seq.
ⁱ 1 Kings xvii. 1, & seq.

† See Vol. II. p. 314. & alib.

(D) There are many particulars relating to this extraordinary prophet, which have no proper connection with the history of the kings, and yet are too remarkable to be omitted; for which reason we choose to give them in a note in their order of time.

As soon then as he had foretold the famine, he was forced to fly from the fury of *Jezabel*, and retired into some cavern upon the border of *Cherith*, a brook which falleth into the *Jordan*, where he drank of the water of it, and was furnished twice a day with bread and flesh by the ravens. He stayed not long there, because the excessive drought had dried up the brook, but went to *Zarephath*, a city of *Zidon*, which laboured also with the famine. There he met with a poor widow gathering a few sticks without the walls of the place, having but so much flour and oil left as would make one cake, which she designed for her son and herself, without knowing how to procure more when that was spent. The prophet, tired with his journey, asked her for a mouthful of bread, and a little water to drink; and she having acquainted him with her condition, he bid her not fear, but bring him what he desired, assuring her, that as long as the dearth lasted, her barrel and cruse should not cease furnishing her with meal and oil enough to support them. The thing happened according to his prediction, and he continued with her, till he was commanded to return to *Samaria*. During his abode with this hospitable widow, her

WHILST *Ahab* and his idolatrous queen were propagating their impieties in *Israel*, and murdering all those, whether prophets or others, who dared to oppose them; *Jehoshaphat*, who succeeded *Asha* about the latter end of the fourth year of *Ahab's* reign, was destroying idolatry, and promoting the pure worship of God in his own kingdom, with such zeal and application, that it drew upon him and his people the greatest prosperity and success. He was thirty five years old when he began his reign, and the first thing that he set about was the pulling down of all the monuments of idolatry, and sodomitical groves, which his father had not been able to abolish; and, in the third year of his reign, he sent some of the chief officers of his court, with a competent number of priests and *Levites*, with copies of the *Pentateuch*, to instruct the people throughout his kingdom. At the same time, he fortified all the considerable places of the land, and put garisons in them, as well as in those which his father had taken from the kings of *Israel*. Besides these, he had the most numerous army of any of his predecessors, it consisting of above 1,100,000 fighting men (E). Upon all these accounts he was so prosperous and powerful, that none of his enemies dared to molest him; the *Philistines* and *Arabians* were tributaries to him; and his allies were still increasing his wealth by their presents ^k.

Jehoshaphat King of Judah.

His piety;

and success.

THUS it fared with that religious prince and his subjects, whilst war and famine were the reward of *Ahab's* impiety in the kingdom of *Israel*,

* 2 Chr. xvii. pass.

her only son chanced to die; and she, in the height of her grief, could not forbear accusing the prophet, as the cause of her misfortune. Upon which *Elijah* took the child from her, and carried him up to his bed, and having stretched himself upon him, and prayed to God on his behalf, he restored him alive to her again (71).

(E.) We have had elsewhere occasion to speak of this prodigious number of soldiers (72), and to shew, that they were not kept like our standing armies in constant pay and duty, but that their names were set down in the king's muster-rolls, in order to be summoned to arms, whenever occasion required it; which, considering the small compass of the land, might be done with great ease, and in a very little space; after which they returned to their families, and followed their usual occupations. We may also suppose, that the garisons might be relieved in the same manner every three months, more or less, that every one might have time to mind his private affairs between those intervals.

(71) 1 Kings xvii.

(72) See Vol III. p. 368, & 373.

D 2

HOWEVER,

Elijah's
meeting
with Oba-
diah ;

and Ahab.

Elijah's
zeal a-
gainst
Baal.

HOWEVER, at the end of a three years famine, *Elijah* came and shewed himself to *Obadiah*, governor of *Ahab's* house, as he was going in search of some fresh springs of water, to save that little cattle they had left, whilst the king himself went another way upon the same errand. *Obadiah* was a pious man, and had shewed an uncommon zeal for the God of *Israel*, by saving 100 of his prophets from *Jezebel's* fury, and supporting them with food in their concealment, during the whole time of the famine. As soon therefore as he saw *Elijah*, he fell down at his feet, and gave him a respectful welcome ; but when the prophet bid him go after the king, and acquaint him with his arrival, he modestly excused himself from so dangerous a message, being afraid, lest, if the spirit should catch him away, instead of appearing before the king, his life should answer for the disappointment ; for, added he, there is scarce a nation or kingdom, from which *Ahab* has not exacted an oath, to bring you back to *Samaria*, where-ever you were found. At length, upon the prophet's promising that he would shew himself to the king, *Obadiah* went and stopt his farther search, by acquainting him with *Elijah's* return, and his promise of a speedy rain. *Elijah* accordingly appeared, and the first greeting between *Ahab* and him was such, as might be reasonably expected between a wicked haughty monarch, and a person of that prophet's character. After some mutual invectives on both sides, *Elijah* desired, that all *Israel* might be gathered at mount *Carmel*, with all the priests of *Baal* whom *Jezebel* maintained ; which being done accordingly, he reproved the people for halting between two opinions, and dividing their service between God and *Baal*. " You see, said he, that I am " the only prophet of the Lord that is left, and those of " *Baal* are 450 ; let them offer up a bullock to *Baal*, and " I will offer another to the God of *Israel* ; and let the " deity, whose sacrifice is consumed by a preternatural fire, " be henceforth the only object of your worship." As soon as the people had expressed their assent to his proposal, the priests of *Baal* were ordered to begin. They hewed their bullock in pieces, and laid it upon the wood of the altar, and called upon *Baal* from morning till noon ; and not finding the least symptom of answer, they began, according to their custom, to cut themselves with knives, till the blood ran down upon the ground *. All this while *Elijah* plied them with the most biting sarcasms, bidding them to cry louder, for *Baal*, no doubt, was a great God, and would hear them, unless he were either asleep, or more advantageously

* See Vol. II. p. 314.

ly taken up. At length, when it was come about the time of offering the evening sacrifice, he reared up an altar of twelve stones, according to the *Mosaic* law, and laid the wood and victim upon it; and, having caused a deep trench to be digged round it, he ordered them to pour water upon the altar once and again, till the trench was overflowed. He then called upon God with a loud voice, begging of him that he would shew himself to the whole people, to be the only God in all the world; upon which a fire fell down from heaven, which consumed the victim, wood, and altar, and dried up all the water in the trenches; at sight of which, the people fell upon their faces, and cried out, *The LORD is the only God*. The prophet then, addressing himself to the people, told them, that if they were really persuaded of it, they ought to seize on those false prophets, pointing to the priests of *Baal*, who had seduced them from his worship to serve that filthy deity, and take them to the brook *Kisbon*, and put every one of them to death there. The people readily obeyed the motion; and *Ahab*, whether the late miracle made him approve their zeal, or whether he thought it dangerous to obstruct it, suffered them to be hurried away to death. *Elijah* then advised the king to make what speed he could to *Jezreel*, to avoid being caught by the rain, which would shortly come down in great plenty, as it did accordingly. As soon as *Ahab* had reached his palace, he acquainted his queen with what had happened at *Carmel*, and what a shameful check her favourite deity had received there, in the sight of all *Israel*. One would expect, that the long-wish'd-for rain, obtained by the prophet's prayer, might have comforted her for that misfortune, and have inspired her with an uncommon respect for his person; but it happened quite otherwise, and the death of so many of her prophets threw her into such a rage, that she vowed to send the author of it after them by the next day. And *Elijah* was forced a second time to fly for his life (F)¹.

By

¹ 1 Kings xviii. pass. xix. 1, 2, 3.

(F) The prophet seems, at this time, to have been under such apprehensions, that he could not stay till providence directed him what course to take, as he had done in his last flight. He stopped not till he came to *Beersebab*, a city in the land of *Judah*, and near 150 miles from *Samaria*; where having dismissed his servant, he continued his march one whole day towards the wilderness of *Arabia Petrea*. At length, being quite spent with the journey, and tired with life, he laid himself down under a juniper-tree, and, after

Ahab's victory and generosity. By that time *Abab* had reigned 18 years, *Ben-hadad*, king of *Syria*, came at the head of 32 petty kings, and a numerous army, and laid siege to *Samaria*; where, notwithstanding his great forces, and the arrogance with which he threatened both king and city, he was beat by a handful of men, who sallied out upon him at mid-day, with *Abab* at their head, and forced to fly with a prodigious loss. He endeavoured, on the following year, to retrieve his credit, and was defeated again by the *Israelites* with a terrible slaughter, and himself in danger of being taken prisoner in the city of *Apheck*; but, upon his sending from thence a submissive message, *Abab* re-

after some bitter complaints, fell asleep. He was soon after awaked by an angel, who bid him refresh himself with some food, and when he looked about, he found a cake of bread and some water, and did eat, and drink, and fell asleep again. The angel awoke him again, and bid him eat once more, before he went on his journey, which he told him would be a long one; and so it proved indeed, for he went, upon the strength of it, forty days, till he came to mount *Horeb*, where he found a convenient cave to lodge in. Here the word of the Lord came to him, and asked him, what he did there, and he answered, that he was the only prophet of the Lord, whom the idolatrous *Israelites* had not slain, after they had broken his covenant and destroyed his altars; and that, because he had been zealous enough to reprove them for it, they sought his life also. The voice commanded him then to stand upon the mount, where he should hear the Lord pass by him; that he should hear a strong wind capable of rending the rocks asunder, and afterwards an earthquake, and then a flame; but that the Lord would not manifest himself in any of these, but in a small and still voice. Accordingly, when *Elijah* heard the voice, he wrapped his face in his mantle, and the Lord commanded him to go back, by the way of the wilderness, or by the desert paths, to *Damascus*, and there anoint *Hazaël* to be king of *Syria*, *Jehu* to be king of *Israel*, and *Elisba* to be prophet in his room; telling him, that those three should not sheath their swords, till *Abab's* impious race and his idolatrous subjects were utterly cut off by one or other of them; all which happened accordingly, as we shall see in its proper place.

In his return, he passed by the grounds of *Elisba*, the son of *Shaphat*, where he and his servants were ploughing, and cast his mantle upon him. *Elisba*, ready to follow him, begged leave to entertain him at a feast, whilst he took his leave of his friends, but it doth not appear, that he stayed to partake of it, and indeed the place was too near *Samaria* and *Jezreel*, and it was dangerous for him to stay there; however, he went after him as soon as they had made an end of eating. Neither doth it appear from the text, that *Elijah* went to anoint either *Hazaël* or *Jehu*; it is most likely, that that ceremony was not performed till after his translation, as will appear by the sequel.

received

ceived him with an amazing generosity into his chariot, and brought him to his pavilion, where they made an alliance together; after which, he generously dismissed him without any further ransom. The particulars of these two famous actions the reader will find in the history of Syria †. As soon as *Ben-hadad* was departed, one of the sons of the prophets presented himself before *Ahab*, with his face all besmeared with blood and dirt, and complained, that, during the action, a Syrian prisoner had been committed to his custody, with a strict charge not to let him escape, under pain of death; but that, whilst he busied himself about one thing or other, the prisoner was fled, and himself now in danger of being punished for his neglect. *Ahab*, who believed the fact to be really as he told it, made no scruple to pronounce him guilty of death; but the prophet, wiping his face, and discovering himself to the king, soon let him know, that he had passed his sentence against himself, and that since he had let so powerful an enemy of *Israel* go free, when God had delivered him into his hand, his life should pay for that of his prisoner. *Ahab* was struck with such surprize at the boldness of the stratagem, that he went away to *Samaria* full of grief and indignation (G) ^m; nevertheless, he kept his word with the king of Syria, till his detaining of *Ramoth-Gilead*, a city which belonged to *Israel*, contrary to his promise, obliged him to invade his territories about three years after ⁿ.

In the mean time, *Ahab* suffered himself to be seduced by *Naboth Jezreel* to an inhuman deed, which proved fatal to him and murdered. to his whole family. *Naboth*, an inhabitant of *Jezreel*, had a vineyard contiguous to the palace, which *Ahab* offered to buy, or barter for another piece of ground, intending to make an herb-garden of it for his house; but, as it was reckoned scandalous to sell an inheritance, *Naboth* was uncourteous enough to refuse the offer, to the great mortification of the proud king. *Jezreel* was acquainted with it, and being re-

† See Vol. II p. 275, & seq. ^m 1 Kings xx. pass. ⁿ See *Usher's Ann.* sub A. M. 3104.

(G) *Josaphat* (73) calls this prophet *Micaiab*, and adds, that the king caused him to be put into prison for his boldness, which is not unlikely, because when *Ahab* was afterwards going against *Ramoth-Gilead*, and had sent for him at *Josaphat's* request, *Ahab* expressed a particular aversion against him, because he was ever prophesying evil against him, and when he had fore-told him his overthrow at *Ramoth*, he condemned him to the same punishment (74).

(73) *Ant. l. viii. c. 8.*

(74) 1 Kings xxii. pass.

solved

solved at once to procure the vineyard, and to punish *Naboth* for his refusal, she sent a letter to the elders of *Jezreel*, sealed with the king's signet, commanding them to proclaim a fast, and to hire some loose fellows to swear treason and blasphemy against him, and then to stone him to death for it. The *Jezreelites*, not daring to disobey her orders, sent her word soon after of *Naboth's* death, and she acquainted *Ahab* with it; but whilst he was taking possession of the ground, the prophet *Elijah* came to him from God, foretold the destruction that this murder would bring upon him, upon *Jezebel*, and upon all his whole house; that the dogs should lick his blood, where they licked that of *Naboth*, that *Jezebel* should be devoured by dogs, and all his posterity utterly cut off. This dreadful sentence, from so considerable a prophet, did so alarm the king, that he rent his cloaths, returned home, filled with the deepest grief, and, by a timely repentance, obtained a gracious respite; so that the calamities, that were to fall upon his house, did not happen till after his death^o. It is probably about this time, that he is supposed to have made his son *Ahaziah* copartner of his crown, or perhaps only his viceroy (H), whilst he humbled himself in sackcloth and ashes, to avoid the impending judgment of God^p; but this change was but short-lived, and he soon returned to his former impieties.

ALL this while, *Jehoshaphat* had enjoyed a profound peace, and spent his time, partly in strengthening his kingdom, promoting his naval trade, and partly in making all the proper regulations for the utter abolishing of idolatry, and promoting the worship of God. He is blamed only for two things,

• 1 Kings xxi. pass.

^p Vid. *ibid.* ver. 17. & seq.

(H) At least this is the only expedient by which chronologists can reconcile the anachronisms, which one meets with between the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, the one beginning their reign from the death of their fathers, and the other from the time of their being raised to a partnership with them. The reader may see an instance of it proved in archbishop *Usher's* annals (75), both in *Ahab* above mentioned, and in his contemporary *Jehoshaphat*, who raised also his son *Jehoram* to be his viceroy, or partner. It may be further observed, that this method became very expedient, if not absolutely necessary, in dangerous wars, in which the kings used to lead their own armies, and often lost their lives, to appoint their successors, and to leave them viceregerents of the kingdom during their absence, upon which account, this wholesome custom prevailed also among many other eastern nations.

his not totally demolishing of the high places, and his making of alliances and affinity with *Abab* (I). It was in consequence of this last, that he came down to *Samaria* to pay a visit to him, having left the care of his kingdom to his son *Jehoram*. By this time, *Abab* had resolved upon retaking *Ramoth-Gilead* from the *Syrians*: he took therefore that opportunity of asking his royal guest to assist him in the enterprize, to which he readily consented, but desired first of all, that God might be consulted, concerning the success of that expedition. *Abab* immediately gathered 400 of his prophets to the gate of *Samaria*, where the king of *Judah* and he sat, each on a stately throne, and, upon his asking of the question, they one and all promised him, that he would come off victorious. Some of them pretended likewise to foretel his success, by some antick and awkward representations and gestures; but with such seeming eagerness and assurance, as rendered them suspected to *Jehoshaphat*, who therefore begged, that if there were any other prophet of the Lord, he might be sent for and consulted. There was indeed such a one as he desired, *Micaiah* the son of *Imlah*, but his strenuous veracity had made him too odious to the king; however, he was obliged in complaisance to *Jehoshaphat* to send for him, and he, being before acquainted with the flattering promises of the false prophets, by the officer who brought him, did likewise answer, in a jocular tone, that the expedition could not fail of success; but the king, observing that he did not speak seriously, adjured him to tell him the truth in the name of God: upon which, *Micaiah* told him, that he would certainly lose the day, with his life, that his army would be defeated, and that God had suffered his prophets to be possessed with a lying spirit, that he might go and meet his death where he expected a victory. The king, however, was so far from being deterred by this speech, from his favourite enterprize, that he ordered the prophet to be kept in a dungeon with bread and water, until he returned victorious, and went resolutely upon his own ruin; and *Jehoshaphat*, being too easily persuaded to accompany him, did narrowly escape sharing in the same fate: we have seen the ill success of this expedition in a former chapter*. *Abab*, wounded by a random shot, died in the evening; and as

*Ahab's
expedition
against
Ramoth.*

*His ill suc-
cess and
death.*

* See. Vol. II. p. 279.

(I) This affinity was in suffering his son *Jehoram* to marry *Ataliah*, the daughter of *Abab*, a most wicked princess, who proved the author of great mischiefs in *Judah* (76), and by whom he had a son named *Abaziah*, who afterwards succeeded his father, as we shall see in its proper place.

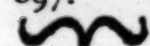
(76) 2 Chron. xxi. 6. & seq.

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Year of
the Flood,
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soon as his death was known, his generals caused a retreat to be sounded through his army, and both sides withdrew before night. The king's corpse was brought to *Samaria*, and buried in the royal sepulchre, and his bloody armour, chariot, and harness, were brought to a pool in that place to be washed, where the dogs coming to lick his blood verified *Elijah's* prophecy against him ¹.

Jehoshaphat, on the other hand, having thus happily escaped, returned to *Jerusalem*, and in the way was met by the prophet *Jehu*, who reprov'd him, in the severest terms, for entering into a confederacy with the impious king of *Israel*, and told him, that if God had not had a greater regard for that zeal which he had expressed for his service, than to this last and unworthy action, he had certainly have suffered him to fall with his idolatrous ally. The king, become sensible of his error by this reproof, and by his late danger, endeavoured to retrieve it by a more assiduous application to every thing that related, either to religion, or the good of his kingdom. To do this the more effectually, he took a progress through a great part of it, diligently examined how the priests instructed the people, the judges and magistrates administered justice, and every where exhorted them to their duty, with a zeal worthy so good a prince^r.

IN the mean time, *Abaziah*, who had succeeded his father *Ahab*, both in his kingdom and idolatry, happened to fall through a grate of his dining-room, about the second year of his reign, and was so hurt by the fall that his life was despaired of. In this extremity he sent messengers to consult *Beelzebub*, the deity of *Eckron*, about his recovery; but these were met by *Elijah*, who sent them back with this mournful message to their master, that, since he had sent to the god of *Eckron*, as if there had been none in *Israel* worth consulting, he should never stir more from his bed, till he was carried to his grave. At their return, they acquainted the king, who was surpris'd at the suddenness of it, that they had met a prophet, who sent them back with the sentence of death from the Lord; and upon their describing him, that he was a hairy man, girt with a leathern girdle, he knew him to be *Elijah*, and died soon after, according to his prophecy^r (K). During his short reign, the *Moabites*, who had been

¹ 1 Kings ult. pass.
pass.

^r 2 Chron. xix. p. tot.

^r 2 Kings i.

(K) The text adds, that *Abaziah* sent three officers, one after another, each at the head of fifty men, to fetch the prophet to him.

been tributaries to *Israel*, ever since *Jeroboam's* defection, rebelled against him ; wherefore, when his brother *Jehoram* came to the crown, he sent to beg *Jehoshaphat's* assistance, who made no scruple, upon such an occasion, to go in person to help to reduce them. It was well for *Jehoram*, that he had so good a prince with him ; for when their army was ready to perish with thirst, *Elisba*, at his request, obtained a miraculous supply of water, which did at once refresh the confederate army, and, by the redness which it did cast at sun-rising towards the *Moabitish* host, did so scare them, that *Israel* gained a compleat victory over them, as we have seen elsewhere †.

At length, towards the latter end of his reign, *Jehoshaphat* saw his kingdom invaded by the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, with a mixed multitude of other nations, and with such speed,

† See Vol. II. p. 93.

him by main force, and that the two first companies were devoured by fire from heaven, but the last, addressing himself to him in an humbler manner than the two former, not only escaped their fate, but prevailed upon him to go to the king, where he only confirmed his first message, and went his way.

Soon after this, that extraordinary prophet was translated into heaven in a fiery chariot, and left a double portion of his spirit with *Elisba*, who from that time became as famous in *Israel*, for his zeal and miracles, as his master had been (77), as we shall see in the sequel of this history. As soon as he had lost sight of his master, he took his cloak, which was fallen from him as he was taken up, and with it divided and repassed the *Jordan*. Here he was met by a company of prophets, who, perceiving that the spirit of *Elijah* rested upon him, prostrated themselves before him, and having observed to him the pleasant situation of *Jericho*, whose soil however was unhappily barren, through the brackishness of its water ; he went with them to the fountain-head, and flung a pitcher full of salt into it, from which time it always yielded sweet water, and the land became fruitful.

Elisba went from thence to *Bethel*, and, in his way, was met by a parcel of idle boys coming out of that place, who cried to him in mockery, *Come up thou bald man*. These were, in all likelihood, the children of some of the worshippers of *Baal*, who had been taught to shew an unusual disrespect for the prophets of God. This seems at least very probable, from the punishment which befel them ; for the prophet had no sooner cursed them in the name of God, than 42 of them were torn in pieces by two she bears out of the wood (78).

(77) 2 Kings ii. pass.

(78) Ibid. ver. 23, & seq.

Jehoshaphat's miraculous success.

that they were already got as far as *Hazazon-Tamar*, or *Engedi*, that is within 36 miles of his capital, before he knew any thing of it. In this surprize he had recourse to God, proclaimed a strict and general fast, and went at the head of the people, who were assembled at *Jerusalem* upon that occasion, to the temple, where having implored the divine assistance, in an humble and pathetic prayer, he was answered by the prophet *Jahaziel*, that God would speedily deliver him from those invaders in such an extraordinary manner, that he should have nothing to do but seize upon their spoil. Accordingly, on the next morning, the king went out against them with a small army, whom he still encouraged, as they went on, to rely wholly upon God; but they soon beheld that which did it more effectually, their enemies seized with a kind of pannic phrensy, slaughtering one another with greater fury than themselves could have done; till they were all cut off. The plunder they found among the slain being more than they could well carry, they only picked out the richest, which they were three days gathering *, and on the fourth, they halted at a convenient valley, to return thanks to heaven for their victory, and from that day the place was called *Berachah*, or *Blessing* (L). The army, in their return to *Jerusalem*, marched at the sound of musical instruments, accompanied with canticles sung by *Levites*, after which *Jehoshaphat* ended his days in peace †. Some time before his death, *Abaziah*, who was then king of *Israel*, and as impious as his father *Ahab*, obtained his consent, to send some ships of his own to *Tarshish* along with his fleet;

* See Vol. II. p. 95. † 2 Chron. xx. 1, & seq. ad 30.

(L) This valley is supposed, by many *Jews* and *Christians*, to be the same which is mentioned by the prophet *Joel* (79), and that it will be the scene of the universal judgment (80). Others think, that the valley of *Jehoshaphat*, there mentioned, is between *Jerusalem* and the *Mount of Olives* (81), or in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem* (82; but we can see nothing in that passage that refers either to the last judgment, or to this *Valley of Blessing*, and it is most likely, that, by the valley of *Jehoshaphat*, the prophet meant no more, than the literal sense of the word imports, *Jehoshaphat* signifying *the judgment of God*, which may be applied to any place where God doth inflict his judgments upon offenders of any kind.

(79) *Cb. iii. 2, & 12.* (80) *Vid. Aben-Ezr. Kimchi. & Munst. in loc.* (81) *Beda de loc. cit. & al in loc.* (82) *Cyril. Alex. in loc. & al.*

for

for which *Jehoshaphat* was severely rebuked by the prophet *Eliezer*, who foretold him, at the same time, the loss of that fleet, which happened accordingly; for which reason he never would let any of the ships of *Israel* mix with his own ^u. He died in the 60th year of his age, after he had reigned 25 ^{His death.} years, and was succeeded by his son *Jehoram*. His history is said to have been written by the prophet *Jehu* ^w, which book seems to have been lost, with many others, at the captivity.

Jehoram, who, as we observed before, had born a share ^{Judah and Israel im-} in the government of *Judah* towards the latter end of his ^{mersed in} father's reign, did no sooner see himself alone upon the throne, ^{idolatry.} than he began to undo all that his pious father had done, and to bring upon himself and his house all the curses that had been pronounced against that of his father-in-law. *Judah* and *Israel* seem now but one kingdom, and one scene of all manner of idolatry and wickedness; they are both governed by kings of the same name; *Jehoram* king of *Judah*, is influenced by his wife *Athaliah*, the impious daughter of *Ahab*, and *Jehoram*, king of *Israel*, by his mother *Jezebel*; this walks in all the abominations of his father, and that introduces them into his own kingdom, after they had been abolished by his two predecessors; both of them bringing down the heaviest judgments from heaven; the one, by forsaking the ways of his pious father, and the other, by continuing in those of his impious one; or what was still more surprising, whilst the king of *Israel* did endeavour so far to reform from him, as to destroy the *Phœnician* idols which *Ahab* had reared up, and contented himself with the idolatrous worship of the two golden calves ^x, that of *Judah* was adopting those very deities in his kingdom, and even in *Jerusalem* ^y. Thus whilst the former forsook the God of *Israel*, and the other did but imperfectly return to him, both were involved in the same guilt, and in the same punishment; with this difference however, that that of *Israel* is entirely cut off, with his whole posterity; whereas, in that of *Judah*, an infant is miraculously preserved, to make good God's promise to the house of *David*.

Jehoshaphat had left a numerous issue, and disposed of all his sons into several cities of *Judah*, under proper tutors, and with incomes suitable to their rank; but he was scarce cold in his grave, before his impious son signalized the beginning

^u Ibid. ver. 36, 37. Comp. with 1 Kings xxii. 48, 49.
^w 2 Chron. ub. sub. ver. 34. ^x 2 Kings iii. 1, & seq. ^y Ibid;
viii. 17, & seq. & 2 Chron. xxi. 11.

of his reign, with an universal massacre of them, and with all the nobles of his kingdom, who either dared to oppose or dislike his cruelty^a. After this, being wholly influenced by his impious queen, he gave himself up to idolatry, and set up the worship of *Baal*, both in his kingdom and metropolis, in imitation of his father-in-law. For these he was severely reprov'd, by a letter sent him by *Elijah*, a little before his assumption; wherein that prophet likewise foretold him, among many other evils, the almost total extirpation of his posterity, and his own death, by an incurable disease in his bowels^a.

Edom's
final re-
volt from
Israel.

Year of
the Flood,
2110.
Year be-
fore Christ
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THE first token of the divine displeasure, which he felt, was the revolt of the *Edomites*, who refused to pay him the usual tribute. *Jehoram* went out against them, and beat them; but they soon recovered strength enough to shake off the yoke, and to set up a king of their own over them, as we have seen elsewhere^{*}; and in so doing they verified *Isaac's* prophecy, that *Esau's* posterity should, in time, shake off the yoke of *Jacob*^b. At the same time *Libnah*, belonging to the priests, in the tribe of *Judah*^c, and upon the frontiers of *Idumæa*, revolted from *Jehoram* probably, to *Edom*, though the text says not to whom^d; but these were but the preludes of the judgments that were to fall upon him. His kingdom was presently after invaded by the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, and these penetrated even to *Jerusalem*, and carried off all the riches of that metropolis, together with *Jehoram's* wives and all his sons, except only *Jehoahaz*, who was the youngest, and succeeded him after his death. *Jehoram* was soon after seized with an incurable disease in his belly, probably a bloody flux, which lasted two years, and weakened him to such a degree, that his bowels came out, and he died with the extremity of his pain. He was buried in a sepulchre by himself, probably by reason of the corruption and stench which attended his disease, and without the usual ceremony of burning spices and other odoriferous drugs about his body, or any other royal pomp. He reigned eight years^e, four with his father *Jehoshaphat*, and the other four by himself; his disease having made him incapable of governing his kingdom, obliged him to make his son *Jehoahaz*, otherwise called *Abaziah*, viceroy, who succeeded him about a year after, and in the 12th of *Jehoram* king of *Israel*^f.

^a Ibid. 1. & seq.

^b Ibid. ver. 12, & seq.

^{*} See Vol. II.

P. 145.

^b Gen. xxvii. 40.

^c Josh. xv. 42.

¹ Chron. vi.

57.

^d 2 Kings viii. 22.

² Chron. xxi. 10.

^e Ibid. ver. 18,

& seq.

^f Vid. USSER. Ann. sub. A. M. 3115, & 3118. &

² Kings viii. 25.

WHILST Judah was in this dismal plight, *Elisha* was working wonders for *Israel*. We have seen elsewhere, what a miraculous cure he wrought upon *Naaman*, a famous general of the king of *Syria*, and how he discovered all the secret designs of that prince to the king of *Israel* †, and by that means prevented the *Syrians*, for some time, from succeeding in their attempts against him. But at length *Benbadad* came up, not by ambushes and stratagems as formerly, but with a numerous host, and besieged *Samaria* so close, Samaria besieged. that it began to labour under a very pinching famine; inso-much, that an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and a small measure of pulse (M) for five. How long this siege had lasted is not easy to guess, but what might increase this grievous famine was, that it had begun some A great famine in the land. years before in the land, inso-much, that *Elisha*, who timely foresaw it, sent his kind hostess the *Shunamite*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, out of the kingdom, to seek for food where she could get it, whilst himself tarried in the college of the prophets, and now and then afforded them a miraculous supply of food^s, till the *Syrian* army forced him into the city. By this time the extremity, to which *Samaria* was reduced, seemed either to have obliterated all the former services of that prophet to the king; or, more probably, to have rendered him suspected of being

† See Vol. II. p. 280, & seq. ^s Comp. 2 Kings iv. 38. & seq. with viii. 1, 2, & seq.

(M) As most translations have rendered the word *חֲרִיּוֹנִים* *Chirionim*, by *doves-dung*, they have given commentators a vast deal of trouble to find out such use for it, as might answer this excessive price that was given for it, that a measure, which held but six eggs, should sell for above eleven shillings. It were endless to mention all their various conjectures (83), we have therefore followed the learned *Bochart*'s version (84), who proves, that the word doth, among other things, signify a kind of pease, common in all those countries, and which the *Jews* in particular used to parch over the fire for food (85), in the same manner as they did their corn.

As to what we read of further, that an ass's head was sold for upwards of nine pounds of our money, though it was an unclean creature, and forbidden by the law of *Moses*, we must attribute the eating of it, at that time, to their extreme want of provision, which in all such cases may be allowed to dispense with law.

(83) *Vid. f. lib. Le Scene. & Ess. on a new ver. pt. ii. ch. 3. § 2.* (84) *Hieros. tom. ii. l. 1, c. 7. § 7.* (85) *Vid. 2 Sam. xviii. 28. & Hieron. in loc.*

since

since gained over to the *Syrian* interest, since he suffered the city to labour under these difficulties, without interposing his miraculous power, as he had done upon other occasions. His suspicion at length broke out with unusual fury, upon the following dreadful occasion : The king was taking a melancholy turn round the walls of the city, when a woman came to him and begged for justice against another woman, whom she had admitted to eat a share of her boiled child, upon condition, that when they had made an end of him, her own should be likewise drest to supply their common want, and who had now hid her own child, and refused to let her partake of it. Such a shocking story, accompanied with all the tokens of despair, could not but fill the distressed monarch with the utmost horror ; he rent his cloathes, and his flesh appeared covered with sackcloth, and not knowing how to vent his grief otherwise, he swore, that *Elisba's* head should pay for the distress of the people ; and sent immediately an officer to take it off. *Elisba* was aware of it, and was complaining of the king's cruelty to the elders of *Israel*, who were at his house just as the messenger of death was entering it. However, the prophet found means to get him stopped at the door, till the king himself appeared, and then, after he had represented to him the unreasonableness of punishing an innocent person, for a calamity which was sent from above ^h (N), he desired him to have but patience till next

^h Ibid. vi. & vii. pass.

(N) The text is somewhat obscure here ; the words run literally thus (86), *And behold the messenger came down unto him, and he [but whether the prophet, or the messenger, or the king, is not easy to determine] said, Lo ! this judgment is from the LORD, and what, or why, should I wait any longer for the LORD ?* They seem therefore to be the words of a man in a kind of despair, and to have been rather spoken by *Jehoram*, and to imply thus much, *If it be true, that this evil, or this famine, is sent us from the LORD, it is in vain to wait any longer for a deliverance from him.* It is likely therefore, that the king had designed, before this unnatural accident happened, to have surrendered the city to the king of *Syria*, and had been dissuaded from it by *Elisba*, with a promise of some speedy relief. Under these dreadful circumstances therefore, he goes and upbraids him with it ; *Has God, said he, reduced us to such extremity, that mothers are forced to eat their children, and wouldst thou still flatter me with vain hopes of some relief, till all my subjects are perished with hunger and misery, when I might and ought to have saved their lives by a timely surrender ?* Whereupon, the prophet appoints the precise time of their despaired of deliverance to be on the very next day.

(86) 2 Kings vi. ver. ult.

day,

day, by which time there would be such a supply of provisions in *Samaria*, that a bushel of fine flour should be sold for a shekel of silver, and the rest in proportion. By this means the prophet saved his life, and though the king could scarce give credit to him, yet he thought it more adviseable to defer his resentment, till he saw the success of this wonderful promise.

THE thing, however, happened according to his prediction. On that very night some lepers, who lodged on the outside of the gate, and were ready to die with hunger, resolved, whatever betided them, to go into the *Syrian* camp, in hopes to find either some lucky supply of food, or, at the worst, to be put to a speedier death than that of starving. They were surprized to find their tents full of provisions and baggage, but empty of inhabitants. As soon therefore as they had satisfied their hunger with what they found at hand, they ventured further into the camp, and found it still the same; and after they had conveyed away a considerable quantity of rich plunder, they began to blame themselves for not acquainting the famished *Samaritans* with the happy news. The king, as soon as he was acquainted with the story, suspected it to be a stratagem of the *Syrians*, contrived to intice him out of the city; but, upon his sending a party to examine further into the matter, he found, that they were really fled with the utmost precipitation, and had left their tents, horses, and richest baggage behind them; for, on the foregoing night, the Lord caused them to hear an extraordinary noise of chariots, horses, and armour, which made them conclude, that *Jehoram* had hired the kings of *Egypt* and other neighbouring nations against them *. This spread such an universal panic through the whole camp, that they did not so much as stay to mount their horses, but fled in the utmost confusion on foot, leaving, besides an immense variety of rich plunder, such a quantity of provisions behind them, that a measure of fine flour was sold for a shekel, and the rest in proportion, at the gate of *Samaria*, according to the word of *Elisba*. At the same time a nobleman, who had ventured to declare against the possibility of such an unexpected plenty, and had been answered by the prophet, that he should see it without tasting of it, was appointed by the king to stand at the gate of the city, to prevent any disorders, and was, notwithstanding his care, trod to death by the press, and verified *Elisba's* prophecy.

The siege raised.

A great plenty in Samaria.

* See Vol II. p. 283. 2 Kings vii. 17, & seq.

SOON after this unexpected deliverance, the prophet, whether out of discontent, or by divine impulse, took the way to *Damascus*, where the king lay sick, being quite exhausted through old age, fatigues, and disappointments. What the design and result of that visit was, the reader may see in the history of *Syria*^k. In the mean time, the king of *Israel* entertained himself, during his absence, with the recital of his wonderful actions, from the mouth of his servant *Gebazi* (O); who, among other things, was giving him an account of his raising of the child of his *Shunamitish* hostess to life (P), and of

^k Ibid. viii. 1, & seq. See also, Vol. II. p. 284, & seq.

(O) This servant, we read, two or three chapters before, had, for his covetousness, inherited *Naaman's* leprosy (87), which was, according to *Elisba's* word, to stick to him as long as he lived, and such persons were obliged to live apart from the rest. It is therefore somewhat surprising, that the king of *Israel* would converse with a man, whom the meanest person in the kingdom would have carefully avoided. All that can be said to it is, either that he was made to stand at a convenient distance, and with his mouth covered; or that the king's curiosity made him overlook such nice circumstances at that particular juncture.

(P) The occasion of this miracle was as follows: The woman, who was rich and childless, having observed the prophet to pass very often by her house, as he went through the city of *Shunem*, prevailed upon her husband to build him a bed-chamber, and to put a bed, table, and candlestick in it, and to invite him to lodge there as often as he pleased. *Elisba*, desirous to gratify them for their hospitality, asked his servant what he might do for them; and being answered that they had no children, he called the woman, and told her, that in due time she should embrace a son, as a reward of her kindness to him. She was accordingly brought to bed of a child; and when he was grown big enough to go and divert himself with reapers, he was one day brought home sick, and expired about noon in his mother's arms. As soon as he was dead, she laid him on the prophet's bed, and made what haste she could to mount *Carmel*, where he then was; and as soon as she came in sight of him, she fell at his feet, and acquainted him with her son's death. *Elisba*, surprised that the Lord had never revealed this accident to him, gave *Gebazi* his staff, and bid him run with all possible speed, and lay it upon the dead child; but the woman, not daring to trust to that, embraced his legs, and begged, that he would come with her, which he readily complied with. The servant, however, was got

(87) Ibid. v. ult. ult.

of his sending of her and her family to seek their bread out of the kingdom, during the seven years of famine. He had scarce made an end of the story, when the woman herself came, in a lucky hour, to petition the king for her land, which had been confiscated during her absence, and gave *Gebazi*, who presently called her to mind, an opportunity of being both evidence and advocate for her. So many favourable circumstances could not but render her suit successful; but the king

to the house long before his master, and had laid the staff upon the child, but without any success. At length, the prophet went up himself, and laid himself upon the child, mouth to mouth, calling still upon God to restore him to his sorrowful mother, which he at length obtained; and whilst she received him with a maternal joy, she owned, that she was now more than ever convinced, that he was indeed a prophet, and that the words of truth were in his mouth (88).

During the famine, one of the prophets widows came to *Elisba*, and complained, that her husband died in debt, and that her two sons were now upon the brink of being seized and sold by the merciless creditor. The prophet, moved with compassion, and unable to assist her any other way than by a miracle, asked her what she had in her house that could be turned into money; and being answered, that she had nothing left but a poor cruse of oil, he bid her go and borrow as many vessels of her neighbours as she could, and to fill them out of the cruse; which she did, and the oil did not cease flowing out of it, till she had filled all the other vessels. *Elisba* then bid her sell as much of it as would pay the debt, and keep the rest for her own use †.

After this, *Elisba* tarried some time in *Gilgal*, with the rest of the prophets; and having one day ordered some pottage to be made for them, one of the servants went to gather a lap full of herbs, and inadvertently cut some wild gourd, or night-shade, among them; as soon as they had tasted it, they cried out, that death was in the pot; but when he was apprised of it, he caused some meal to be thrown into the pottage, after which they eat it without fear or danger (89).

At another time, a man having brought him a present of first-fruits, being twenty barley loaves, and some new parched corn, *Elisba* bid his servant to set it before the company, who were about 100 in number. The servant hesitated some time, thinking it insufficient for such a multitude; but upon his telling him, that there would be more than enough for them, he obeyed, and found it even as his master had said, for they all eat their fill, and left some of it remaining (90).

(88) *Ibid.* iv. 8. & seq. † *Ibid.* ver. 1, 2, & seq. (89)
Ibid. ver. 38, & seq. (90) *Ibid.* xlii. ad fin.

did even grant her more than she asked, and ordered an officer to accompany her, and see, that she had not only her land, but likewise the seven years income of it refunded to her¹.

Jehoram's
second ex-
pedition a-
gainst Ra-
moth.

By this time, *Hazael* having murdered *Ben-hadad*, and invaded his throne, according to the word of *Elisha*, *Jehoram*, who was then at peace with the king of *Judah*, thought it a favourable juncture to try his fortune against *Ramoth-gilead*, which his father had attempted in vain. He sent at the same time to *Abaziah*, who had succeeded his father in *Judah*, and invited him to accompany him in that enterprize. *Abaziah*, who was then but twenty two years of age (Q), being the youngest of all his brethren, who had been carried away captive in his father's days, was wholly conducted by his mother *Athaliah*, and by such counsellors as she pleased to appoint to him; and, as he followed all the impious ways of his father, he made no difficulty to enter into a confederacy with the king of *Israel*. This expedition seemed at first more successful than the former; but in the event is proved the fatal source of endless misfortunes to *Israel*, by giving *Hazael* an occasion of exercising all those cruelties which had been foretold by *Elisha*. Neither did it prove less fatal to *Jehoram*; the city was indeed taken, but himself was so desperately wounded in the attack, that he was forced to return to *Jezreel* to be cured, leaving *Jehu* at the head of a number of forces to secure the place, whilst the king of *Judah* probably returned to *Jerusalem*. In the mean time, *Elisha* sent one of the young prophets to *Ramoth*, where he ordered him to anoint *Jehu* king of *Israel* privately, and to tell him, that he was appointed by God to execute his vengeance against the whole race of *Abab*, even to the impious *Jezabel*, whose carcass should shortly be devoured by dogs, whilst all the rest of his family were condemned to perish by his sword. The prophet had no sooner executed his commission, and poured the oil upon his head, than he fled out of the tent, with all speed, to avoid being

He is
wounded
there.

Jehu
anointed.

¹ Kings viii. 5. See USHER. Ann. sub. A. M. 3120.

(Q) The book of the *Chronicles* makes him to have began his reign in the 42d year of his age; but this is allowed to be an error †, unless we will understand those 42 years, not of his age, but of the time which had elapsed from *Omri's* coming to the crown to the reign of *Abaziah*, as *Tremellius* doth, which amount just to that number (91).

† See Vol. III. p. 440. (91) Vid. Tremel. in 2 Chron. xxii. 2.

examined about it. When *Jehu* came out, the officers that were with him asked him what business that mad fellow had been transacting with him (R); and as soon as he had acquainted them with the secret, they all paid their homage to him, and proclaimed him king of *Israel* by sound of the trumpet. But *Jehu* did not think it proper to have the conspiracy known, till he had reached *Jezreel*, and surprized the wounded king there, before he could be in a condition to oppose him; he therefore told them, that if their hearts went with their mouths, they should suffer none to get out of *Ramoth*, to go and acquaint the king with the news, whilst he rode with all speed at the head of his men to *Jezreel*, which he did immediately after. As soon as he came within sight of the place, the watch, alarmed at the sight of a troop that drove with such uncommon speed, acquainted the court with it; and the frightened king sent two messengers successively to enquire, whether they came peaceably or not. But *Jehu* having made them both turn behind his chariot, and the centinel having acquainted the king with it, he sent word of it to the king of *Judah*, who was come to visit him, and these two went with their guard against *Jehu*, who by that time was known by the centinel by the furiousness of his driving. The place where they met one another was the vineyard for

(R) The *Jews* rightly observe, that there was something in the looks and gestures of these prophets, which made them pass for mad-men, among those who did not know them †; which is agreeable enough to what we read of *Saul*, who lay uncovered a whole day, whilst the spirit was upon him (92). But what might still add to the uncommonness of their figure and behaviour, was the oddness of their dress, their living by themselves, and seldom appearing in places of public resort, but upon some extraordinary errand; which often proved of a dangerous nature, and put them under some dread whilst they were about it. Such was this, in particular, which made the young prophet run away with such speed, before any one could know it, but the person to whom he delivered it.

The text adds, that *Jehu's* company took off their upper garments, and laid them under him, to raise him up above the rest, whilst they paid homage to him. The place, where this is said to be done, was upon the top of the stairs (93), which according to the same *Jews*, being out of the house, served also for a sun dial, the degrees of the shadow being marked against the wall (94), to shew the hours of the day (95).

† Vol. III. p. 431. (92) 1 Sam. xix. ult. See Vol. III. p. 498. (93) Vid. Munst. in 2 Reg. ix. sub. not a. (94) Ibid. ver. 13. (95) Child. paraph. Kimch. & al. vid. & Munst. ub. sup.

The kings
of Israel
and Judah
killed by
him.

which *Naboth* had lost his life ; and here *Jehoram* asked him, whether he came peaceably : but *Jehu* soon gave him proof of the contrary, by upbraiding him with his, and his mother *Jezebel's*, murders and idolatries, and by putting himself in an hostile posture against him. The frightened monarch cried out in vain to *Abaziah*, that they were betrayed ; before he could turn his chariot about to avoid his enemy, *Jehu* pierced his heart with an arrow, and ordered one of his captains to cast his body into *Naboth's* field, there to be devoured according to the word of *Elijah*. At the same time the king of *Judah*, frightened at this bloody tragedy, endeavoured to avoid sharing his brother's fate, by flying through the private road that led to the garden-house ; but *Jehu* commanded a party of his men to ride after him, which they did, and having overtaken him at the ascent of *Gur*, they gave him so many desperate wounds, that he died of them by that time he had reached the city of *Megiddo*, and was carried to *Jerusalem*, and buried with his ancestors, having reigned one year, and leaving only one son, a child, who afterwards succeeded him, when he was yet but seven years of age.

Jezebel
killed.

WHILST *Jehu's* men went in pursuit of *Abaziah*, *Jehu* himself marched directly towards the royal palace of *Jezreel*, where *Jezebel* the queen-mother, who was by that time informed of her son's fate, was waiting to give him such an haughty welcome, as did not well suit with her present circumstances ; but she hoped, perhaps, that he would shew some regard, if not to her quality, yet at least to her sex ; perhaps also she did think, that she had still charms enough, in spite of her years, to captivate the new monarch, especially after she had improved them by art, and with the richest ornaments. She was looking out of a window when *Jehu* entered the palace ; and, in a haughty tone, asked him, whether he expected a milder recompence of his rebellion, than his predecessor *Zimri* had formerly met with. *Jehu* stayed not to give her an answer, but observing some eunuchs standing on each side, he commanded them to throw her out of the window, which they did ; and in the fall some of her blood was dashed against the wall, and her body soon after trampled to death, by the horses that were in his retinue. As soon as he and his company had refreshed themselves in the palace, he gave orders to some of *Jezebel's* servants to go and bury her corpse, seeing she was of the royal blood ; but when word was brought to him, that the dogs had devoured it all except her skull, the palms of her hands, and the soles of her feet, he made use
of

of that circumstance, to convince his attendants of the truth of *Elijah's* prophecy.

BUT that prophet's sentence did not stop at these three impious persons, the whole race of *Ahab* was included in it, and he had left seventy sons who were all brought up under governors in *Samaria*. *Jehu*, therefore, did not think fit to enter into that capital, till he had tried, whether the chief magistrates of it had courage enough to undertake any thing for the posterity of their late king. To this end, he sent letters to them, seemingly to exhort them to make choice of one of the bravest of *Ahab's* sons, and to set him upon the throne. But they, who did rightly guess at the meaning of such a message, and were but too much intimidated by his late success against the kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, chose rather to sacrifice that unhappy race to *Jehu's* known valour, than to run the risk of turning it against themselves. They therefore sent a deputation to him, to acquaint him, that they would do nothing but by his commands, which they were ready to execute, as soon as they should receive them; whereupon, he sent them an order to put all the young princes to death, and to bring their heads in baskets to him by the next day; which was punctually complied with. The bloody present of seventy ^{70 sons of} heads was sent to *Jezebel* on that very night; and *Jehu* ^{Ahab killed.} ordered them to be laid on heaps at the gate of *Samaria*; and, on the next morning, the elders of that city came, and presented themselves before him there. As soon as he saw them, he spake to them to this effect: "You do, in all probability, look upon me as the sole author of all this bloodshed, as the murderer of your late king, and the usurper of his throne; but if I conspired against *Jezebel*, did not you murder all these young princes, in whose defence you might have stood, if you had thought fit. Know you therefore, that neither you, nor I, have done more than executed the sentence, which had been pronounced against *Ahab's* posterity. But I have not yet finished my task, as long as there remain any of his kinsmen, counsellors, priests, or any of the abettors of his crimes." This was his next work, and he did not leave *Jezebel*, till he had put them all to death.

Jehu took then the road to *Samaria*, and in his way he met forty two princes of the house of *Judah* (S), who were going

2 Kings ix. pass

(S) The text calls them the brethren of *Ahaziah*, (96), but we have often observed, that it means also brother's children; and

(96) 2 Kings x. 13.

these

going down to pay a visit to those of the house of *Ahab*, all whom he also caused to be slain upon the spot. After this, he met with *Jehonadab* the son of *Rechab* (T), and took him up

these are called so accordingly, by the author of the *Chronicles* (97). The place where they are slain is called in the original בור בית קדש *Bor Beth-beked*, or, *the pit of the house for binding or shearing*, which was either a place of sheep-shearing, or as some fancy, took its name from the young princes being bound and put to death there (98). It is not unlikely neither from the text, that they, having heard of the slaughter that had been made in *Samaria*, and that *Jebu* was going thither in person, might hide themselves, either in that pit, or in some of the shepherds huts, to avoid falling into his hands.

(T) The *Rechabites*, so famous in scripture for the austere singularity of their life, were not content to excel in common moral virtues, but affected to distinguish themselves from the rest of the world, by a peculiar abstinence from wine, from dwelling in houses, from possessing either houses, vineyards, or fields, and from all kind of agriculture (99).

Who the author of this institution was, whether the *Jehonadab* here mentioned, or any other either before or after him, is far from being agreed. If we may believe a modern critic (100), he hath found the etymon of *Rechab* in the רכב *Rekeb*, or *chariot* of *Elijah*, and that of the *Pharisees*, his supposed disciples, in the פראשם *Pbraschim*, or *horses* of it (1). So that, according to him the words of *Elisba* should not be rendered as we do, *My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horses thereof*; but, *My father Rechab, &c.* or at least the former called themselves *Rechabites* from the *Rechab*, *chariot*, and the latter from the *Pbraschim*, or *horses* of it. Pursuant to this, our author observes, that when *Joash*, king of *Israel*, came to visit *Elisba* as he lay on his death-bed, he addressed him likewise in the same words, *My father the chariot of Israel*, and so on (2). He even ventures to prove that institution older than the flood; which, allowing his far-fetched etymology, will be no difficult task, if we can but suppose, that *Enoch*, was translated in the same kind of vehicle (3).

On the other hand, another bold critic (4) pretends, that it did not begin till about the time of *Jeremiah*, and that this *Jehonadab*, for whom *Jebu* shewed such regard, was only a person of the same name with the founder of that *Rechabite* life, and that he was too great a courtier, and too fine a gentleman, to be author of such

(97) 2 *Chron.* xxii. 8. (98) *Vid.* Tremel. in 2 *Kings*. x. 12. (99) *Jer.* xxxv. 6. 7. (100) J. Bolduc. *Eccles.* ante Leg. l. 3. c. 16. (1) 2 *Kings* ii. 12. (2) *Ibid.* xiii. 14. (3) *Gen.* v. 24. (4) Scalig. *Elench Tribarof. wid.* Goodwin *Mof. & Aar. lib.* i. c. 9. § 13. & seq.

up into his chariot to *Samaria*, that he might be an eye-witness of his zeal against the impious worshippers of *Baal*.

As

an unpolite institution. What he offers to prove the one, and disprove the other, of these points, having more of oratorical confidence than solid reasoning, we shall not trouble our readers with it. Sure it is, that those *Rechabites*, whom *Jeremiab* speaks of, express themselves in such terms, as argue nothing less than the recentness of their institution (5).

Between the extremes of those two above mentioned authors, are those who believe, that *Hobab* the son of *Jethro*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere, as he was a *Kenite* †, was the founder of the *Rechabites*; that *Rechab* was one of his name, and *Jebonadab* one of his descendants; and, lastly, the *Heber* the *Kenite* was also an observer of the *Rechabitic* institution (6). *Serrarius* is of the same opinion in most of these points, but distinguishes two sorts of *Rechabites*, the one instituted by *Jethro*, or *Hobab*, and the other by *Jebonadab* (7); but all this is said without foundation. We shall say nothing of those who pretend, that they were, either of the tribe of *Judab* (8), or of that of *Levi* (9), or that they were *Rechabites*, or descendants of *Jethro*, by the father's side, and *Levites* by the mother's, and, as such, that they were employed in much the same offices of the temple with the *Netbinims* (10). It is plain the author of the book of the *Chronicles* calls them *Kenites*, descended from *Kemab*, the father of the house of *Rechab* (11), though it doth not appear, that all the *Kenites* observed the institution of *Jebonadab*, but only those who were his immediate descendants.

For these reasons, we rather choose the most received opinion, that *Jebonadab*, *Jebu's* friend, was the founder of it, he being the only one of that name mentioned in the scripture, and nothing urged on any hand that can give any of the contrary opinions the face of probability. *Jebu's* behaviour to him, and his inviting him to be an eye-witness of his zeal for the God of *Israel*, and of the havock he was going to make among the worshippers of *Baal*, argues him to have been an eminent person, not only for sense and virtue, but also for his uncommon piety and zeal; and as such he might have fallen into this new life, and enjoined the observance of it to his posterity, perhaps through some disgust which he took at court, or at the idolatries of the *Israelites*, which made it needful to separate from them, by living in the pure and untainted country, to avoid the danger of being either corrupted by them, or hated for

(5) *Jerem. ub. sup. ver. 8. & seq.* † *Vid. Vol. II. p. 116, & seq.* (6) *Vid. int. al. Arr. Montan. in judic. 1. Sanctiu. in Jerem. xxxv. Minerval. cap. 13. & seq.* (7) *Serrar. l. iii. c. 9.* (8) *Theodoret in 1. paralip.* (9) *Hegeſip. ap. Euseb. Hiſt. Ecclef. l. 2. c. 23. Vid. Calmet. ſub. voc. Rechabit.* (10) *Rabbin. aliq. ap. Sanctium & Cornet. in Jerem. xxxv.* (11) *1 Chron. ii. 55.*

As soon as he was come to that capital, he caused a solemn feast to be proclaimed, pretending a much greater zeal for that

not being so. The *Kenites* not being of the seed of *Israel*, many broils and disputes might have arisen between them about the possession of lands, which might make him disclaim even the use and culture of them. The almost continual depredations to which *Israel* was exposed from their enemies round about, to say nothing of famine and pestilence, made the pastoral life seem to him much more eligible, because in such cases it was more easy to remove into better or safer abodes, in imitation of the antient patriarchs. Wine was of too ensnaring a nature, and might in time have tempted his descendants into a looser and more luxurious life; for which reason, he thought it necessary to forbid the use of it. Lastly, whatever other private motives might determine him to that kind of primitive life, he seems chiefly to endear it to his descendants by the prospect of health, ease, and length of days (12). How far the horrid debauchery, both in religion and morals, which reigned as well in *Judab* as in *Israel* for a considerable time, to say nothing of the frequent conspiracies and rebellions which happened in the latter of those kingdoms, might contribute to determine, if not to force, a man of his character to this kind of retired life, we need not say.

The question will only be, how he could bind his posterity to the observance of it. But here we need not repeat what has been said upon other occasions, concerning the power of parents in cases of the like nature *, because we do not find that *Jehonadab* did lay them under any curse, in case of disobedience; on the contrary, we find, that the prophet *Jeremy* was directed by God to bring them to an apartment of the temple, to set wine before them, and invite them to drink it, which would have been an unworthy action, if they had been under an indispensable obligation of abstaining from it; and, on the other hand, the *Rechabites* refused it, not because their father had laid them under any curse if they disobeyed him, but because he promised, that they should live many days in the land wherein they were strangers, if they obeyed his voice (13); which promise, being also made to those who honoured their parents (14), might the more incline them to that strict obedience, for which they are so highly commended by God, in the place above quoted. We may add farther, that their retiring into *Jerusalem* during the time of the siege, which was a breach of the injunction, without being so much as blamed for it by *Jeremiab*, is a proof, that they were not under an indispensable obligation to live in tents and in the country. Though even here, we think, it had been much better for them to have removed farther out of

(12) *Jerem. ubi sup. ver. 7. vid. Peter. Martyr. Alting. R. D. Kimchi. & al. in loc.* * See Vol. III. p. 229, & seq. (13) *Vid. Jerem. ubi sup.* (14) *Exod. xx. 12, & alib.*

that deity, than any of his predecessors ; and ordered all its priests, prophets, and votaries, to be present at it, none excepted, under pain of death ; and as soon as they had filled the temple with them, from the one end to the other, he commanded a body of men to go in, and put them all to the sword, in the middle of their worship. After this, he took down all the idols and ornaments of that abominable deity, and burnt them out of the temple, and caused that building to

Baal's
priests and
temple de-
stroyed.

Nebuchadnezzar's way, instead of sheltering themselves in the city ; where they not only suffered all the common calamities of a long siege, but were, in all likelihood, carried away captive with the tribe of *Judah* ; for we find some of them, at their return from *Babylon*, who settled themselves at *Jabesh*, or *Jabez* (15) ; and the *septuagint* and *vulgate* have these words in the title of the 70th which is our 71st psalm, *A Psalm of David to the sons of Jonadab and the first captives* ; but as they are not in the *Hebrew*, we shall lay no farther stress upon them.

What became of them afterwards, whether they continued to observe their father's injunction, and whether the *Pharisees*, *Assidees*, and *Essenians*, were their followers, is foreign to our present purpose, and may perhaps be inquired into, when we resume the *Jewish* history after the captivity. It is true, the *Rechabites* had a promise from God, as a reward of their obedience, in these words, *Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, shall not want a man to stand before me for ever* (16) ; but this phrase is far from implying, that they were either priests or *Levites*, and as such should continually minister at the altar, as some have fancied (17) ; or, that they should have a seat in the great sanhedrin (18), which we have proved elsewhere, was not yet in being †. The reader will see some better expositions of the words in the authors quoted in the margin (19), which it is out of our province to dwell upon. Sure it is, that if our *Jehonadab* was the founder of this institution, his descendants did strictly observe it during the space of 300 years, whatever became of them afterwards ; for so long it was between *Jebu* and the *Babylonish* captivity. A *Jewish* traveller of the 12th century (20) doth, indeed, tell us, that they are still in being, and strict observers of their old institution. He gives us also a fine description of their country, princes, government, and other particulars ; but that author is so well known to deal in fables, and the account itself is so fully confuted by the learned *Constantine L'empereur*, that we shall leave it to his *Jewish* brethren to credit it, without giving our readers the trouble of reading it here.

(15) 1 *Chron.* ii. ult. (16) *Jerem.* ub. sup. ver. ult. (17) *Theodor.* & al. sub citat. (18) *Vid.* *Kimch.* in loc. † *Vid.* sup. p. 4. not. (H). (19) *Vid.* *Scalig.* *Tribæres.* c. xxiv. *Alting.* *Goodwin.* ubi sup. & al. (20) *Ben. de Tudel.* *Itinerar.* p. 75. & seq.

be demolished, and turned into a common jakes. But this metropolis was not the only place that had reared temples and altars to *Baal*, for the infection had spread itself throughout the kingdom; wherefore he did not stop his hand, till he had entirely cleared it of that kind of idolatry; and this he did with such zeal and diligence, that God, highly pleased with it, sent him word by a prophet, that the kingdom of *Israel* should remain in his posterity till the fourth generation. Happy had it been for him, if this promise had encouraged him to have extirpated likewise the worship of the golden calves of *Dan* and *Bethel*; but he unhappily followed *Jeroboam's* politics as long as he lived; for which reason, God began to cut *Israel* short, even from the beginning of his reign; so that *Hazael* greatly prevailed against them, and took a great number of towns from the two tribes and half on the other side of *Jordan*, besides some other frontier places on this side, and ravaged all the places he came to, putting all the inhabitants to the sword in the most inhuman manner (V), as we have seen in the *Syrian* history †. *Jehu* died in the 28th year of his reign, and was buried in *Samaria*, and was succeeded by his son *Jehoahaz* ⁿ,

Athaliah's
impious
reign,

WHILST *Jehu* was abolishing the worship of *Baal* in *Israel*, the impious *Athaliah* was using her utmost efforts to root out, not only that of the living God, but even the remembrance of it, out of *Judah*. The death of her son *Ahaziah*, and of forty two princes of his house, followed by that of *Jezebel*, by the hands of a person newly raised to the throne of *Israel* by divine command, filled her with such an abhorrence both for the race and the God of *David*, that she resolved not to sheath her sword, till she had totally extirpated the one, and thereby invalidated all the promises of the other. But whilst she was wreaking her utmost fury against the sad

† See Vol. II. p. 86.

ⁿ 2 Kings x.

(V) It is not easy to guess at what period of *Jehu's* reign this cruel war happened; *Usher* doth make no mention of it till the time of his son (21), but we have ventured to place it nearer the beginning of the former, both here and in the *Syrian* history (22), which is according to the chronology of our bibles; for though God had promised, that the crown of *Israel* should continue in his family during four generations, as a reward for his zeal against *Baal*, yet he did not promise him a quiet reign, and his continuing in *Jeroboam's* idolatry made him unworthy of it, however it might have proved, if he had abolished that also out of his kingdom.

(21) *Ann. sub. A. M.* 3148.

(22) See Vol. II. p. 86.

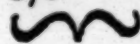
remains

remains of the house of *Judah*, providence conducted thither *and* *slaugh-*
Jehoshaba, the daughter of the late king *Jehoram*, who was *ter of Da-*
 then married to the high-priest *Jehoiada* °; and that pious vid's race.
 princess found means to save young *Joash*, her brother *Aha-*
ziab's son, who was then but a year old, from *Athaliah*'s *Joash is*
 sword, and to convey him and his nurse out of the palace, *preserved.*
 unperceived by that bloody queen. This infant prince was
 carried into the temple, where he was brought up under *Jehoiada*'s care, and kept there with the utmost privacy till he
 was seven years old. During those six years, *Athaliah* tyrannized over *Judah* without controul, filling *Jerusalem* with blood, and destroying the servants of the true God, that she
 might the more effectually establish the worship of *Baal* thro' the kingdom. By this time, her murders and impieties were
 grown to such a height, that *Jehoiada* saw himself forced to put a stop to them, by producing the only remains of *David*'s
 race, at once to convince the people, that God was still mindful of his promise to that holy monarch, by preserving
 him, as it were by a miracle, from the common ruin; and to inspire his desponding subjects, with a brave desire of shaking
 off the bloody yoke of the reigning tyrannies. To this end, he privately called some of the chiefs and elders of *Judah*, upon whose valour and fidelity he could depend, and
 having bound them under the strictest oaths of secrecy, he shewed them the young monarch; told them by what means
 he had been saved; and exhorted them to stand now, if ever, in the defence of their young king, of their religion and
 liberty. The desponding chiefs, who thought that the cruel *Athaliah* had wholly extirpated *David*'s race, and had lost all
 farther hopes in the promises made to his posterity, received the news of their preserved king with a surprising joy; and,
 to give him an immediate proof of their future zeal and attachment, they paid their homage, and took an oath of fidelity
 to him, promising the high-priest at the same time, that they would go out of hand, and raise what forces they could,
 whilst he strengthened himself in the temple, by retaining and arming all the priests, *Levites*, and *Nethinims*, who
 should otherwise have gone out in their courses, to make way for those who came thither to vacate at the divine service.
 All this was done with such secrecy and dispatch, that the temple was filled with armed men, unto whom *Jehoiada* appointed
 their several posts; by which time, the generals without had raised a sufficient number of men, ready to second
 them upon the first signal. When the day appointed was

• Comp. 2 Kings xi. 2. 2 Chron. xxii. 11.

and crown-
ed. some, the young monarch was brought out, and conducted into the priests porch, attended with a numerous train of armed *Levites*; and there the high-priest anointed, and administered the usual oath to him upon the sacred volumes. He was immediately after seated upon a throne, where he received the homage and loud acclamations of all the people, who made that sacred place ring with, *Long live king Joash*.

Year of
the Flood,
2121.
Year be-
fore Christ
878.



Athaliah
is slain.

AMONG the numerous crouds, whom this noise brought to the temple, was the frighted queen, but whether alone, or attended with her guard, the text doth not say. She ventured directly into the priests porch, from which her sex and idolatry excluded her; and as soon as she saw the young king seated on his throne, attended with such numbers of armed men, she rent her cloaths, and, in a desperate fury, rushed in amongst them, crying out treason; but *Jehoiada*, fearing lest his zealous *Levites* should pollute that sacred place with her blood, ordered her to be hurried out of it, and to be put to death. The king was soon after conducted from the temple to the royal palace, and the news of this happy change proclaimed throughout the kingdom. The high-priest, who by this time was in the highest esteem both with king and people, took hold of this happy juncture of the public joy, to root out once more the worship of *Baal*; he began with exhorting them to renew their covenant with God, to renounce *Baal* and all other false deities, and to adhere strictly to the Lord. This was also immediately performed with uncommon readiness and zeal; and as a mark of their sincerity, they began with the temple of *Baal*, where having sacrificed *Mathan*, the infamous priest of it, at the foot of its altar, they pulled the whole fabric to the ground; nor did they stop their hand, till they had likewise destroyed all the other temples, altars, and other monuments of that idolatrous worship, which *Athaliah* and her predecessors had reared up, both in *Jerusalem* and *Judah*. On the other hand, *Jehoiada*, who, by reason of the king's minority, was at the head of all affairs, both religious and civil, was making a new reformation at court and in the temple, by naming those, who had shewed the greatest bravery and zeal in the late revolution, to the highest posts in the government, instead of those of the late usurper; and by restoring that regularity in the divine service, which had been interrupted during the reigns of so many impious monarchs; but more particularly by an express prohibition to all strangers, and idolatrous apostates, to enter into the temple of God, and by setting

ting porters at the gates of it, to prevent all unclean persons, of what kind soever, entering into it ². This gives us reason to suppose, that it had been exposed to such secluded persons, during the last reigns.

THUS did the divine providence preserve the race of *Da-* *Joash's pi-*
vid from the brink of destruction, and *Joash*, who was pro- *ety and*
claimed king in the 7th year of his age, and of *Jehu's* reign, *zeal.*
continued to testify his grateful sense of it, by his uncommon zeal for the worship of God, during the good high-priest's life. One of his first cares, after he was come to age, was to repair the dilapidations which had been made in the temple. To this end, he ordered the priests and *Levites* to take their yearly circuits through all the cities of *Judah*, and to raise voluntary contributions among the people, besides the pole and redemption money (W); to be employed in finishing those repairs. But the priests, who looked upon the latter as an encroachment upon their revenues, executed his orders with such shameful slowness, that he was forced to send for them, and to reprove them for their negligence, and for their misapplying of the sacred money; and to discharge them at once, both from the repairing of the temple, and from receiving any further sums towards it. The whole care of the work was committed to the high-priest, and other proper officers; and, to prevent all further delays and misapplication, a capacious chest was ordered to be set up in some public place in the temple, where the money was deposited, till it amounted to a sum sufficient to set about the work; which it very shortly did, through the generosity of the chiefs, elders, and other wealthy men of *Judah*, who poured in their presents with uncommon readiness and munificence. This money was immediately distributed among faithful workmen, who carried on the work with so much uprightness

² 2 Kings x. pass. 2 Chron. xxiii. pass.

(W) The poll-money is supposed to have been the half shekel, which every soul was obliged to pay, first to the tabernacle, and afterwards to the temple, which continued to be paid till the destruction of it. As for the redemption money, it was such as was to be paid to the priests, either to be acquitted from certain oaths or vows, or for exchanging one beast for another, and such like; of which we have spoken at large heretofore. This latter was certainly one part of the priests income, which the king had no power to alienate from them, unless it were by way of reprisal for the former, namely, pole money, which ought to have been employed in keeping the temple in repair, and which, it seems, they sunk into their own pockets, leaving that building to go to ruin.

and diligence, that, without being called to any account for the sums they received from time to time, they finished it to the satisfaction both of the king and people, and refunded the overplus into the king's hands. This, together with what was left in the chest, was by *Jehoiada's* direction employed in making gold and silver vessels for the use of the temple, such as censers, trumpets, spoons, forks, and the like (X), instead of those which *Athaliah* had conveyed from thence into the temple of *Baal*⁹. But *Joash's* zeal did not long survive *Jehoiada's* life. That good old priest died in the 130th year of his age, and for his faithful counsel, as well as signal services to the king and nation, was buried in the royal sepulchre of *Jerusalem*, and with him seemed to expire the remembrance of all that he had done. Soon after his death, the base princes (Y) of *Judah*, tired with dissembling a zeal for God, which that pontif's authority had only forced from them, came and prostrated themselves before the king, desiring that they might have leave to return to the old way of worship, which they had been used to in former reigns; which the easy king, pleased perhaps with their uncommon submission, having too readily granted, they immediately forsook the temple and worship of God, and set up new altars to those filthy idols which they had formerly been used to worship in their groves, with the most abominable ceremonies. This ungrateful defection, after so signal a deliverance, was not however punished, till they had been often forewarned, by several prophets, of the mischiefs which it would bring

Joash and
his chiefs
forsake God

⁹ Vid. 2 Chron. xxiv. 7. 13, 14.

(X) There seems to be a contradiction between the book of *Kings*, and that of the *Chronicles*; the former tells us, that none of this money was employed in making vessels for the temple (23), and the latter affirms the contrary (24); but the matter is easily reconciled, by supposing, that the first means only, that none of that money was used to those purposes, till the repairs of the temple, for which it was raised, were fully finished.

(Y) The author of the book of *Chronicles* calls them by that name (25), not as being of the royal blood, for those had been all destroyed by *Athaliah*, so that there were none alive then but *Joash's* children; but here is meant only the chiefs of the families of that tribe, which, as well as those of the other tribes, are often dignified with that title (26).

(23) 2 Kings xii. 13. (24) 2 Chron. xxiv. 7, 14. (25) Ibid. ver. 17. (26) Vid. int. al. Num. vii. 2, & seq. xxv. 14. & alib. pass.

upon

upon them. But when they proved deaf to all those divine admonitions, God stirred up the Syrian king against them, who began to pour some small number of troops into the land, and to commit severe outrages in Judah; whilst the cowardly Jews, though much superior in number, were delivered into their hands, as a punishment for their idolatry^r. Among those prophets who dared to reprove the king and his nobles, and to assure them, that these would prove only the preludes of worse mischiefs, was the high-priest Zechariah, the worthy son and successor of the late Jehoiada; but his zeal cost him his life. The impious king caused him to be stoned to death in the very court of the temple, without regard either to the sacredness of the place, or of his character, as a prophet and high-priest, or to the great services of his father, to whom he owed both his life and kingdom. However, Zechariah, being full of the spirit of God, foretold to them, as he was dying, that God would speedily punish the murder upon the king and them, both which happened soon after accordingly: for Hazael, flushed with the success he had had against Judah, and with the vast quantity of spoil which he had sent from thence to Damascus, came up against Jerusalem, and made a terrible slaughter among those Jewish princes, who had been the first authors of that defection. The king himself found no other way to escape, either sharing of their fate, or a shameful slavery, but by stripping the temple and his own palace of all their treasure, and giving it as a ransom to the Syrian conqueror, who thereupon left Jerusalem, and returned to Damascus^r. Joash, however, did not escape the divine vengeance, and though he then laboured under some grievous disease, his own servants conspired against him, and murdered him in his bed, in the 40th year of his reign, and crowned his son Amasiah in his stead. Joash was by this time in such abhorrence for the murder of the high-priest, that it proved not only the occasion of his own, but also of his being deprived of the royal sepulchre; for though he was buried in the city of David, yet the text says, that they did not deposit his body in the sepulchre of his ancestors, but in some place apart^r.

Amasiah succeeded him, in the twenty fifth year of his age, by which time Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, having reigned 17 years in Israel, had left the kingdom to his son Joash. During this time, nothing considerable had happened in that kingdom, except that their idolatries had also exposed

Zechariah
is slain.

The king of
Syria in-
vades Ju-
dah.

Joash is
murdered.

Joash suc-
ceeded by
Amasiah.
Year of
the Flood,
2160.

^r Ibid. ver. 24. ^r Comp. 2 Kings xii. pass & 2 Chron. xxiv. pass. See also Vol. II. p. 287. ^r 2 Chron. xxiv. 25.

them to the cruel oppressions of the king of Syria, till *Jeboahaz's* repentance and prayer obtained a kind of miraculous deliverance^u; for the fuller account of which, we shall refer the reader to a former chapter †. What happened during his son's reign, we shall see in its proper place; in the mean time, the young king of *Judah* had no sooner settled himself upon his throne, than he caused the murderers of his father to be put to death. However, it is here observed, that he spared their children, according to the law of *Moses*, which forbids them to be punished for their father's crimes^w; from which one may reasonably suppose, that all his predecessors were not equally strict observers of it. The truth is, that *Amasiah* had seen such severe judgments inflicted upon *Joash* his father and his apostate chiefs, as made him a long time afraid to imitate them; though he forgot them but too soon, and, like *Joash*, having began his reign piously and successfully, he made as impious and tragical an end of it. His signal success against the *Edomites*, of which an account has been formerly given*, promised to him by God himself, did but too much swell the heart of that young monarch; he had an army of 300,000 fighting men, and had hired 100,000 more of the king of *Israel*, when he was going upon that expedition. But a prophet came to him, and commanded him, in the name of God, to dismiss those auxiliaries, assuring him, that such idolatrous troops would only be an invincible obstacle to his success, if he persisted in making use of them. The king, upon the point of obeying, was only solicitous how to get back the 100 talents of silver which he had already paid for them; but the prophet having told him, that God was able to repay them to him with advantage, he dismissed the *Israelitish* troops, not without great resentment and heart-burning on their side, of which they failed not to give an ample proof, by burning and ravaging all the countries they went through, in their return home. This broke at once all friendship between those two monarchs, and proved the source of a bloody war. Happy had it been for *Amasiah* if this had been all, but that infatuated prince, after his victory over *Edom*, became so stupidly fond of the idols which he had taken from them, that, as if all his success had been owing to them, he caused them to be set up in *Judah* at his return, and went so far as to burn incense himself before them. He was se-

*Amasiah's
success,*

and idolatry.

^u 2 Kings xiii. 3, 4, 5, 6.
not. B. ^w Deut. xxiv. 16.

† See Vol. II. p. 288. under
* See Vol. II. p. 145, &c.

verely rebuked for this by a prophet, who asked him, among other things, what assistance he could hope for from those false deities, which could neither deliver their votaries, nor themselves, from his hands? But the king, who was then too elated to bear either his advice or reproof, asked him, who made him his counsellor, and, in a threatening tone, commanded him to hold his peace, and not provoke him to punish his insolence. After such monstrous instances of his folly and ingratitude, we need not wonder, if he was abandoned by God to rush into his own ruin.

Amasiah had indeed cause to resent the ravages which the disbanded *Israelites* had committed in his kingdom, during his expedition against *Edom*, and had he been less proud of his success, he might have taken more proper measures for doing himself justice for them; but he seems to have been above all these considerations, and the insolent challenge which he sent to *Joash*, the then king of *Israel*, and grand-son of *Jehu*, *Come and let us see one another in the face, by the king doth plainly show, that he wanted only to try his valour or fortune with him.* On the other hand, *Joash* had no less reason to trust to his own; *Joash*, soon after his accession to the crown, had been paying a mournful visit to the prophet *Elisba*, who was then lying on his death-bed, to represent to that holy person, the melancholy state in which he was going to leave the kingdom, which had already suffered the greatest calamities from the kings of *Syria*, during the two last reigns; and the prophet, touched with a sense of it, had prophesied to him, that he should gain three succeeding victories over that domineering nation*. *Joash* therefore, who had by this time given such signal proofs of his courage and conduct, by those three victories, which he had gained over the *Syrians*, and by recovering all the places which they had taken from his predecessors (Z), could not

* 2 Kings xiii. 14, & seq. See also Vol. II. p. 288.

(Z) It is not easy to determine the time when *Joash* won these three victories; but however, it is more than probable, that it was long before he received this proud challenge from *Amasiah*, when he was then in the 16th year of his reign (27). The text would even incline one to believe, that he began to beat the *Syrians* soon after the beginning of it (28). Archbishop *Ussher* places it in the sixth and subsequent years of his reign, when having, as

(27) *Vid* Usser. *Ann. sub. A. M.* 3178. xiii. 22, & seq.

(28) *Vid.* 2 Kings

not forbear expressing the utmost indignation at the receipt of this arrogant chartel. The answer he returned was couched in

he supposes, taken his son, the brave *Jeroboam* II. into consortship with him, he left the kingdom under his care, whilst he went out against the armies of *Syria* (29).

The manner, in which the good old prophet did foreshow these signal victories, is too remarkable to be past by. The king having expressed his sense for the loss of so great a protector, in the most pathetic terms, *Elisba* bid him take his bow and arrow in his hand, and put himself in a posture of shooting out of his window eastward towards *Syria*; which being done, he put his hand upon that of the king's and bid him shoot, and as the arrow went, he cried out, *The arrow of the Lord's deliverance, and the arrow of deliverance from Syria*; and then told the king, that he would beat the *Syrians* in *Apbeck*, till he had quite consumed them. But when he bid him afterwards to smite upon the ground with another arrow, and the king had done so three times, the prophet was displeased at it, and told him, that if he had happened to have struck the ground five or six times, it would have been a certain sign of his totally defeating of his *Syrian* enemy; but since he had stayed his hand at the third stroke, he should gain but three battles against him (30). The thing happened accordingly, and *Syria*, after having been kept under, during *Joash* and *Jeroboam*'s reign, began to recover itself again, after the death of the latter, as we have seen elsewhere †.

As for *Elisba*, he died soon after; and, before the year was out, some *Israelites*, going to bury a corps in the neighbourhood of *Samaria*, perceived a band of *Moabites* coming towards them, for fear of whom, they cast the dead body into *Elisba*'s tomb and fled; but as soon as it had touched the bones of the dead prophet, the man revived and ran after them. What use a neighbouring church has made of this miracle, in favour of the relicks of their saints, is foreign to our subject: we have *Elisba*'s panegyric in few words in the book of *Ecclesiasticus*, "*Elisheus*, says that "author, was filled with the spirit of *Elijah*; whilst he lived, "he was not over-awed by any prince, neither could any bring "him into subjection, no word could overcome him; and after "his death he prophesied, &c. (31)". The *Jews* add, that the man thus miraculously raised was called *Sallum*, and that he begat sons and daughters afterwards. Some are of opinion, that he had been a wicked man. and, as such, unfit to lie near the sacred remains of that prophet; others think otherwise (32), neither is it worth enquiring which of the two is most in the right.

(29) *Ubi sup.* sub *A. M.* 3168. (30) 2 Kings xiii. 14. & seq. † See Vol. II. p. 288. (31) *Ecclef.* xlviii. 12. & seq. (32) *Vid. Munst in 2 Reg.* 13. sub not f,

in the most scornful and mortifying terms, under the allegory of a despicable thistle, which, having aspired to an alliance with the noble cedar, had, for his ambition, been crushed under the feet of a wild beast: he concluded with advising him to rest contented with his late petty victories, and not suffer his ambition to drive him into a desperate attempt, which would end, in all likelihood, in the total loss of his kingdom. But *Amasiah*, who was not to be humbled by words, was only the more exasperated at this answer, and hastened to go out against his rival: the two armies met in the neighbourhood of *Bethshemesb*, where *Judah* was totally routed. *Josephus* adds, that they were seized with such a panic, at the very first onset, that they turned their backs without striking one stroke, and left their king at the mercy of the conqueror¹. *Amasiah* was actually taken prisoner, *Amasiah* and *Joash* marched on with him and his own army to *Je-* ^{taken pri-} *rusalem*, where he obliged him to buy his freedom, at the ^{soner.} *soner*. expence of all the gold and silver which were found either in the temple or in his own treasury; after which, having demolished about 400 cubits length of the city wall, and taken some hostages with him, he returned to *Samaria*. He did not outlive this victory above one year, after which he was succeeded by his son *Jeroboam*, the second of that name, after he had reigned 16 years. As for *Amasiah*, though he outlived his disgrace above 15 years, yet we read no more of him till the latter end of his reign; when, having discovered a conspiracy that was formed against him at *Jerusalem*, he was forced to flee to *Lachish*, where, notwithstanding his precaution, he was pursued and murdered by the conspirators. He was carried back upon horses to *Jerusalem*, and buried with his ancestors; and his son *Azariah* proclaimed in his stead².

IN the mean time, whilst *Amasiah* spent the remnant of his reign in a kind of inactive security in *Jerusalem*; *Jerobo-* ^{Jerobo-} *am* ^{II king} *II* ^{of Israel.} *king* ^{of Israel.}

¹ Ant. l. ix. c. 10.

xxv.

² 2 Kings xiv. pass. ad ver. 21. 2 Chron.

Some authors however, not content with the miracles that he wrought during his life, and after his death, have accompanied his birth with a remarkable one; namely, that one of the golden calves bellowed out these words, with such a loud voice, that it was heard from *Gilgal* to *Jerusalem*; *This is he that is to destroy the carved idols, and break the molten images in pieces* (33).

(33) *Vid.* Dorothe. Epiphan. & Isidor. de mare prophet. & Chron. paschal ap. Calm. sub voc. Elisee.

am II. the brave great-grandson of *Jehu*, seemed ordained by providence to restore the kingdom of *Israel* to its pristine splendor and greatness. His reign, which lasted 41 years, besides those 10 which he had spent in copartnership with his father, gave him time more than sufficient to perform that noble work, to which he was encouraged by the prophets *Jonah*, the son of *Amittai* (A), and *Hosea*, the son of *Beeri*, who were cotemporaries with him, and foretold, that he should compleat the deliverance of *Israel*, which his father had began, notwithstanding his cleaving to the idolatries of his predecessors. Accordingly, he took the *Syrian* capital, *Damascus*, and *Hamath*, with all their territories; both which had formerly belonged to *Judah*^a, and all the country on the other side of *Jordan*, from *Hamath* to the sea of the plain, or the dead sea^b. The particulars of all these glorious actions are unknown to us, having been written in the annals of the kings of *Israel*, long since lost. He died in the 41st year of his reign, and was buried with his ancestors in *Samaria*, and succeeded by his son *Zachariah*^c. *Jeroboam*'s reign was indeed a glorious one, with respect to his conquests, but it stands branded for various idolatries, and for the injustice, luxury, rapine, and other immoralities which reigned at that time; insomuch, that the prophets *Hosea* and *Amos*, who lived in his days, give us a very dreadful account of the disorders and debauchery, which were committed both in *Samaria* and in *Israel* (B), and were sent to foretel the sad and

^a See 2 Sam. viii. 6. 2 Chron. viii. 3. & Numb. xiii. 21.
^b 2 Kings xiv. 25, & seq. ^c Ibid. ver. ult.

(A) This is the same *Jonah*, or *Jonas*, as he is called in the gospel (34), who was afterwards sent to preach repentance to the *Ninevites* (35). *Usser* justly observes, that he was a native of *Gathbepher* (36), a town in the tribe of *Zebulun* (37) in *Galilee*, of the *Gentiles* (38), against that false affirmation of the *Jews*; That out of *Galilee* there never arose a prophet (39). It is uncertain, whether those glorious successes, which he foretold to the king of *Israel*, were committed to writing, and since lost, or, which is more probable, were only delivered by word of mouth. We have nothing left of him but the book that bears his name, which relates to his being sent to preach repentance at *Nineveh*, the metropolis of *Assyria*, and is therefore foreign to our present subject.

(B) The former of these prophets seems to accuse the *Israelites* (40) of the same enormities, as had been formerly committed in

(34) Matt. xii. 41. (35) Jona. iii. pass. (36) 2 Kings
xiv. 25. (37) Josh. xix. 13. (38) Isai. ix. 1. (39) John
vii. 52. Vid. *Usser. Ann. sub A. M.* 3197. (40) Hof. x. 9.
Gibeab,

and total ruin, which their sins would shortly bring upon the whole kingdom. *Amos*, in particular, was sent from *Judah*, where he was a common shepherd, to denounce the most severe judgments against *Israel*, even to the total dispersion of it;

Gibeab, where the *Levite's* concubine had been abused to death (41). He speaks of their having multiplied their idols to a shameful degree all over the kingdom, for which, and for all their other abominable practices, he denounces a total ruin and desolation to the king and people; which he also lived to see accomplished in the sixth year of *Hezekiah*, when *Israel* was carried away captive (42).

Hosea's prophecy begins with the command, which he received from God, to go and marry a common prostitute, and to adopt her spurious brood (43); a command, which has given so much offence to the pious, and has administered such occasion of ridicule to the libertines, that we hope it will not be thought improper to set the matter in a true light, for the benefit of those, who have not leisure, or opportunity, to consult the best commentators upon it. And here we may safely reject the solution of those subtle doctors, who pretend, that God may dispense with the laws of purity; or of those, who look upon this marriage to have been transacted only in a vision, or that it is only a parable; such evasions do often leave a greater difficulty, than they endeavour to remove.

Nothing is more obvious, than that the scriptures, we may add all languages, give to men and things the qualities they formerly had; thus the blind and deaf are said to see and hear, the dead to live, sinners to be reformed, and publicans and harlots [not those certainly who continued such, but those who were converted] to enter into the kingdom of God, before the priests, elders, and outwardly sanctified *Pharisees* (44). Will it not therefore be more natural to think, with better commentators (45), that the woman, whom the prophet is commanded to marry, had been a common prostitute before she became his wife? The priests indeed were forbid to marry such women, but none else; and provided they were reclaimed by it from their wicked lives, there was nothing in such marriages unworthy of a prophet. On the contrary, it was the properest emblem of God's merciful dealings with the *Israelites*, whom he espoused and adopted, notwithstanding all their former wickedness, and from whom he might justly challenge the suitable returns of obedience, faithfulness, and gratitude; but which if they failed of, they could expect nothing but divorcement and rejection; such as a woman in *Gomer's* case would deserve, if she should relapse into her former vices, after she had been so kindly reclaimed from them (46).

(41) *Judg.* xix. 14, & seq. (42) *Conf. Hos.* i. 1. & 2 *Reg.* xviii. 10. (43) *Hos.* *ibid.* *pass.* (44) *Mat.* xxi. 31, & *alib.* (45) *Vid. de Lyra. Riber. Piscat. & al. in loc.* (46) *Vid. Pfeifer. Dubia. S. Script. Le Scene, Essay on a new ver. p. 1. ch. 10.*

it ; which he did under the types of grasshoppers, which destroyed all the fruit of the land ; of a devouring fire ; and lastly, of a plummet-line and a tottering wall, ready to bury the idols of *Israel* under its ruins ^d. For these prophecies he was accused to the king, by *Amaziah*, one of the idolatrous priests of *Bethel*, and by him commanded to return into *Judah* and prophesy there ; which he was forced to do, though not before he had denounced this heavy judgment against the messenger *Amaziah*, that his wife should become an open prostitute in the city, that his sons and daughters should fall by the sword, and himself die in a polluted land^e, namely, that of *Assyria* ; whither the ten tribes were soon after carried away captive, and he, in all probability, along with them (C).

Zachariah

^d Amos vii. pass.

^e Ibid. ver. ult.

We may add, that *Hosea*, or, as the original calls him, *יושע* *Hosheagh*, which word implies a Saviour, was a kind of type of Christ, who, we know, came to espouse to himself a church, consisting, not of righteous, or of those that thought themselves such, but of repenting sinners, of all kinds and nations, and to reclaim them from their sins by his precepts and example, as well as by his grace and holy spirit. This typical marriage might therefore have a view to him, as well as to the literal salvation of *Judah*, and ruin of *Israel*, with which his prophecies are filled. This may further appear to be the case, if we consider the names, character, and other circumstances. relating to the children which the prophet had by this woman ; particularly their changing of their names from *Lo-Ammi*, *thou art not my people*, into *Ammi*, *thou art my people* ; and from *Lo-Ruhamah*, *she shall have no mercy*, to *Ruhamah*, *she shall obtain mercy* ; as also, their becoming as numerous as the sands of the sea ; all which seem chiefly to relate to the conversion of mankind to the christian religion. But these are out of our province.

Hosea is the first, whose prophecies we have had transmitted in writing ; he continued in the exercise of his prophetic office near the space of 70 years, during the reign of *Uzziah*, or *Azariah*, *Jotham*, *Ahaz*, and *Hezekiah*. His prophecies are divided into fourteen chapters ; in the four first he exposes the various iniquities of the ten tribes ; from thence to the 12th chapter, he denounces the punishments impending on them, particularly their destruction by *Sennacherib*. The remainder is full of comfortable promises to the godly and penitent : what became of him at last, the text doth not tell us, and it is dangerous to trust to any thing else.

(C) As for *Amos*, as he was neither priest nor prophet, but only called, upon this extraordinary case, to the latter, it is probable, that, after his return into the land of *Judah*, he retired into the city of *Tekoa*, where he continued to prophecy against *Israel*, for silence-

ing

Zachariah succeeded his father *Jeroboam*: he was the *Zachariah*. great-grandson of *Jehu*; and so far was God's promise to this Year of last fulfilled, that the kingdom should continue in his family the Flood, to the fourth generation; but his threatnings against that king- 2227. dom did not lag behind, and we may date the downfall of Year be- *Israel* from the reign of *Zachariah*. From that time, we fore Christ read of nothing but treasons and rebellions, of murders, anar- 772. chy (D), and universal desolation: *Zachariah* had scarce reigned six months, before he was publicly massacred by *Shallum*, one of his own domesticks, according to *Josephus* †, who seized upon the kingdom, and, after a reign of thirty days, was himself murdered by *Menahem*, *Zachariah*'s general, in the metropolis of *Samaria*. As soon as this last was seated upon the throne, he returned to *Tirzah*, a city in the tribe of *Ephraim*, formerly the residence of *Jeroboam* I. ‡, which place refusing to open the gates to him, he put all the inhabitants to the sword, and committed the most horrid cruelties on their pregnant women, that ever were done by the vilest barbarians. It was not long, however, before he saw himself invaded by *Pul* king of *Assyria* (E); and, as he was not in a condition to make head against him,

† Ant. l. ix. c. 11.

‡ See 1 Kings xiv. 17.

ing and expelling him out of their kingdom (47). He foretold: in particular, the calamities which they would fall into after *Jeroboam* II's death; the murder of his son and successor; the coming of *Pul* and *Tiglath-pileser*, kings of *Assyria*, against *Israel*, and the captivity of the ten tribes. Some other of his prophecies are levelled against *Syria*, *Tyre*, the *Philistines*, *Edomites*, *Ammonites*; and *Moabites*; and some against the kingdom of *Judah*. His style is plain and low, and his expressions such as one might expect from a rustick or a shepherd. Other particulars relating to his life and death, which we meet with in antient fathers, we omit, because we neither think them material nor certain.

(D) Our archbishop *Usher* (48) observes here, that there must have been an inter-regnum of eleven years and half, before *Zachariah* ascended the throne; without which supposition, it will be impossible to make his death and *Shallum*'s short-lived reign to coincide with the 39th year of *Azariah* king of *Judah*, in which it is said to have happened (49).

(E) The same prelate (50) thinks, that this *Pul* was the father of *Sardanapalus*, called from him *Sardun Pul*, as *Merodach* king of *Babylon* was called *Merodach-Baladan* from his father *Baladan*. *Pul*

(47) Amos ii. 13, & seq. iii. pass. & alib. (48) Ann. sub A. M. 3220. (49) 2 Kings xv. 8. 17. (50) Ub. sup.

him, he was forced to buy his friendship at the price of a thousand talents of silver, which he levied upon the wealthiest of his own subjects, whom he obliged to pay 50 shekels per head; upon which *Pul* returned homewards, and *Menahem* reigned quietly the remaining eleven years of his life, and was succeeded by his son *Pekabiah*, in the 50th year of *Azariah* or *Uzziab*, king of *Judah*^h.

Year of the Flood, 2238. Year before Christ 761. Azariah's piety; and success.

THE kingdom of *Judah* all this while enjoyed a perfect peace. *Azariah*, whom the people had set upon the throne, immediately after his father *Amaziah*'s murder, (that is, as the text expresses it) in the 27th year of *Jeroboam* II'd's reignⁱ (F), was then but sixteen years of age, and was wholly directed by *Zechariah*, not the prophet of that name, who lived after their return from the captivity, but another, who is only known for the the great wisdom and piety of his counsels to the young monarch; so that, during the life of that faithful counsellor, *Azariah* became equally conspicuous for his zeal against idolatry, for his pious imitation of his best predecessors, and for his great success against several of his neighbours, especially the *Philistines*^k. He likewise for-

^h 2 Kings xv. 13, ad 22. ⁱ Ibid ver. 1. ^k 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, & seq. See Vol. II. p. 230.

is the first king of *Affyria* we find named in scripture from the time of *Nimrod*, and may be reasonably enough supposed to have reigned in *Nineveh*, at the time of *Jonah*'s preaching; and to have been converted by him.

Those who follow the version of the seventy believe, that *Pul* was invited by *Menahem* to come to his assistance. One of the prophets upbraids indeed the king and people of *Samaria*, with sending to *Affyria* for help, for which he threatens them with being sent thither captives (51); but the original affirms, that he came against, or invaded, the land (52); and the book of *Chronicles* says expressly that God stirred up the spirit of *Pul* against him, as he did afterwards that of *Tiglatb-pileser*, who carried away the two tribes and half beyond *Jordan* into captivity (53). *Josephus* reckons this invasion of *Pul* to have happened towards the latter end of *Menahem*'s reign (54); but *Usher*, whom we follow, places it in the beginning of it.

(F) That is, as the same *Usher*, and the margin of our bibles rightly observe, the 27th year from his being admitted co-partner with his father *Jeboash*, though but the 16th from his reigning sole monarch.

(51) Hof. v. 13. viii. 9. 13. x. 6. 13. (52) 2 Kings xv. 19. & alib. pass. (53) Conf. 2 Kings xv. 29. & 1 Chron. v. ult. (54) Ant. l. ix. c. 11.

tified his own metropolis, repaired the wall of it, which had been demolished by the king of *Israel*, and built several fortresses and magazines in several parts of his kingdom, and in those countries which he had taken from the *Philistines*, *Arabians*, and *Mebunims* (G). His army consisted of 307,500 brave men under the command of two expert generals, *Maasiah* and *Hananiah*, and of *Jehiel*, his scribe, or secretary of war, who appointed each band their respective turns, according to the muster-rolls. Besides these, he had also 2600 officers, all famous for their valour and experience; and a prodigious quantity of arms of all sorts to supply his army with, and which he kept in several strong store-cities all over his kingdom. To these he added the invention of new machines for throwing darts, large stones, and other destructive materials, from his towers and bulwarks; which are said to have been contrived by some of his expert engineers. Whilst he was thus employed in his military affairs, he did not forget the business of agriculture; on the contrary, the text says that he was a lover of it, that he had great herds of cattle, a great number of fields and vineyards, of husbandmen and vine-dressers; and that he built towers and cots, and digged wells every where for the convenience of his servants and cattle. So that whether we look upon him in peace or war, he seems to have arrived at the height of glory and wealth.

BUT all this he unhappily lost by one rash act, his attempting to infringe upon the priestly office, and to burn incense upon the sacred altar. He was, however, strongly opposed by the then high-priest *Azariah*, at the head of fourscore other zealous priests, who represented to him, in vain, that it was a province which belonged only to the sons of *Aaron*; the infatuated king would not desist from it, till he

(G) These *Mebunims* the *Chaldee* paraphrast renders במישר מצון. The inhabitants in the wilderness of Mahon, which was in that part of *Arabia-petræa*, toward *Gerar* and *Pbaran*; for which reason they seem joined with the *Arabians* of *Gur-baal*, who dwelt in another canton of the same province; and as both were in the same neighbourhood of *Egypt*, therefore the text adds, that *Uzziah's* fame was spread abroad, even unto the entering in of *Egypt* (55).

We ought to observe here, that these wars of the king of *Judab* are not recorded in the book of *Kings*, where his history seems strangely curtailed, but only in that of the *Chronicles* (56).

(55) Vid. Bochart. *Phaleg*. l. ii. c. 23. Le Clerc. *Com. in loc. & al.* (56) Comp. 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 1, & seq. & 2 *Kings* xiv. 21, & seq.

felt himself smitten with leprosy, in such a sudden and extraordinary manner, as made him sensible, that it was sent from God, as a punishment for his presumption. The priests, as soon as they perceived the first tokens of that polluting disease appear in his forehead, were going to force him out of the temple; but *Azariah* was by that time struck with such terror and remorse (H), that he saved them that trouble, and made what haste he could, not only out of that sacred place, but even out of the city; and went to live in a separate house, where he continued, infected with that distemper, secluded from common society, and deprived of the regal power, unto the day of his death; and was buried in a se-

His death.

(H) The reason of *Uzziah's* being thus miraculously smitten with leprosy is only found in the book of *Chronicles*. *Josephus* (57) adds a very remarkable circumstance, which accompanied this punishment, if we may take his word for it; namely, that, while the king persisted to threaten the priests who opposed his impious design, God sent a miraculous earthquake, which had this double effect, that it opened the roof of the temple, through the crack of which that ray of light got entrance which lighted upon his face, and covered it with leprosy; and, 2. that it rent a mountain in two which stood at a small distance from *Jerusalem*, one half of which having rolled about four furlongs, stopt against another mountain, choaked the high-way, and covered the king's garden all over with rubbish.

Some of the prophets (58) do, indeed, speak of an earthquake, which happened in *Uzziah's* days; but, besides, that neither they, nor the sacred historian, mention any thing of its wonderful effects against that monarch, it is plain, *Josephus* must be out in his chronology, because he makes it to have happened towards the latter end of that monarch's life; (for he says expressly, that he died of grief, soon after his misfortune,) whereas the former of the prophets above mentioned says, that the earthquake happened in the days of *Uzziah* and of *Jeroboam II.* Now it is plain, as the learned *Usser* observes, that this was long before *Uzziah* was smitten with leprosy, because his son *Jotham*, who took the government upon him immediately upon his seclusion, was not born till some time after *Jeroboam's* death (59). This remark will also hold equally good against the rest of the *Jews*, who, to make the earthquake and the king's punishment meet, affirm, that they happened in the 25th year of his reign, that is before *Jotham* was born. Both therefore *Josephus* and they, having joined two events together, to make the king's punishment appear more wonderful, which, it is plain from what has been said above, happened, the one about the middle, and the other towards the latter end of that prince's reign, that is, at about 25 years distance from each other.

(57) *Ant. l. iv. c. 12.* (58) *Amos i. 1. Zechar. xiv. 5*
 (59) *Vid. Usser. An. sub A. M. 3221.*

pulchre, apart, adjoining to that of his ancestors ¹. He died in the 52d year of his reign, and the 68th year of his age ^m, and was succeeded by his son *Jotham*, who had taken the government upon him immediately after his father's seclusion. The author of the *Chronicles* adds, that *Uzziab*'s history was written by *Isaiab* the son of *Amos* ⁿ; but we find nothing now of him in the writings of that prophet, but his name ^o.

Two years before *Azariah*'s death, *Pekahiah* succeeded his father *Menahem* in *Israel*; and, after two years reign, was killed in his own palace by *Pekah* the son of *Remaliah*, one of his generals, who ascended the throne about a year before *Jotham* succeeded his father in *Judah*. The character of these two princes was very opposite: *Pekah* was a wicked prince, and followed the steps of his predecessors, so that his reign proved troublesome and unsuccessful, and ended in a violent death: *Jotham* was 25 years old when his father died, he was a wise and pious prince, and appears to have inherited all his father's virtues without any of his vices, and was blessed with extraordinary success. *Pekah*, having made a league with *Rezin* king of *Syria*, made an attempt against *Judah*; but he was soon forced to go back and defend his own territories against *Tiglath-pileser* king of *Assyria*, who had invaded the land of *Naphtali*, took the most considerable towns of it, and carried that whole tribe captive into his own kingdom; whilst *Jotham* gained several considerable advantages against his neighbours, especially against the *Ammonites*, whom he brought under a yearly tribute of 100 talents of silver, 10,000 measures of wheat, and the same quantity of barley ^p; as we have seen elsewhere [†]. At length, having repaired and beautified the temple, fortified the city, and done many other publick acts, *Jotham* died in peace, after he had reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by his son *Abaz*. As for *Pekah*, after he had had the mortification to see one whole tribe torn from him by a foreign power, and his kingdom, during the last ten years of his reign, reduced into anarchy and rebellion; he was murdered and succeeded by *Hoshea* the son of *Elah*, in the 20th year of his reign ^q, and about three years after *Jotham*'s death.

HOWEVER, he was more successful; during those three last years, against *Jotham*'s unworthy son, whose impieties

¹ 2 Chron: xxvi. ^m 2 Kings xv. 2. ⁿ 2 Chron. ib. ver. 22, 23. ^o See Isai. i. 1. vii. 1. ^p 2 Chron. xxvii. 5. [†] See Vol. II. p. 108. ^q 2 Kings xv. pass. 2 Chron. xxvii. See also USSER. An. sub A. M. 3245. and the margin of our Bible on 2 Kings xv. 30.

Ahaz's
idolatrous
and un-
successful
reign.

made his reign as unfortunate and inglorious, as that of his father had been glorious and successful. He was scarce seated on the throne, before his kingdom was invaded by the joint forces of the kings of *Israel* and *Syria*. *Ahaz* was then under the utmost consternation, at the news of two such powerful enemies coming up against him, and seems to have expected nothing less than the total dissolution of the *Jewish* monarchy; when *Isaiah* the son of *Amos* (I), who had begun to prophecy even from the latter end of *Uzziah's* reign^r, came to him from the Lord, to assure him, that those two princes should try their strength in vain against *Jerusalem*, which they were then about besieging^r. At the same time to assure him, that the final end of the *Jewish* monarchy, which he feared, was far enough off, he bid him ask a sign of God, though never so hard, and it should be granted to him. Here the king, whether out of respect, or despondency, and unbelief, refusing to ask for the promised sign, the prophet assured him, from the Lord, that before that time came, *a virgin should conceive and bear a son, and call his name Himmanu-el, or God with us, and so on* (K). No

^r See *Isai. i. 1.* ^r *Ibid. vii. 1, 2, & seq. 2 Kings xvi. 5.* See Vol. II. p. 289.

(I) *Isaiah*, called from the womb to be a prophet (60), and endowed with singular courage and eloquence for that important office (61), is affirmed by the *Jews*, and believed by many *Christians*, to have been the grandson of *Joash* king of *Judah* (62). His first vision was about the latter end of *Uzziah's* reign (63); but his prophecies relate to his successors, namely, the first six chapters to *Jotham*, the six next to his son *Ahaz*, and the rest to *Hezekiah*; excepting, that several of them are interspersed, which relate to the Messiah, and to the fate of several foreign kingdoms. He is justly esteemed the prince of the prophets, for the inimitable loftiness and majesty of his style, as well as for the clearness of his prophecies.

He was highly respected by the good kings, especially by *Hezekiah*, who sent to consult him on all emergencies; and as ill treated by the bad ones, especially by *Manasseh*, by whom he is supposed to have been put to a cruel death, as we have hinted elsewhere[†].

(K) This we take to be a much more natural sense of that prophecy, than to suppose, as some have done (64) that such a miraculous child was really born in *Ahaz's* time, to assure him of the promised deliverance; for as there is not the least mention of such

(60) *Vid. Isai. xlix. 1, & seq.* (61) *Ibid. i. 4.* (62) *Ita Rabbin. omn. Vid. & Hieron. in Isai. pass.* (63) *Ibid. vi. 1, & seq.* [†] Vol. III. p. 313. not. D. (64) *Whitb. in loc. Literal prophec. & al.*

No sooner had the first part of the prophecy been verified, and the city been delivered from the impending ruin, than the impious *Ahaz* gave himself up to the vilest impieties and idolatries, in which he far outwent the very worst of his predecessors; burning incense to every deity, in groves, high places, and in the valley of *Hinnom*, and burning his very children in the fire, after the manner of other nations; till God was pleased at last to give him up to his two grand enemies. *Rezin*, to make himself amends for his ill success against *Jerusalem*, went and recovered *Elath*, a considerable sea-port town upon the *Red-sea*, which *Uzziah* had

* 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, & seq.

an extraordinary birth, so neither do we see that there was any necessity for it, in order to convince the desponding king, who could not be ignorant of that prophecy of *Jacob*, that the sceptre should not depart from Judah—till *Shiloh* was come (65); much less that he was to spring of the lineage of *David*. But what staggered *Ahaz's* faith, and made him fear that the regal power was going to depart from his family, was, that his two enemies had combined to set up a stranger upon his throne (66). All therefore that was wanting to dispel his present fears about it, was for the prophet to assure him from God, that this *Shiloh* promised to *Judah* and *David*, who was to fore-run the total excision of the *Jewish* polity, was to be born in a miraculous manner, and with a divine character, and other remarkable circumstances, such as, he might be easily satisfied, had not as yet happened in his kingdom.

As for that part of the prophecy which is commonly urged on the other side, namely, *Before this wonderful child shall know good from evil, the land which thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings* (67); we think, that if it be rightly understood, it will rather confirm our sense of the prophecy, and that the words ought to be thus rendered: *For*, (or rather, as the particle *כי* *Ki*, seems to import here,) *Nay before this child can know good from evil, this land which thou (קטן Kotz, not abhorrest, as our version renders it, but) art so solicitous about, or givest up for lost, shall be bereaved of both her kings; by which, we think, ought to be understood, not the kings of Syria and Israel, for the former could not be called her (Canaan's) king, and the latter had but a share in it at best, but the kings of Israel and Judah; as it really was before the coming of the Messiah.*

However, though we have delivered this our own private opinion, we shall venture no further upon the argument, much less upon some other parts of this prophecy, lest we should be thought to expatiate too far out of our province.

(65) *Gen. xlix. 10.* See *Vol. II. p. 441, not. (G).* (66) *Isai. vii. 6.* (67) *Ibid. sup. 16.*

taken from him; he repaired and fortified it, drove the *Jews* out of it, and peopled it with his *Syrian* subjects; and from that time the *Jews* never could retake it from his successors*. What havock he made in his territories, we have already partly seen in the *Syrian* history†.

*A great
slaughter
of his
subjects.*

THE king of *Israel* was still the more inveterate and successful of the two, and it is not easy to say, how far he might have carried on his conquests against him, had not a prophet been sent from God to put a timely stop to them. He had already killed in one single battle, 120,000 of his bravest subjects, besides *Maazaiab*, *Abaz's* son, and some of the noblest that were next his royal person; and had likewise taken 200,000 captive women and children, whom they were carrying away to *Samaria*; when *Oded*, that was the prophet's name, stopped them short, and asked them, whether they did not think it enough to have made such a horrid and universal slaughter of their brethren, unless they carried away a much greater number into slavery? He added, that though the idolatries of *Judah* had drawn those heavy judgments upon that unfortunate tribe, yet if they persisted to carry those innocent prisoners into captivity, their cruelty would bring down much severer ones upon themselves. He concluded, with exhorting them to be contented with the rich plunder they had got, and to send their captives back to *Jerusalem*; which they at length complied with. This speech did even work so far upon them, that they did not dismiss them without some signal tokens of pity and humanity^a.

*Edom and
the Philis-
tines in-
vade him.*

WHILST *Abaz's* affairs were in this dismal plight, the *Edomites* and *Philistines* did invade other parts of his land; the former of whom carried away a great number of captives, and the latter recovered several considerable frontier towns from him^b. In this extremity he had recourse to his old ally the king of *Assyria*, whom to gain to his assistance, he made no scruple to strip both temple and city of all the gold and silver. *Tiglath-pileser* received his presents, but, instead of coming to assist him against the confederate kings, he turned his whole strength against that of *Syria*, under a pretence of causing a diversion (L); and having killed *Rezin*, and seized upon

* 2 Kings xvi. 6. † See Vol. II. p. 290. ^a 2 Chron. xxviii. from ver. 6 to 16. ^b Ibid. ver. 17, 18. See also Vol. II. p. 230.

(L) This is, at least, the best way to reconcile the book of *Kings* and that of *Chronicles*, the former of which says, that he came to *Abaz's*

upon his capital, *Abaz* came thither to pay a visit to him, upon what design is not easy to guess. Among the curiosities which he saw at *Damascus*, he was so taken with the elegance of a heathenish altar, that he caused a model to be taken from it, and to be sent to *Urijah* the high-priest, with orders, that he should cause one to be made after it, and to be set up in the temple. *Urijah* dared not disobey, but caused the altar to be made, and to be placed in the room of the old one, which had been set up by *Solomon*; which last was put by on the north side of it. At his return, the king, highly pleased to see his orders so punctually executed, offered up incense, and try, a vast quantity of sacrifices upon it; but he soon after caused the temple to be shut up, whilst he reared altars in every corner of *Jerusalem*, and every where else, to the *Syrian* gods, which he said had been so successful against him; and having abandoned himself to the most abominable idolatries, he finished his impious reign in the 36th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son *Hezekiah*; he reigned sixteen years, and was buried in *Jerusalem*, not in the sepulchre of *David*, of

1 2 Kings xvi. 2.

Abaz's assistance; and the latter, that he did not, but rather straightened him (68).

Some indeed (69) think, that *Abaz* put himself too much in his power, and was become a kind of dependent upon him, living in continual fear of being invaded by him. This is indeed far from improbable, since he left his successor under an obligation of paying a tribute to the *Affyrians*, whose general taxed him with rebellion for not paying it accordingly, as we shall see in the sequel. This made *Tremellius* conjecture to be the reason why he is said to have turned the outward entry, which led from the royal palace to the temple (70), namely, lest *Tiglatb* should assault him that way, and so break into his palace (71). Another author (72) thinks that the same fear made him remove the *מסך* *Mussac*, or covering of the sabbath, which he agrees, with us, was the throne on which the kings used to seat themselves during the service of the temple; and caused it to be hid, lest that prince should carry it away with him. There might indeed be some ground for it, if we had the least hint in the text of his coming towards *Jerusalem*; but as that is not the case, we may suppose, that *Abaz* did remove both that, and all that was valuable in the temple, only to convert it all to his own use.

This *Tiglatb-pileser* is the same with *Ninus* the younger, who reigned in *Affyria* 19 years, as will be seen in its proper place.

(68) *Conf.* 2 Kings xvi. 7, & seq. & 2 Chron. xxviii. 20, 21. (69) *Vid.* Usser. *An. A. M.* 3265. (70) *Tremel. in loc.* (71) 2 Kings xvi. 18. (72) *Calm. Hist. V. T. l. v. c. 44. & al.*

which he was esteemed unworthy, but in some other place by itself^a.

Hoshea
king of
Israel.

His
trouble-
some reign.

Hezeki-
ah's good
reign.

Year of
the Flood,
2272.
Year be-
fore Christ
727.

THE kingdom of *Israel* all this while was in no better plight than that of *Judah*: *Pekah* had paid dear for his success against it, being murdered by *Hoshea* soon after his return; that is, in the fourth year of *Abaz* (M). This revolution, however, proved so distastful to the *Israelites*, that it caused a kind of anarchy, which lasted almost nine years; during which time, *Hoshea* found it a difficult task to keep himself upon the throne: and after he had quelled these commotions, and began to reign more peaceably, we do not find, that he made any hostile attempt, either against *Abaz* or his successor. He had indeed other business upon his hand, *Sbalmaneser* had, by this time, succeeded *Tiglath-pileser* in *Affyria*, and whether *Hoshea* had been forced to make use of his assistance to settle himself upon his throne, or whether his predecessor had committed any hostilities against *Israel*, during his alliance with *Abaz*, *Hoshea* was by some means, not mentioned in the text, become tributary to *Affyria*^a, and was endeavouring to free himself from that yoke, by courting *So*, king of *Egypt*, to an alliance with him. This attempt proved the source of new troubles, which ended at last in the total excision of the *Israelitish* monarchy, as we shall see very soon.

IN the mean time *Henshiab* had ascended his father's throne, in the 25th year of his age, and in the 11th, or as the text hath it, in the third year of *Hoshea*'s reign, that is, abating the first nine years of anarchy, mentioned in the last note. It was not difficult for him to discover the source of all *Judah*'s misfortunes, and the most effectual means to retrieve them: this is what he set about with the utmost diligence and application. He began with opening the temple, which his impious father had caused to be shut up, and commanded the priests and *Levites* to purify themselves and it, and to renew the daily worship of God, according to the law of *Moses*.

^a 2 Chron. xxviii. ult.

^a 2 Kings xvii. 3, & seq.

(M) The text says (73) in the 20th year of *Jotham*, but as he reigned but 16 years (74), it can mean no more than 20 years from the time that he began to reign; that is, in the fourth year of his son and successor. In the same manner we must understand what is said in another place (75), that *Hoshea* began to reign in the 12th year of *Abaz*; by which is meant, that he did not properly begin to reign till then, by reason of the stir and tumults which arose after the murder of his predecessor.

(73) 2 Kings xv. 30.

(74) *Ibid.* ver. 33.

(75) *Ibid.* xvii. 1.
This

This good work was begun upon the first day of the year, it *The temple* being the sabbath ^b, and was finished on *Saturday* the 16th of *opened, and* the same month. The king then assembled the elders of *Ju- purified.*

dah on the next morning, and went with them to the temple, attended with the priests and *Levites*, and a numerous croud of people. Here they began to offer up the proper offerings to expiate the sins of the nation; after which, they sacrificed such numbers of burnt and peace-offerings, that the priests who assisted at the ceremony, being insufficient for the service, were obliged to call in the *Levites* to their assistance, and these accepted the office with the utmost readiness and joy (N). All this while the air was filled with the sound of the trumpets, and other musical instruments, and with the voices of the singers, who accompanied the ceremony with psalms and hymns, suitable to that extraordinary solemnity, which was concluded with expressions of the utmost joy and satisfaction, both in the king and people. It could not indeed but be a pleasing sight, to see a king and nation so suddenly turned from the worship of the filthiest idols, to that of the living God ^c. One misfortune there was however, that the season was past for celebrating the passover; that solemnity was to begin on the eve of the 14th day of that month, and it was now the 17th; but their zeal pointed to them an expedient out of the law of *Moses*, where it is prescribed, that those, who, by reason of any legal impediment, could not celebrate that festival on the first, should do it on the second month [†]. The good king postponed it accordingly, and made use of that interval, to send circular letters through his whole kingdom, to invite his subjects to be present at that feast, on the 14th of the next month. His piety went further;

*A solemn
passover
celebrated.*

^b 2 Chron. xxix. 3, & seq. ^c Ibid. p. tot. [†] See Vol. III. p. 172, note (P).

(N) It appears by the text, that a great number of priests had proved tardy in obeying the king's command, so that they could not vacate at the service of the temple, for want of being purified, whilst the *Levites*, who had shewed a more than ordinary diligence in complying with it (76), were honoured with that office, from which their inferior rank excluded them. What part they did bear in it, doth not appear; but we may reasonably suppose, that they helped to kill and prepare that vast number of victims, which were then offered; whilst the priests were taken up with making the proper aspersions with the blood, and offering the fat and flesh of them, as they received them at their hands.

(76) 2 Chron. xxix. 34. xxx. 15, & seq.

K 2

and

Israel in-
vited to it
by the
king.

and the miseries, under which the idolatrous *Israelites* groaned, inspired him with a desire of endeavouring, at least, to work a reformation in that unhappy kingdom: to this end he wrote a most pathetic letter to them, which he sent by proper deputies, wherein he discovered to them the source of all their misfortunes, and exhorted them to return to the worship of the true God, and to present themselves before him at the ensuing solemnity, as the most effectual means, not only to avert his future judgments, but even to obtain from him the gracious recalling of their unhappy brethren, whom the kings of *Affyria* had carried into captivity ^d (O).

Several of
them come
to the
feast.

WHILST the king's messengers took their progress from *Dan* to *Beersheba*, the *Jews* were taken up with burning and demolishing all the idols, altars, and other idolatrous monuments, which had been reared in *Jerusalem*, and flung them into the brook *Kedron*, so that that metropolis was thoroughly purged, before the appointed festival was come. By this time the city was filled with people, not only from all the parts of the kingdom, but also from that of *Israel*, out of the tribes of *Asber*, *Zebulun*, *Manasseh*, and *Issachar*. These did not indeed come in such numbers, there being many even of these four tribes, as well as of the other five, who made a jest of the king's pious invitation; not that *Hoshea* did in any way oppose it, for it doth not appear that he did: On the contrary, as he is recorded to have been far less wicked than any of his predecessors, it is probable, the bad situation of his affairs may have induced him to embrace any means, that would render providence more propitious to him. However, those of his subjects, who came to the feast, either had not had time enough to purify themselves, or, which is as probable, the very memory of those necessary preparatives had been quite obliterated in *Israel*, during so long an interval of disuse, so that they ventured to eat the passover with the rest, without regard to the illegality of it. Some therefore acquainted *Hezekiah* with it, but the king, who had nothing more at heart than to cherish their pious zeal, easily overlooked that circumstance, and only prayed to God to do the same. How-

^d 2 Chron. xxx. 6, & seq. ^e 2 Kings xvii. 2.

(O) This shews, that *Tiglatb-pileser*, or his successor, had invaded part of *Hoshea's* kingdom; and it is probable, that it was at this time that he laid it under a tribute; unless we will suppose with some authors (77), that it had began in *Pal's* time: see the next note.

(77) *Vid.* Calmet. *Hist.* V. T. Tom. iii. Ch. 47. ad fin.

ever

ever, for the sake of those of his own people, who were also unpurified, among whom were several priests and *Levites*, he ordered the festival to be celebrated another seven days, that none might be excluded from it. This solemnity, the like to which had not been observed since the latter end of *Solomon's* reign ^f, inspired the people with such uncommon zeal, that, as soon as they were dismissed from it, they went about destroying all the old relicks of idolatry, each in their respective countries, the king himself encouraging them by his example, till he had utterly cleared his kingdom from them. Even the very brazen serpent, which *Moses* had caused to be set up in the wilderness ^g, did *Hezekiah* cause to be broken in pieces, because he found, that the people had offered incense to it, and in contempt called it *Nehushtan*, that is, a piece of brass ^h.

His next care was to restore all the branches of the worship of God, to make an exact scrutiny into the genealogies of the priests, *Levites*, and musicians, in order to settle their several classes, according to *David's* model. He provided for their maintenance by reviving the laws of *Moses*, concerning the first fruits, tythes, redemption, vows, and such like, relating to the *Levitical* revenues, and appointed proper officers for receiving them, so that by *October* following, by which time all the fruits are brought in, they had received their income, and proper distribution had been made of it among them ⁱ. *Hezekiah*, all this while, was blessed with success equal to his piety; and as soon as he found himself strong enough to free himself from the tribute, which the *Assyrians* had forced from his predecessor, he withheld his hand from paying it, and turned his forces against the *Philistines*, over whom he got such considerable advantages, that he regained, with usury, all that they had gotten during *Abaz's* unhappy reign [†].

Hezekiah's success.

It fared quite otherwise with the kingdom of *Israel*, and *Hoshea*, little thinking how near it was come to its final period, was only thinking how to free it from the *Assyrian* bondage. But *Shalmaneser*, who kept, no doubt, a watchful eye over him, did soon discover and break all his measures. To work his overthrow more effectually, and that he might leave no enemy behind to stop his progress, he took care to secure the land of *Moab*, by razing their two chief cities ^k, according to *Isaiab's* prophecy denounced three years before ^l, and laying waste all that land, and that of *Israel*, till he was come

Israel invaded.

^f 2. Chron. xxx. pass. ^g Num. xxi. 8. & seq. ^h 2 Kings xviii. 4. ⁱ 2 Chron. xxxi. pass. [†] See Vol. II. p. 230. ^k Ibid. p. 96. See also *USHER's* Ann. sub A. M. 3280. ^l *Isai.* xv. 1.

Samaria to the gates of *Samaria*, and had laid close siege to it. *Hoshea*, who had not been able to make head against him, had how-
 besieged and taken. ever so well fortified himself in that city, that it held out almost three years against the *Affyrian* king. The text gives us no further particulars, either of this siege or war, except that, after the taking of that metropolis, the rest of the kingdom was forced to submit to the conqueror, and that both the king and all his subjects were carried away into captivity, and disposed of into the same provinces of that empire, whither their brethren had been sent in a former reign (P); but we have a dreadful account of it in some of the prophets, who describe the distress of the people in the strongest terms. The *Affyrians* committed the most horrid cruelties against their captives, ripping up their pregnant women, and dashing their children against the ground^a; and, having reduced *Samaria* into a heap of rubbish^b, and laid waste all the land, returned home laden with the spoil of *Israel*. As for the land into which the ten tribes were carried, it has been sought in vain by the learned of all ages; what the most probable conjecture is concerning it, will be best seen in the next chapter. This was the sad and fatal end of the *Israelitish* kingdom^c, after it had stood divided from that of *Judah* 254 years^d. It happened in the 6th year of *Hezekiah*, and in the 9th of *Hoshea*. A great number, however, of the *Israelites* did escape with their lives, some into *Egypt*, and a much greater number into the kingdom of *Judah*; where they

^a Hof. pass. ^b xiii. 16. ^c Micah. i. 6. & alib. ^d 2 Kings xvii. pass. ^e Vid. UssER. Ann. in A. M. 3283. See also Vol. III. p. 435.

(P) The first book of the *Chronicles* tells us, that God stirred up *Pul* and *Tiglath-pileser*, kings of *Affyria*, against the impious *Israelites*, and that the latter did carry away the two tribes and half from beyond *Jordan*, and sent them into the countries of *Hala*, *Habor*, and *Hara*, and to the river *Gozan* (78). And the book of *Tobit* adds, that the tribe of *Naphtali*, of which *Tobit* was, being carried away by *Enmessar*, who is the same with *Shalmaneser*, was placed in the province of *Media*, and himself in the capital of it, called *Rages*, where he left ten talents with his kinsman (79). What those countries were, which we mentioned out of the *Chronicles*, and how they are understood, belongs to another chapter; but it is plain by this, that there was at least a double invasion of the land of *Israel* by the *Affyrians*, and a double captivity.

(78) *Cb. v. ult.* (79) *Cb. i. pass.*

weaned themselves by degrees from their former idolatries and rebellion, and became subjects to *Hezekiah* and his successors. On the other hand, the *Affyrians*, *Josephus* says *Shalmenefer*¹, but it was more probably his successor, sent colonies from several of their provinces, but chiefly from *Cuthab*, to repeople the land of *Israel*, from whence these new inhabitants came to be called *Cutheans*² (Q).

Hezekiah, all this while, had enjoyed a profound peace in his kingdom; and *Sennacherib*, the new king of *Affyria*, contenting himself with the tribute which both he and his predecessor paid to him, had suffered him to enjoy the fruits of his piety and conquests; but as soon as he found him to fail in it, he came against him with such a powerful army, and took from him such a number of fortified cities, in so short a time, as seemed to threaten nothing less than the total ruin of the whole kingdom. *Hezekiah*, who saw his error too late, had no way left to retrieve it, but by a speedy submission; he sent an embassy to *Sennacherib*, acknowledging his fault, and promising him to submit to whatever terms he should impose upon him; and accompanied it with the richest presents, for which he was forced to strip the temple and his own treasury of all their silver and gold: This wrought so well upon the conqueror, at least for the present, that he returned with his army, without inflicting any other penalty, than a yearly tribute of 300 talents of silver, and 30 talents of gold. But this respite, though so dearly bought, did not

¹ Ant. l. ix. c. 14. ² 2 Kings xvii. 24. Vid. JOSEPH. ub. sup.

(Q) The text adds (80), that these new colonies were like to have been destroyed by lions, *Josephus* says by pestilence (81), upon their very first settlement, for their disregard to God; so that they were forced to send into *Affyria*, to desire the king to send them some *Israelitish* priests, to instruct them how to worship and appease him. This being complied with, they set themselves immediately about it, but without forsaking the worship of their own gods, which they had brought from their respective countries. And here began a new kind of religion, not unlike that of the *Israelites*; consisting in the worship of the true God, and of a number of false deities. Hence sprang that mutual hatred between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, the former abominating even the name of the latter, and these always disclaiming any kindred with them in time of adversity, though forward enough to claim it in time of prosperity (82).

(80) 2 Kings xvii. 25, & seq. (81) Ant. l. ix. c. 14. (82)
Id. *ibid.*

last

last long ; for the treacherous *Assyrian* king, who continued still at *Lachish*, did soon after send his army, under the command of *Tartan*, *Rabfaris*, and *Rabshakeh*, directly against *Jerusalem* ; so that *Hezekiah* saw himself in much greater danger than ever of losing his kingdom and liberty, if not his life.

WHILST these were coming against him, the king made all proper preparations for a brave defence ; he fortified the city, repaired the wall of it, surrounded it with another wall, fenced it with towers, and laid in good store of arms and provisions for the siege. He likewise caused all the fountains about the city to be stopped, and the course of the brook *Gihon*, which watered all that region, to be turned another way, to cut off, as much as possible, all supply of water from the enemy. This done, he called together all his chief officers to one of the gates of the city ; and exhorted them, in a grave and pious speech, to rely wholly upon God, to behave with becoming valour, and by no means to be discouraged at the number and strength of the faithless *Assyrians* †. It is not, indeed, easy to determine, whether all this was done before his recovery from a dangerous illness, or after it, more probably the latter, and that his imminent danger, and the treachery of *Sennacherib*, brought it upon him ; for about this time he was seized with a dangerous disease (R), and forewarned by the prophet *Isaiah* to set his affairs in order, since he would certainly die of it. The good king, who, about a year or two before, had received a severe reproof from that prophet, and probably also about the same time from *Micah* the *Morashite*, for trusting too much upon *Egypt*, and seeking for help from thence ‡, received the dreadful summons with inexpressible grief, not doubting, in all likelihood, but that he had provoked God by it to shorten his days, he being then but in the 38th year of his age §. *Josephus* attributes this excessive sorrow to another cause, namely, his dying then without an heir to succeed him ¶ ; which is not at all improbable, because his son was but twelve

† 2 Kings xviii. 13, & seq. ‡ Comp. 2 Kings xviii. 21.
 § Chr. xxxii. 24, & seq. *Isai.* xxx, & seq. & *Jerem.* xxvi. 18.
 ¶ Comp. 2 Kings xviii. and the last note. ¶ Ant. l. x. c. 1.

(R) This disease, if we may guess at it by the remedy which the prophet applied to it, and by the speediness of the cure, seems to have been a kind of quincy, or imposthume in his throat, which was happily broke by the lump of dried figs.

years

years old when he ascended the throne *. As soon, therefore, as the prophet was gone, *Hezekiah* turned himself towards the wall, and addressed himself to God in the most humble and pathetic terms, accompanied with a flood of tears, which proved such powerful advocates with the divine mercy, that the prophet, who was scarce got out of the palace, was commanded by God to return, and carry the dying monarch the joyful news of his recovery, which would prove so speedy that he should be able, within three days, to go to the temple, and pay his thanks to God for it. And, as a farther proof of the efficacy of his prayer, *Isaiah* was bid to assure him, that his life should be prolonged fifteen years, and himself and his kingdom be delivered from the impending danger † (S).

THESE glorious promises did not, however, gain credit with the desponding king; he could not easily reconcile two such different messages from the same prophet, and therefore thought, that he had a right to insist upon some more signal proof to assure him of the last. The prophet soon obtained, by his prayers, such an authentic proof, as should at once convince, both him and his whole kingdom, that it was backed with the divine sanction. It was a retrogradation of ten degrees of the sun's shadow, by the dial of the royal palace (T); after which a cataplasm of dried figs was effectually

* See 2 Kings xxi. 1. † 2 Kings xx. 1, & seq. *Isai.* xxxviii.

(S) This sickness of the king is, indeed, postponed in the sacred history, and related after that of his deliverance from the *Affyrian* host (83); but it is plain, that it must have happened before it; 1. because the prophet assures the king from God, both of that deliverance, and of his recovery; and, 2. because he promises him an addition of fifteen years reign (84). Now *Hezekiah* reigned but twenty nine years in all (85), from which the fifteen being subtracted, it is plain, that he fell ill in the 14th year of his reign, which was the year in which the king of *Affyria* began to invade his kingdom (86).

(T) The text runs literally thus in the original; and the Lord brought back the shadow of the steps, or degrees, which was gone down by the dial, or degrees of *Ahaz*, ten degrees or steps (87), which we purposely take notice of here, as we did before of a parallel

(83) 2 Kings xx. 1, & seq. *Isai.* xxxviii. 1, & seq. (84) 2 Kings *ibid.* ver. 6. (85) *Ibid.* ch. xviii. 2. (86) *Ibid.* ver. 13. *vid. Usser. sub A. M.* 3291. p. 70. (87) 2 Kings xx. 11.

tually applied by the prophet's direction ; and the king, thus happily recovered by the time appointed, composed that noble psalm,

miracle †, to shew, that the sacred historian had expressed him in such terms, as were within reach of the vulgar, and yet very compatible with the solar system now commonly received.

It is true, that *Isaiab*, who relates the story in almost the same words, and mentions only the shadow, when he put it to the king's option, whether it should go backwards or forwards, doth add, that the sun went back ten of the degrees which he had gone (88). But it is plain, that he intends no more than the rays of it. Thus the psalmist says : *the sun shall not burn thee by day, nor the moon by night* (89) ; and in *Jonah*, that *the sun beat upon his head* (90), by which can be only meant his beams. There is nothing more common than that expression in all languages, the sun comes in at such a window, or such a part of the house, and the like. The words, therefore, of the prophet may be naturally rendered thus, *and the beams of the sun* (being miraculously inflected) *caused the shadow to go back over ten of the degrees, or steps, which it had past, upon Abaz's dial, or flight of steps.* This was miracle sufficient to convince the doubtful king, without magnifying, or rather multiplying, it, as many of the fathers, and others after them, have done.

For to suppose, as they do, that the whole fabric of the universe went back, or even that the earth alone did so, was not only needless, because the business was not to lengthen the day, as it was in *Josbua*, but only to put the shadow back so many degrees : but it seems to carry a further absurdity ; for either this extraordinary motion must have been caused all at once, which, considering the velocity of the earth's motion, much more that of the universe round it, is scarcely conceivable ; or if it was done gradually, it would hardly have been perceived, in case *Hzekiab* had chosen to have the shadow go forward instead of backward. By the tenor, however, of the whole history, it seems, as if the thing was done in an instant, and not gradually. What need then is there to suppose, that God did interpose his miraculous power, to cause such a retrogression, even in the bare earth, when the end might be answered by the sole inflection of the sun's rays ? To say that either of them was equally easy to an omnipotent power, is too unphilosophical to deserve an answer, because it were absurd to suppose, that God acts with less economy in his supernatural, than he doth in his natural works.

This hypothesis of the inflection of the rays, which is now the most received, because attended with fewest difficulties, will save us a great many needless enquiries, such are those that fol-

† See Vol. III. p. 72. not. (G).
(89) Psai. cxxi. 6. (90) Jonah iv. 8.

(88) Isai. xxxviii. 8.

psalm, wherein he expresses the exquisiteness of his anguish and grief, acknowledges the infinite mercy of his divine deliverer,

low : What portion of time is implied by those ten degrees : How much the day was lengthened by it : Whether this miraculous irregularity was afterwards recovered, and the course of nature was again hastened by the same miraculous power to its pristine harmony, either by subtracting as much from the night as had been added to the day, or by any other way : Whether the miracle was felt all the world over, or only in *Judea* : And many more of the like nature.

The *Jews*, indeed, who are ever ready to help us at a pinch, do tell us, that God, who had already shortened one day by ten hours, when wicked *Abaz* died, that there might be no mourning made for him, did only restore the universe in *statu quo* upon this occasion. But such an expeditious way of answering all those enquiries will scarcely be allowed of by any but *Jews*. However, archbishop *Usher*, who believed, that the whole frame of heaven went backward at this time, doth yet observe, that the divine providence so ordered it, that the constant and ever self-like motion and harmony of the heavenly bodies, did receive no hindrance from it ; he proves it by three previous eclipses of the moon, out of *Ptolemy*, whose calculation, being traced back from this time, coincides as exactly with the *Chaldean* account, as if no such retrogression had happened in nature (91) ; But is not this multiplying the miracle without any necessity ?

But what confirms still farther our opinion, that all the whole miracle consisted in the bare reversion of the sun's beams, is, that if either the sun or the earth be supposed to have gone back so many degrees, it must have been perceived all over the world. But the contrary seems plain to us, from the embassy which *Meredach-Baladan* sent to *Hezekiah*, to inform himself about this miraculous phenomenon (92) ; for if it had been seen at *Babylon*, there would have been no necessity for sending into *Judea* to know the truth of it ; and it is hardly to be supposed, that he sent thither to be informed about the cause of it. The *Babylonians* were much better astronomers than the *Jews*, or rather, these last were known to be perfectly ignorant of that science, as we have seen elsewhere †. It seems then much more probable, that this retrogression was only felt about *Judea* ; and if so, it cannot be better accounted for, than by supposing an inflection of the sun's rays.

We need not add, that if it had been felt all the world over, or even beyond *Judea*, we should certainly find some footsteps of it in profane history, it being hardly to be supposed, that so re-

(91) *Sub A. M.* 3291. p. 71.

(92) *Vid.* 2 *Chron.* xxxii. 31.

† See *Vol. III.* p. 426.

liverer, and promises to be everlastingly thankful for it. The next part of the prophet's promise, the deliverance from the

markable a change could go unobserved, or unrecorded, at a time when the world did yield so many good astronomers and historians; or that the memory of it should be since entirely lost, when we can find so many footsteps of the sun's standing still in *Josbua's* time, that is, upwards of 730 years before (93). For these reasons, we shall wave all farther enquiries which result from the other side of the question, and only add some few remarks concerning the most probable figure of the dial in the text.

And here let it be considered, 1. That the original, מעלות *Megbaleth*, doth signify no more than *steps* or *stairs*; 2. That the *Septuagint* and *Chaldee* paraphrasts render it, the former ἀναβαθμους, and the latter by אַשְׁמֹרֶת *a stone of time*, accordingly; 3. That the *Jews* did not reckon by, or had even a name for hours, before the captivity (94); 4. that the invention of *gnomon* dials is reckoned of much later date, it being attributed to *Anaximander*, who did not flourish till almost 200 years after *Hezekiah*; and lastly, That there is not a word of a sun-dial in all the writings of *Homer*. All these will at least amount to a strong presumption, that it must have been a kind of steep ascent, leading up to the gate of the palace, and marked at proper distances with figures, showing the division of the day; rather than a regular piece of dial-work.

We have indeed a much finer description of it in *Grotius*, out of one Rabbi *Eliab Chomer*, who pretends, that it was a regular globe placed in the center of a hollow hemisphere, on which were drawn, at proper distances, the several lines which divided the day into 28 parts (95); but who can believe, after what has been observed above, that such a curious and compound piece of art could be the product of those early times? for our part, we cannot think, that even this flight of steps was originally designed by the architect to serve both for that and for a sun-dial: on the contrary it seems to us more probable upon the whole, that the latter use was owing to observation. Some ornaments, such as pyramids, obelisks, flower pots, and the like, might have been placed upon the rails or battlements of the ascent, whose shadow being in time observed to go over those steps, at certain periods of the day, might naturally induce some curious observer to mark down the several portions of the day; first into four parts, according to the *Jewish* custom of dividing it, and then into as many subdivisions as was thought proper; so that all that we think is meant in the text before us, is, that the shadow of the obelisk, or whatever other ornament did serve instead of a *gnomon*, went back again over

(93) *Josb. x. 12. See also Vol. III. p. 72. & seq. Vol. III. p. 427.*

(95) *Vid. Grot. in loc.*

(94) *See*

the *Affyrian* power, did not remain long unfulfilled. The generals presented themselves at the foot of the city wall, to demand a parly with *Hezekiah's* ministers; and as soon as these appeared upon the battlements, attended with vast crouds of people, who came to hear the purport of their message, *Rabshakeh* addressed himself to them in a haughty and threatening speech, filled with the bitterest invectives and opprobrious language, not only against the king, but even against the God of *Israel*. It was spoken in the *Hebrew* tongue, to inject the greater terror into the listening people; and when they were desired to speak in *Syriac* to them, instead of complying with their request, they only renewed their threatnings of reducing the kingdom to the worst extremities, unless they prevented it by a timely yielding of themselves captives to the great *Sennacherib* *.

THIS vapouring speech was, by the king's order, answered only by a deep silence; but the *Affyrian* generals being soon after informed, that their master was forced to go back to defend his own territories against *Tirhakah*, king of *Ethiopia*, who was then invading him; they left *Jerusalem* and marched directly after him. But before *Sennacherib* departed Senna- from *Lachish*, he sent a threatening letter to *Hezekiah*, to assure him, that if he still persisted in his refusal of yielding himself his captive, he would shortly come again with double fury against him, and make him severely feel the effects of his own folly and vain confidence in his God, whom he should find as weak and impotent against his irresistible power, as those of many other nations had hitherto proved. As soon as the king had read the letter, he went up to the temple, accompanied with his chief ministers, and spread it before the Lord, and in the humblest terms, besought him, that he would make good his late promises, and vindicate his honour

* 2 Kings xviii. 17, to the end. 2 Chron. xxxii. 9, & seq. Isaiah xxxvi. 2, & seq. xxxvii. 1. ad 10.

ten of those steps, which it had already past. But what portion of time the shadow did usually take in going over those steps, is impossible to determine; however, though we have ventured to deliver this our opinion, as the result of what we find written upon the subject; yet, for the satisfaction of such of our readers, as desire to be further informed about it, we shall refer them to the authors quoted in the margin (96).

(96) Cyril. Alex. & Hieron. in loc. & in *Isaiab* xxxviii. 8. Scalig. Grot. Vatabl. Munst. Salmas. Gaspar. Sanctius, Le Clerc, Calmet, & al.

against

His mira-
culous o-
verthrow.

against his insolent and blasphemous enemy, who had dared to level the God of heaven to the senseless idols of the more senseless heathen. He had scarce ended his prayer, when he received a gracious answer by the prophet *Isaiah*, importing, that though *Sennacherib* would certainly bring back his forces against *Jerusalem*, yet God would so protect it against them, that they should not shoot an arrow against, nor open a trench before it; that this proud insulting enemy should be forced to flee with shame and loss, and fall at length by the sword in his own land. This prophecy was likewise soon after verified. *Sennacherib* returned against *Judah*, flushed with his late victory over the *Ethiopians*^a, and breathing death and destruction, against the whole kingdom; but before he could have time to commit any hostilities against it, the best part of his army was smitten by an angel in one night, *Josephus* says with pestilence^b, inasmuch that 185,000 of them were found dead by the next morning. This dreadful judgment did so alarm the proud *Assyrian* monarch, that he retired with the utmost confusion and speed into his own capital, where he was soon after assassinated by two of his sons, and succeeded by a third^c. Thus was *Isaiah*'s prophecy exactly fulfilled against that blasphemous tyrant^d, and the kingdom delivered from the most imminent danger. As for *Hezekiah*, though one would expect, that so many extraordinary blessings would have inspired him with sentiments of the deepest gratitude, yet they wrought a quite different effect upon him; so that, instead of acknowledging the amazing goodness of his great deliverer, he suffered himself to be so elated, that he brought a train of evils upon himself and kingdom, which, however, upon his repentance, were adjourned till after his death^e. *Hezekiah* was a pious prince, but vanity seems to have been his predominant passion; and to have been swelled to an unreasonable height by such a wonderful series of successes; and God made use of the following juncture, at once to make him sensible, and to cure him of it.

THE king had, about this time, received a special embassy from *Berodach*, or, as *Isaiah* calls him, *Merodach-Baladan*, king of *Babylon*, to congratulate him upon his late success and recovery, and to inform himself about the prodigy of the sun's retrogression^f; and, as his success and the spoils of his enemy had made him exceedingly rich, he took a par-

^a See *Usher's Ann.* sub A. M. 3292. ex *Isaiah* c. xviii. & xx. ^b *Ant.* l. x. c. 2. ^c 2 *Kings* xix. 1, & seq. to the end. 2 *Chron.* xxxii. 1 ad 22. *Isaiah* xxxvi, xxxvii. ^d *Ibid.* ^e 2 *Chron.* xxxii. 25, 26. ^f *Ibid.* ver. 31.

ticular pleasure in entertaining the ambassadors with a sight of all the wealth, grandeur, and strength of his court and kingdom (V). This brought *Isaiah* to the king, who had no sooner acquainted him with his own weakness and ostentation, than he received this dreadful message from God; that those very *Babylonians*, whose eyes he had glutted with all the glory of his kingdom, would, in a short time, not only strip it of all that was valuable in it, but even carry away captive some of his off-spring, and make them eunuchs in their monarch's palace; at which *Hezekiah* was brought to such a sense of his oversight, that he acknowledged the mildness of the sentence, since he was suffered to end his days in peace^a. Among others of his public acts, he is recorded to have made a large pool and a conduit, to supply *Jerusalem* with water; and to have been an encourager of husbandry, himself having numberless flocks and herds in his own pasture-grounds, besides vines, and other grounds. He died in peace, in the 54th year of his age and 29th of his reign, according to the words of the prophet, and was buried in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David. His funeral obsequies were performed with uncommon magnificence, not only in the city, but also throughout the whole kingdom^b (W).

Year of
the Flood,
2306.
Year be-
fore
Christ,
693.

Manasseh was but 12 years of age when he succeeded *Hezekiah*; and, whether he was naturally vicious, or fell into *Hezekiah's* wicked hands of wicked counsellors, we may date the ruin both

Manasseh's
wicked
reign.

^a 2 Kings xx. 12, & seq. *Isaiah* xxxix. ^b Comp. 2 Kings xx. 20. & 2 Chron. xxxii. 32, & seq.

(V) The jubilee year seems likewise to have been about this time (97); at which solemnity there flocked a vast concourse of people to *Jerusalem*, which could not but add very much to the magnificence of that court and metropolis; because upon such occasions the wealthy men of the kingdom were used to pour their rich presents into the temple, especially after such signal successes and deliverances as they had lately had; and the text says, that they did so accordingly (98).

(W) Besides the prophets *Isaiah* and *Micah*, of whom we have had occasion to speak, *Nabum* did likewise prophesy in the days of *Hezekiah*. It is he, who foretold the dreadful destruction of *Ninive*, which happened afterwards in the days of *Jafiah*, and describes it in the most lively colours, comparing it to that of *No*, a populous city in *Lower Egypt*, lately taken by the *Assyrians*, who committed the most horrid cruelties against her inhabitants (99).

(97) *Vid.* *Usser. in A. M.* 3295. (98) 2 Chron. xxxii. 23, & seq. (99) *Nab. pass. Ec.* 2. 8, & seq.

of the kingdom and religion from the fatal day of his ascending the throne. He seems not only to have strove to outdo all his predecessors in wickedness, idolatry, tyranny, and sacrilege, but even to have shewed an impious emulation to undo all that his pious father had done, and to act in direct opposition to him. *Hezekiah's* first care had been to root out all idolatry out of his kingdom, and to restore the worship of God, and the service of the temple, to its pristine order and splendor. His graceless son, on the contrary, made it his study to banish religion and morality out of it, and to revive all the old idolatry, and to introduce new and unheard of deities, idols, and ceremonies; besides witchcraft, force-ries, and every wicked custom, that was used among the *Heathen* far and near. *Baal* became now the favourite object of his worship; the sun, moon, planets, and a vast multitude of other heathenish gods, had also their altars and groves erected to them, both in *Judah* and in *Jerusalem*. *Moloch* and the valley of *Hinnom* became more frequented than ever; the impious king encouraging his subjects to sacrifice their children there, as *Ahaz* had done before. But the most execrable piece of wickedness and sacrilege, was his introducing the vilest of idolatries into the very temple of God, and causing a graven image of the grove, a filthy idol, worshipped with the filthiest ceremonies, to be set up in the most sacred (X) place; as if he had designed to drive the God of *Israel* out of his habitation, and to disclaim at once all those great blessings, which he had promised to *David* and *Solomon*, and to all that did worship him there¹.

Idolatries.

Sacrilege.

FOR these abominations he was often and severely reprov'd by several prophets, who foretold him, that he was provoking God to bring such dreadful desolations upon him and his kingdom; that *Jerusalem* would become like a dish, that is wiped clean and turned upside down. But these threatenings

¹ 2 Sam. vii. 13. 1 Kings viii. 29. ix. 3, & al. pass.

(X) Some think, that he did even cause the ark to be taken out of the most holy place, to make room for his molten idol; because it is said in the *Chronicles*, that *Josiah* did order the *Levites* to deposite it again into its place (100); but from the words which do immediately follow, *it shall be no longer a burden upon your shoulders, or unto you*, we are more inclined to think, that the priests had timely conveyed it out of the sanctuary before the idol was brought in; and that it had been kept in their custody till *Josiah's* reign.

(100) 2 Chron. xxxv. 3.

were

were so far from reforming, that they hardened him the more, and made him seek only for the most violent means to silence not only those prophets, but all that dared to express a dislike to his impieties. *Jerusalem* became soon after the scene of *His murders and tyranny.* the most horrid cruelties, which *Manasseh*, now become a tyrant of the first magnitude, caused to be exercised on prophets and priests, nobles and people, indifferently, till he had filled that metropolis with blood and with butchered bodies, from the one end to the other *. At length providence was pleased to put a signal stop to his bloody career, by delivering him into the hands of some of the chief commanders of the *Assyrian* army, who came upon him so suddenly, that, seeing no way to escape, he went and hid himself in a thicket. *His miserable captivity.* He was, however, soon brought out of it, and loaden with chains, carried away into *Babylon*, and there cast into a dungeon by *Essar-haddon* or *Affaradin*, king of *Assyria*, who, according to *Ptolemy's* canon, had made himself master of *Babylon* about six years before, and was by this time become sole monarch over both empires †.

THE text doth neither tell us how this was done, whether by an open invasion, or, which seems more likely, by some sudden incursion, nor in what year of *Manasseh's* reign it happened; the *Jews* affirm, that it was in the 22d year, in which they are followed by the generality of our annalists. However that be, the distressed king soon opened his eyes to all his miscarriages and impieties, which his prosperity would not suffer him to see; and, in the bitterness of his soul, did send so many deep sighs to heaven, so humble an acknowledgment of his fault, and such earnest prayers for mercy and pardon, that he at length obtained both that, and a happy deliverance out of his captivity (Y). *Restored to his liberty.* How long his imprisonment

* See 2 Kings xxi. 1. ad 16. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1. ad 10. † See USHER sub A. M. 3323.

(Y) These remarkable circumstances are not mentioned in the book of *Kings*, which says only that he reigned fifty five years, without taking notice either of his captivity, repentance, or reformation. All these particulars are only found in the *Chronicles* (1).

Archbishop *Usher* observes (2), from the following chapters out of the same author, that the kingdom of *Israel* had not been so far emptied of its inhabitants, but that there was a considerable remnant of them left behind, the far greater part of whom were carried away captive about the same time, and perhaps by the

(1) *Ibid.* xxxiii. 11. & seq. (2) *Sub A. M.* 3327. fame
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His repentance and reformation.

ment lasted (Z), or by what means he regained his liberty, the text doth not say; thus much is plain from it, that from the greatest sinner, he returned the greatest penitent (A), and from the bloodiest tyrant, became one of the best monarchs. So that after his return, he bestowed his whole time and application in repairing the damages, which his impiety

same forces, which took *Manassah* prisoner. This last and total captivity, that prelate thinks to have been foretold by *Isaiab* about sixty five years before against *Israel*, under the name of *Ephraim* (3). We read, indeed, of several *Israelitish* tribes being invited to the passover at *Jerusalem* in a succeeding reign, but we take them to be those who came and sheltered themselves in the kingdom of *Judah*, during the siege of *Samarina*, to escape being carried into bondage by the *Affyrian* king; as we hinted under the last reign.

(Z) Some will have it, that it lasted as long as *Esar-baddon* lived, that is, as our chronologers compute it, about six years (4). *Josephus* only says, that the king of *Babylon* gave him his liberty after some time, but doth not say how long (5); but the general opinion is, that he was set free in the very same year that he was taken prisoner. This is also the opinion of the *Taloudists*, who place both his repentance and imprisonment in the 34th year of his age; and this seems the more probable of the two, because the author of the book of *Kings* makes no mention of this captivity, but allows him his fifty five years reign, as if no such thing had happened to him.

(A) We have a prayer among the apocryphal books of the old testament, intituled, *The prayers of Manassah king of Judah, when he was holden captive in Babylon*, which, if it was penned by him, expresses the greatness of his guilt, repentance, and misery, in the strongest terms; particular, with respect to the last, it has this expression, That he was so loaded with iron bands, that he could not lift up his head. But we have a more authentic proof of these, the wonderful change that was wrought in him; though we should be loth to deny, that this prayer was composed by him, during his imprisonment, because we find an expression in the book of *Chronicles* (6), which shews, at least, that there was some such prayer of his composing kept upon record; and it is scarce possible to pen one more expressive of his misery and repentance, than this we are speaking of.

It was also about this time, or soon after it, that the siege of *Bethulia* happened, at which *Holofernes* was treacherously murdered by *Judith*; but as the story is apocryphal, and has no connexion with the history of the kings of *Judah*, we shall say no more of it here.

(3) *Isai. vii. 8.*
T. sub. A. M. 3310.
xxxiii. 19.

(4) *Vid. Usher. ub. sup. Calmet. Hist. V.*
(5) *Ant. l. x. c. 4.*

(6) 2 *Chron.*

had caused, both in religion and in his kingdom. One of his first cares was to clear the sanctuary and the court of the temple of those idols which he had caused to be set up there, and which the priests had not had the courage or power to remove during his absence; and to restore the service of it to its antient order and splendor. He then sent circular letters throughout his kingdom, exhorting his subjects to follow his example, and to demolish all the groves, altars, and idols, which had been reared during the former part of his reign, and this was readily complied with also by the people every where; only the high places were left untouched, the king wanting either power, courage, or zeal to go through with these, by reason of the people's obstinate fondness for them. He took the same care to repair and fortify the city and other places of his kingdom; and having reigned peaceably about 33 years after his return from *Babylon*, he died in the 55th year of his reign, and 67th of his age. He was buried in his own garden, probably by his own choice, the sense of his former miscarriages not suffering him to think himself worthy to be deposited among his ancestors; and was succeeded by his son *Ammon* ^m.

His death.
Year of
the Flood,
2356.
Year be-
fore Christ
643.

Ammon was but 22 years old when he came to the crown, so that he could have observed nothing in his father's example, but the greatest tokens of piety and goodness; and yet so infatuated was he, that he gave himself up to all the vile idolatries of the former part of his reign. He began even to give some early proofs, that he designed to outdo him in his most abominable debaucheries; but before he had reigned two years, a conspiracy was formed against him by some of his chief officers, who assassinated him in his own palace, and buried him in the same garden with his father. They did not, however, go long unpunished: the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, who had had no share in this rebellion, rose up in arms immediately upon the news of it, and having revenged their king's murder by that of the conspirators, they placed his son *Josiah* upon the throne, who was then about eight years of age ⁿ.

*Ammon's
idolatry,
and death.*

It is amazing to think how the whole kingdom could be so soon over-run with all kind of wickedness and idolatry, in the short time of *Ammon*'s reign, after it had been so thoroughly purged from them by his father; and yet it was grown to such a degree of impiety, when *Josiah* came to the crown, that the prophet *Zephaniah*, who was cotemporary with

^m 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 ad 20.
ⁿ 2 Kings xxi. 19, & seq.

ⁿ Ibid. ver. 21, to the end.

him, gives us a most dreadful catalogue of the licentiousness and irreligion that then reigned through the whole kingdom. Among the princes, judges, and magistrates, reigned injustice, oppression, cruelty, and all manner of debauchery; among the priests, pride, avarice, corruption, and a shameful traffic of religion; among the people, ignorance and irreligion, men swearing with the same breath by the Lord and by *Malcom*; altars reared every where to *Baal*, to the whole host of heaven, and to all the other deities of the heathen^o; the very sanctuary itself was again polluted by the filthy idol of the grove, and its court furnished with male prostitutes, and with women who wove hangings, and tents to hide the unnatural and abominable ceremonies of its votaries^p.

Josiah's
good reign.

IN this sad and horrid condition was the kingdom, when the infant monarch took the reins of it; so that it required nothing less than a miracle to reform it. But a *Josiah* had been miraculously promised above 300 years before, by a prophet sent on purpose to *Jeroboam* at *Bethel* †, one who was to work the greatest reformation that ever was done in the land, since it was to reach through the two kingdoms; and this *Josiah* was the person designed by God for that glorious work. However, his tender years would not permit him immediately to undertake any thing, except perhaps advising with such pious counsellors, as could best instruct him, both about what was to be done, and the properest means of accomplishing it. He married in the 15th year of his age, and in the 16th he had a son and a successor born unto him, whom he named *Eliakim* (B); after which he set himself about his premeditated design, with a zeal, diligence, and intrepidity, which, considering his years, and the arduousness of the task, could be owing to nothing less than a supernatural impulse. His extraordinary success and expedition,

• Zeph. pass. i. 1, & seq.
† See before, p. 19.

^p Vid. 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 6, &

(B) Probably in full confidence, that God would prosper his design, *אֱלִיָּאִים* *Eliakim* signifying, *God shall establish, make to prosper*, &c. the text doth not indeed mention the time of his birth, but it is easily inferred from his being 25 years old when he began to reign (7), for his father died in the 39th year of his reign (8), and was succeeded at first by *Jeboahaz*, who was younger by two years than *Eliakim*, whom *Pharaoh-necho* set upon the throne some three months after (9).

(7) Vid. 2 Kings xxiii. 36.
xxiii. 31, & seq.

(8) Ibid xxii. 1.

(9) Ibid.

and

and the universal destruction he made, both in *Judah* and *Atotal re-Israel*, not only of all the idols, altars, groves, and other *formation* idolatrous monuments, but also of the high places, which *in his* several of his predecessors had in vain attempted to abolish, *kingdom*. do shew indeed, that he was assisted by the same divine power, that had inspired him with the design. This last kind of worship was not indeed an idolatrous one, because it was directed to the God of *Israel*, to whom the priests, the sons of *Aaron*, offered sacrifices upon those altars, which had formerly been reared by *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; but it was afterwards expressly forbid by the law of *Moses*, and the tabernacle and temple ordered to be the only places for such sacrifices, unless it was otherwise commanded by inspired persons, and upon some particular occasions, as we have elsewhere hinted *. The more effectually therefore to cure this obstinate evil, *Josiah* caused all those places to be polluted with dead mens bones, and ordered all those priests, who had vacated at that unlawful worship, to be for ever excluded, both from all sacerdotal functions, and from the privilege of eating of any holy things. He likewise ordered all the wooden idols, altars, and other combustible materials, which had served to any idolatrous purposes, together with the chariots and horses, which had been dedicated to the sun (C), the vessels where the perpetual fire was kept to his honour,

* See Vol. III. p. 289. not. (H).

(C) These chariots and horses, the text says (10), stood at the entrance into the house of the Lord; but whether they were real, or only carved, or molten, is not easy to determine. The antient *Persians*, we are told, did indeed use to consecrate white horses and chariots to the sun, with which they adorned their processions (11); in which they were imitated afterwards by other nations (12). We can see no reason, therefore, why so many learned commentators should scruple to suppose, that the *Jews* had adopted this, among other far worse heathenish idolatries, and rather choose to fancy, that these chariots and horses were only carved, or cast, and set up in a chapel dedicated to the sun, or barely carved in bas-relief, or even painted against the walls of it; especially, considering how soon the prophet *Amos*, and from him *St. Stephen* (13), charges them with having carried about the tabernacle of *Moloch*, that is of the sun, as we have shewed more than once, and the star of their god *Remphan*.

(10) *Ibid.* ver. 11. (11) *Vid.* Herodot. lib. 7. Xenoph. Q. Curt. Ovid. *fast.* lib. 1. Justin. l. 1. c. 10. *Vid.* & Bochart. Hieroz. pt. I. l. 2. c. 10. & al. (12) *Vid.* *Hide Rel. vet. Pers.* Kopping. *Antiq. Rom.* (13) *Amos* v. 25. *Acts* vii. 43.

nour; the image of the grove, and all that he found of that nature in the temple, to be burnt, and the ashes of them to be thrown over the graves of their votaries, and those that could not be burnt he caused to be flung into the river *Kidron*.

FROM *Jerusalem* he went to the mount of *Olives*, called also the mount of corruption, from the great number of idolatrous altars, which had been set up there by *Solomon*, and repaired from time to time by several of his impious successors, and demolished and defiled them all. He did the same at the valley of *Hinnom*, a place infamous for the horrid cruelties that were practised by the worshippers of *Moloch*; and thence marched directly to *Bethel*, the place where *Jeroboam*, the first king of *Israel*, set up one of his golden calves; which he destroyed, together with the groves, idols, and altars, causing the bodies of the idolatrous priests to be digged up and burnt upon them. It was upon this occasion, that having observed a kind of monumental inscription upon one of the tombs, he was informed, that it was that of the prophet, who came from *Judah* to denounce to *Jeroboam* that total destruction of idolatry, which he was then fulfilling; whereupon the good king ordered, that a particular regard should be paid to his ashes; by this means those of the lying prophet, who had been the cause of his disobedience and untimely death, and had ordered his body to be buried close by him, escaped being disturbed, and perhaps being burned with the rest. After this, *Josiah* took a circuit through all the cities of *Israel*, many of which lay almost desolate, and destroyed every where the idols and altars, which either the *Israelites*, or the *Assyrian* colonies, had set up, and put all their idolatrous priests to death; and having thoroughly purged both kingdoms from every kind of idolatry, he returned to *Jerusalem*, and set himself about

What convinces us farther, that these were real chariots drawn by horses, and bearing some image of the sun, is, that the text expressly says here, that *Josiah* did not burn chariots and horses, as he would have done, if they had been only carved or painted, but that he took away the horses, and burnt the chariots (14). The reader may, if he pleases, see what we have observed concerning this kind of idolatrous processions, in another place, out of some verses of the 16th psalm †.

(14) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 11.

† *Vid. Vol. III. p. 16. not. (O).*

restoring the worship of God and the usual service of the temple (D).

By this time *Josiab* had attained to the 26th year of his age, and 18th of his reign, and beheld with regret the dilapidations of that sacred place, which made it necessary to have them repaired before all things. To this end, he ordered the great coffer, into which the poll-money and free-will offerings used to be deposited, to be opened, and the money to be distributed among such faithful overseers, as would set about the work out of hand; and to encourage them to be doubly diligent in it, he told them, that he would depend upon their fidelity for their right management of the money committed to them. Whilst this was doing, the high-priest, who probably presided over the work, sent word to the king that he had found the book of the law (E), which he had

The temple repaired.

The book of the law found.

(D) It is very likely, that the king was encouraged to this good work by the prophet *Jeremiab*, who began to prophesy in the 13th year of his reign (15). *Jeremiab* was a prophet altogether miraculous, being chosen to this office even from the womb, and called to the exercise of it whilst he was but a child; he was the son of *Hilchiab*, not the then high-priest of that name, as some have imagined, but of the race of *Ithamar*, and lived at *Anathoth* (16), a place within two or three miles from *Jerusalem*, it being the seat of one of their ancestors (17); so that it is hardly possible, that he should be unknown to so pious a prince. It is true, we find nothing like it in his writings; but it must be remembered, that he delivered his prophecies at first only by word of mouth, and did not begin to pen them down till the fourth year of *Jeboiakim*; but we find him very early, at the gates of the temple, denouncing God's heavy judgments against *Judab*, and exhorting them to avert his anger, by abandoning their impieties and idolatries (18). As he continued to prophesy till the taking of *Jerusalem*, and was often consulted by several kings and nobles, we shall have occasion, more than once, to speak of him in the sequel.

Zephaniab did likewise prophesy in the same reign, and much to the same purpose, with what we mentioned of *Jeremiab*; the main scope of their prophecies being chiefly levelled against the various abominations committed in *Judab* and *Jerusalem* (19); and both were probably designed to exhort the people to imitate the king's zeal and piety, and to prevent their murmuring against or obstructing his reformation.

(E) This is generally agreed to have been the archetype, written by *Moses*, and by him ordered to be deposited, with the ark, in

(15) *Jerem. i. 2.* (16) *Ibid. & ver. 5, 6.* (17) *Vid. 1 Kings. ii. 26.* (18) *Jerem. c. vii. & seq.* (19) *Zeph. i. 1, & seq. ii, iii. pass.*

sent to him by the secretary of the temple. *Josiah* delayed not to read it ; and when he found what dreadful judgments were

the most holy place (20), but which some pious high-priest had caused to be thus hid, in the reign of *Abaz* or *Manasseh*, to prevent its being destroyed with all the other copies of it ; for it plainly appears by the tenor of the history, that this was the only perfect one left (21).

But it is much disputed, whether it was the whole *Pentateuch*, emphatically called חֲמֻשׁ מֹשֶׁה, *Haiborah*, the law ; or only *Deuteronomy*, or even barely the 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st chapters of it. *Josephus*, by calling it the sacred books of *Moses* (22), seems to declare entirely for the first ; others have declared for the second (23), because the book of *Deuteronomy* is a kind of repetition or epitome of the *Mosaic* law ; lastly, a late commentator, among some others, holds the last of these three opinions (24), and thinks, that nothing more is meant here, than that short summary which is found in the 28th and three following chapters of that book, in which are contained all the blessings and curses, which so alarmed the pious monarch. This is, indeed, that part, which, we observed elsewhere, *Moses* enjoined their future kings to write, and preserve a double copy of, to regulate their conduct by (25), and which he commanded *Josbua* to set up upon mount *Gerizim* (26) ; perhaps it might also be all that he ordained to be read by the priests, in the audience of all the people, every seventh year, at the feast of Tabernacles (27), though it is called the law in all those places.

But if either this short epitome, or even the whole *Deuteronomy*, was all that the high-priest found hid in the temple, when was the rest of the *Pentateuch* recovered ? If it be said, that there might be some copies of this last still extant, than this summary must have been in it ; and it will be surprising, that some one or more should not have been brought to so good a king, after he had given such signal proofs of his piety and zeal ; and if any such had been presented to him, he must either have shamefully neglected the reading of it, or if he had not, he could never have been under such surprise and fear, at the reading of that which the high-priest sent to him. We therefore think, with the far greater number of *Jews* and *Christians* (28), that it was the whole *Pentateuch* ; and that there might be still several imperfect and mutilated copies dispersed here and there, which might be now rectified by this prototype, after it was now brought to light.

(20) Deut. xxxi. 24, & seq. (21) It. Jud. ser. omn. vid. lib. Nitzachon. (22) Ant. l. x. c. 5. (23) Procop. Gazen. & al. ap. Patric. in loc. (24) Calmet. Comm. in loc. & Hist. V. T. l. 5. c. 8. (25) See Vol. III. p. 36. in fin. not. F. (26) Ibid. & alib. (27) Ibid. p. 39. (28) Vid. Munst. Grot. Jun. Usser. Le Clerc. Patric. Prideaux. & al. mult.

were denounced in it, against those very abominations, with which he had found the whole land over-run at his first coming to the crown, he rent his cloaths, and expressed the most lively tokens of grief, not doubting, but both he, and his whole kingdom, would soon feel the effects of those threatenings. There lived at that time, in one of the colleges of *Jerusalem*, a famed prophetess named *Huldah*; to her therefore *Josiah* dispatched some of his prime officers, with the high-priest at their head, to inquire, what would be the fate both of the king and people, seeing they had incurred the curses contained in that sacred volume; and these brought him word back from her, that God would not fail to inflict all those severe punishments upon his faithless and ungrateful subjects; but that as for himself, the concern and remorse which he had lately expressed for it, had so far suspended the divine vengeance, that he should be happily gathered unto his fathers in peace, before the nation felt the dire effects of them.

It was in the same year, and probably upon the reading of that sacred book, that *Josiah* became sensible, that they had been guilty of a shameful neglect of the three grand fe-

If it be asked, how the king could run over those five books so quickly, as to come presently to those blessings and curses, which are contained in the very latter end of the last of them; it may be answered, that that might be the very reason; for as their manner was to write upon volumes of a considerable length, which were rolled up round one or two sticks, it might so happen, that these last chapters proved on the out side, and that the king, impatient to know the contents of it, might have curiosity to read in it, before he had unfolded a round or two. We are, however, very far from rejecting the notion of the *Jews*, who believe, that providence directed him to that very part (29). Something like which we find happened under the gospel (30).

What appears most surprising is, that all the copies of the scriptures, which the good king *Hezekiah* seems to have caused to be written and dispersed about his kingdom (31), should be so soon vanished, that neither *Josiah* nor the high-priest had ever seen any of them, till this one was brought to light. All that can be said in the case is, that *Manasseh*, during the former part of his reign, had made such havock of them, that if there were any left, they were only in few private hands, who preserved them with the utmost caution and privacy. The *Jews* do even add, that he caused not only the scriptures, but all the books that had the name of God in them, to be destroyed.

(29) *Vid.* MUNST. *in loc.* PRID. *Connect. lib. 1.* (30) *Acts*
viii. 26, & *seq.* (31) *Vid.* PROV. xxv. 1.

The passover kept.

festivals enjoined by *Moses*. To retrieve this fault, he assembled all the heads of the people from all parts of the two kingdoms to the temple, where, having mounted the royal tribunal, he acquainted them, how they had happily recovered the volume of the *Mosaic* law, and read it himself before them; he then acquainted them with his design of expiating, as much as possible, their former neglect, by a more careful observance of it; and, as the solemn feast of the passover was near at hand, which he was resolved should be celebrated with the utmost solemnity, he exhorted them to follow his example, and to prepare themselves for that grand festival. Whilst the people were purifying themselves, *Josiah* commanded the priests to make a more strict search into the temple, and to cast out and destroy all the prophane and idolatrous lumber that was found in it, and to bring the ark, and all the sacred utensils, which had been removed out of it in some former reigns, and to depolite them in their former place and order: All these were readily complied with both by priests and people; after which they went, in due time, about killing the paschal lamb. This is again noted to have been observed with greater zeal and magnificence, than had been done by any of his predecessors since *Samuel's* time. After this, the king took a second progress through the kingdom, to purge it of all those abominations, which he might chance to have overlooked at the first circuit; he expelled all the wizards, enchanters, and such like dealers in dark practices, out of the land; settled courts of judicature every where, giving strict charge, both to the magistrates, and also to the priests and *Levites*, to see that the people were instructed in, and kept obedient to, the law of *Moses*.

THUS did that good monarch endeavour, with the sincerest zeal, to restore the pure worship of God through his dominions, and to clear it from all the dregs of superstition and idolatry; in hopes, if possible, to avert his impending judgment from falling upon them. But for all this, the text observes, that his anger was not abated in the least against the people; and we need not wonder at it. They were, as their whole history shews, ready for every market. They could so far comply with their pious monarchs, as to shew an outward zeal for God, and a dislike for idolatry; but what proves their want of sincerity, whenever they acted such a part, is their readiness to relapse into the vilest abominations, whenever they met with any encouragement for it under a wicked reign. These forced reformatiions therefore could

^r 2 Kings xxii, & xxiii. pass. 2 Chron. xxxiv, & xxxv. pass.

not but render them more odious in the sight of God, so that, having denounced a total destruction against the land, by his prophet *Zephaniah* [†] and by the prophetess *Huldah*, he hastened to take the good prince to himself, according to his promise, that his eyes might not behold the dreadful calamities that were to fall upon his nation.

Josiah had by this time reigned 31 years in profound peace, when *Pharaoh-Necho* came up against the *Assyrians*, or rather *Babylonians*, as far as the city of *Carchemish*, (F) which was situate upon the river *Euphrates* [‡]. It is not easy to say, whether *Josiah* looked upon the design of this expedition to be levelled against his own territories; or, which is still more probable, whether the kings of *Judah* were under a kind of tribute and obligation to those of *Babylon*, ever since *Manasseh* had been restored to his kingdom; which would have made it a breach of faith in *Josiah*, to have suffered an enemy of theirs to pass through his territories, in an hostile expedition against them; or, lastly, whether he had entered into some alliance with them; he came with a powerful army against him, and encamped in the valley of *Megiddo* (G). Here *Pharaoh* endeavoured in vain to dissuade him from concerning himself in the war between him and the *Babylonians*, by assuring him by his ambassadors, that he had no hostile design against him; *Josiah* would not be persuaded, but disguised himself, and drove directly against him. The text seems even to intimate, as if his chief design had been to fight him in person; but before he could reach him, he received

Josiah mortally wounded at Megid-
Year of the Flood, 2389. Before Christ, 610.

[†] *Zeph. i. 1, & seq.*

[‡] See 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

(F) This place, *Isaiab* tells us, had formerly belonged to *Sennacherib* (32), and was now under the *Babylonians*; for these had, ere now, reduced the *Assyrian* empire under their yoke, as we have hinted in some former note.

(G) This valley being in the tribe of *Manasseh* (33), *Josiah* might not only resent his passing through his territories without his leave, but also think, that his design was to invade them, notwithstanding all his protestations to the contrary, and his pretended commission from God to make war against the king of *Babylon* (34). It is likely, indeed, that this last pretence from an *Egyptian* prince could not make any great impression upon him, because he had only his bare word for it; and, if real, might be supposed to come, not from the true God, but from his *Egyptian* deities. But *Josiah* was given up to die by this expedition, and was suffered to rush into it, without consulting the Lord about the justice or success of it.

(32) *Cb. x. 9.* (33) *Vid. Josh. xvii. 11.* (34) 2 *Cb. xxxv. 20;*

a mortal wound, and was forced to be put into another chariot, and brought out of the field of battle. He died as soon as he had reached *Jerusalem* ^u, in the 39th year of his age, greatly lamented by all his good subjects; particularly by the prophet *Jeremy*, who is supposed to have composed that most excellent elegy, known to us by the name of the *Lamentations*, upon his death ^w; wherein he expresses the mournful state of the kingdom, with an energy and pathos, which we can better feel than describe. This is the only poetic piece of that kind in holy writ, for length and method; the composition is of the acrostic kind, and as the subject of the whole is mourning, which is always most naturally and freely vented and expressed, when confined to number, so here every verse is a sentence, which abounds still with some new, strong, and lively image of the deepest grief (H). There was indeed the greatest cause to lament so good a prince's fall, since with him expired at once the religion, happiness, and glory of the nation.

Jehoahaz
his short
reign.

Josiah was succeeded by his son *Jehoahaz*, whom the people set upon the throne, in the 23d year of his age; not in right of succession, for he was the youngest of *Josiah's* (I) sons,

^u Comp: 2 Kings xxiii. 29. & seq. & 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, & seq. See also Vol. II. p. 46. ^w Vid. Hieron. præf. in thræn. UssER. & al.

(H) The text says indeed, that *Jeremiah* composed a lamentation, which was sung by a number of singing men and women, both at his funeral, and passed into use afterwards upon all mournful occasions, and that they are written in the *Lamentations* (35). And *Josephus* add (36), that they were still extant in his time; by which one would be induced to think, that he meant the same with those we have now under that name.

But as *Josiah's* death was sudden and unexpected, it is hardly credible, that such a long elegy as this, could be composed, and set to music, against his funeral; and it is more probable, that that which accompanied his obsequies was much shorter, such perhaps as *David* made upon the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan* (37), and was since lost; and that this we are speaking of was composed in some subsequent reign, or perhaps, more probably, upon occasion of the *Jewish* captivity (38); we find likewise, that the prophet *Ezekiel* was commanded by God to compose such another *Lamentation* upon this last occasion ^{*}, though not equal to it in beauty and eloquence.

(I) It appears by the first book of *Chronicles* (39), that *Josiah* left four sons, the youngest is there, and by *Jeremiah*, called *Shallum*,

(35) *Ibid.* ver. 25. (36) *Ant.* l. x. c. 6. (37) 2 Sam. i. 17, & seq. (38) *Vid.* int. al. *Lament.* i. 3. * *Ezek.* xix. 1, but
& seq. - (39) *Ch.* iii. 15.



sons, but by downright faction. He began to give them early proofs, that he designed to reign as wickedly as some of his predecessors had done, but it was soon put out of his power: however, *Jeremiah* was at first sent to him from God, to exhort him to imitate his father's piety, instead of making a shew of bewailing his death; adding, that if he did not, he should be carried away captive and die in a strange land^a. *Deposed*. *Pharaoh-Necho* came accordingly against *Jerusalem*, in his and return from the *Assyrian* expedition, and dethroned him in the third month of his reign; and having set his elder brother *Eliakim*, whose name he changed into that of *Jehoiakim* (K), upon the throne, and laid him under the yearly tribute of 100 talents of silver and one talent of gold; he put the captive prince in bands at *Riblah*, and carried him into *Egypt*, where he ended his days^b (L). *carried captive in-*

Jehoiakim to Egypt.

^a See *Jerem.* xxii. 1, & seq.

^b 2 *Kings* xxiii. 31, & seq.

2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 1, 2, 3, & 4.

Ezek. xix. 1, 2, 3, 4.

but is the same with *Jehoabaz* (40); it is plain, moreover, that he was at least two years younger than his brother *Eliakim*, who was twenty-five years old when he succeeded him, which he did three months after. Archbishop *Usher*, who thinks, that the people chose him in haste, lest *Pharaoh-Necho* should surprise them without a head, supposes, that they exchanged his name *Shallum*, which they thought unfortunate, because the only king of *Israel* of that name had been murdered in the first month of his reign, for that of *Jehoabaz*, which they thought carried a more promising omen (41).

(K) The same learned prelate supposes this change of names to have been designed by the *Egyptian* king, as an acknowledgment, that he owed his victory over the *Assyrians* to the God of *Israel*, by whose command he had undertaken that war against them (42); being a kind of abbreviation of יהוה-יקים, *Jehovah-Jakim*, that is, the God of *Israel* hath or shall make it to prosper, &c. But, as it was the custom of conquerors to give new names to those whom they thus brought under tribute, in token of subjection, this last seems as likely to have been the motive of that change.

(L) It is not easy to guess what induced the *Egyptian* monarch to shew such preference to *Eliakim*, and to use *Jehoabaz* with such severity. It can hardly be supposed, that he laid so much stress upon the right of primogeniture, as to punish this last for having usurped his brother's crown; perhaps the *Jews* have found out, for once, the reason of it from the words of *Ezekiel*; the prophet represents that young prince as a courageous undertaking youth, under the figure of a young lion ready for the prey, and concludes with

(40) *Jerem.* xxii. 11, 12.

(41) *Sub A. M.* 3371.

(42).

Sub A. M. 3394. p. 82.

Jehoiakim's wicked reign.

Jeremiah accused.

Uriah put to death.

Jehoiakim was nothing terrified by this from following his unhappy brother's steps, nor the people from conforming to his wicked ways; for this *Jeremiah* was ordered by God, in the very beginning of his reign, to denounce his severe judgments against them, unless they repented. The time chosen for this was the feast of tabernacles, when there was the greatest concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom, and the place the court of the temple. He threatened them, among other things, with the destruction of the city and temple; and for this he was seized by the priests and people, and accused as a seditious person, worthy of nothing less than death. He was, however, acquitted and set at liberty by the more equitable princes and elders of the court; who, being persuaded that he spoke by divine command, reminded his accusers of some other prophets, who had formerly denounced the same heavy judgments unpunished and unmolested^a. *Jeremiah* was not the only one who was sent upon this dangerous errand; *Uriah*, another prophet, was forced to fly towards *Egypt*, for having dared to utter much the same prophecies against *Judah* and *Jerusalem*; but the king was so exasperated at him, that he sent some of his men to fetch him back; and, as soon as he was come to *Jerusalem*, he ordered him to be put to death, and his carcass to be thrown among those of the viler sort. *Jeremiah* had doubtless undergone the same fate, had he not had a powerful protector with the king, *Abikam*, the son of *Shaphan*, who had formerly been in great credit and authority under *Josiah*, who found means to screen him from the fury of the king and people^a; though he had foretold, about the same time, the accession of *Zedekiah* to the crown of *Judah*, and of *Nebuchadnezzar* to that of *Babylon*^b.

^a Jerem. xxvi. 1, ad 19. xxvii. 1, ad 11.

^b Ibid. ver. 20, ad fin.

^b Ibid.

this expression; *The nations heard of him, he was taken in their snare, and brought into Egypt, laden with chains* (43).

From this passage they conclude, that as soon as he had got himself chosen king, he put himself at the head of an army, resolved to revenge his father's death, and that he was overpowered by him; but whether *Pharaoh* came against him to *Jerusalem*, or *Jeboabaz* went out against him to *Carchemish*, they are not agreed; but either of these was enough to induce the conqueror not only to dethrone, but to carry him away prisoner, lest he should in time undertake the same exploit against him (44).

(43) *Ch.* xix. 2, 3, 4. xxiii. 33.

(44) *Vid.* Sanct. & Munst. in 2 Reg.

ABOUT four years after, finding, that his prophecies had *The Baby-* had no effect either upon the king or people, he foretold the Ionish cap- destruction of *Jerusalem* and of the temple, and the *Babylonish* captivity under *Nebuchadnezzar*, which he said would *foretold*. last seventy years, soon after which that monarchy would be at an end, and the land become desolate (M). And in the same year, being shut up in prison, either for that or some former prophesy, he caused *Baruc*, who was his scribe to write from his mouth the tenor of the same threatnings, and to go and read them in the hearing of all the people, who were then assembled at the temple, it seems, upon some solemn fast (N), *Baruc* obeyed, and some of the chief ministers, being informed of it, got the roll from him and brought it to the king, who was then sitting by the fire. He had scarce read a column or two in it, before he cut it in pieces, and flung it in the fire, notwithstanding the endeavours of those that were present to prevent it. *Jeremiah* and his messenger had doubtless felt the effects of his fury, had they not, as it were by a miracle, been kept out of his reach; however, his impiety did not go long unpunished. The prophet was ordered to write the same denunciations again^d, which were

Jehoiakim's impiety

^a Ibid xxv. 1, 2, & seq.

^d Ibid xxxvi. 1, & seq.

(M) This captivity was likewise foretold, though not in such plain terms, by *Isaiab* (45), under the type of *Tyre*; and also by *Habakkuk*. This last, expostulating with God about the incorrigible hardness of the *Jews*, is answered, that they would be shortly invaded and captivated by the *Chaldeans* (46). He likewise foretold the vast successes of *Nebuchadnezzar*; and when he repined at the prosperity of that wicked prince and people, he is answered, that they also should in due time become the scorn of other nations, and a prey to those whom they had subdued.

(N) Probably that of expiation, which, as we observed elsewhere, happened on the 10th day of the month *Tisri*, answering to the latter end of our *September*; for it is here observed to have been towards winter; and we do not find, that they had any other fast before the captivity +; neither do they seem to have been sensible enough of their approaching calamities, to have appointed one for that purpose. It is indeed said there, that it was in the 9th month, that the king flung the book into the fire (47); but that interval may easily be supposed to have elapsed, before those nobles were acquainted with the matter, or could find a proper time to inform the impious king with such disagreeable news.

(45) *Cb. xxiii. 15, & seq.* (46) *Habak. i. 2, & seq.* + *Vid. Vol III. p. 201. & Usser. sub A. M. 3397. p. 83.* (47) *Jerem. xxxvi. 22.*

punished. soon after fulfilled, by the coming of the *Babylonish* king with a powerful army, and a more effectual commission from God, against him and his whole kingdom; as we shall see in due time.

NEITHER were idolatry, and contempt of God's worship, the only crimes with which *Jehoiakim's* reign is branded; he added to them the most horrid cruelties and tyrannies, rapines and bloodshed; building and adorning the most sumptuous palaces, by violence and oppression; perverting justice, inventing crimes against the innocent to put them to death, and many more such like impieties: besides his being deaf to the admonitions of so many prophets. For these *Jeremiah* pronounced at last this dreadful sentence against him; that he should be given up into the hands of his most dreaded enemy, even of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that he should die unpitied and unlamented, that he should have the sepulture of an ass, and that his carcass should rot upon the ground^e. By this time also two singular predictions of that prophet had been fulfilled, which ought both to have added weight to the rest, and opened the infatuated prince's eyes to his imminent danger. *Jeremiah* had, some time before, forewarned him from relying upon the assistance of the king of *Egypt*, whose army was still at *Carchemish*, since it would be totally overthrown by the more successful arms of the young *Nebuchadnezzar*^f, the prince pointed out by providence to subdue, among many other nations, that rebellious one of the *Jews*. This happened accordingly in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim's* reign, when that young victorious prince, having been taken into partnership of the empire with his father, and sent against the king of *Egypt*, gave him an entire defeat at *Carchemish*, took the place, put the whole garison to the sword, and beat back the troops that came to its assistance[†].

THIS victory proved the unhappy prelude of *Judah's* misfortunes: the conqueror marched directly against *Jerusalem* and took it (O); rifled the temple of its most precious fur-

^e Ibid. ver. 30. 31. comp. with ch. xxii. ver. 13. to the end.

^f Ibid. xlii. 1, & seq. † See Vol. II. p. 47, & seq. Uss. sub A. M. 3397.

(O) This *Usser* proves to have happened in the ninth month, from the anniversary fast which the *Jews* have kept ever since in memory of that calamity. This is the more worth observing, because the seventy years captivity, foretold by *Jeremiah*, must be reckoned from this epocha (48).

(48) *Fid. Uss. ub. sup.*

niture, and the royal palace of its most hopeful and beautiful young princes, to be made eunuchs in his own court, according to *Isaiah's* prophecy to *Hezekiah* ^e; and the city of all its choicest youths, whether for blood, learning, wit or beauty, to be likewise sent to *Babylon*. Among these last was *Daniel* and his three companions: *Jehoiakim* was at first put in bonds, and designed to be sent away with the rest; but, upon his submission, and promise of paying a yearly tribute to him, the king changed his mind, and left him as a kind of viceroy under him over the kingdom. But, whilst *Nebuchadnezzar* was taken up with his other conquests he found means to rebel against him, after a three years subjection, and continued about three years without paying him any tribute: this rebellion cost him dear, for that prince, exasperated against him, instead of coming in person, sent an army into *Judæa*, consisting of *Syrians*, *Chaldeans*, *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*, who wasted the whole kingdom, carried away 3023 prisoners; among whom, *Josephus* says, was the prophet *Ezekiel* ^h; but it is more likely, that he stayed at *Jerusalem* till the next reign; took and murdered the unfortunate *Jehoiakim*, and dragged his carcass out of the city gates, where they left it unburied, according to *Jeremiah's* death-prediction (P). Jehoiakim's

HE

^e Dan. i. 2, & seq. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. ^h Ant. l. x. c. 8.

(P) This last circumstance of the king's death is only inferred from the tenor of the prophecy above mentioned; for neither the book of *Kings*, nor that of the *Chronicles*, make mention of it; the former of which doth even say, that he slept with his fathers (49); by which must be only meant, that he died as they did. *Josephus*, who relates this story a little differently, and throws the fault upon the perfidy of the *Babylonians*, doth however own, that his body was cast out of the city, and left exposed in the field (50). Other *Jews* think, that he died as they were carrying him prisoner into *Babylon*, and that they left his body in the high-way, without farther care (51).

The last quoted place out of the *Chronicles* says, that his acts and abominations were recorded in the book of the kings of *Israel* and *Judab*. These abominations may be reasonably supposed to be his idolatries, murders, oppressions, and rebellion; but the *Targum* mentions, moreover, his having the image of *Baal* upon his forehead; others say, that he had several charms and stigmata

(49) Conf. 2 *Kings* xxiv. 6. 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 8. (50) *Ant.* l. x. c. 8. (51) *Abarben. ap. Patric. in 2 Kings* xxiv. 6.

Jehoiachin's
wicked
reign,

Year of
the Flood,
2400.

Year be-
fore Christ
599

and capti-
vity.

Zedeki-
ah's reign.

HE was succeeded by his son *Jehoiachin*, called also *Jechoniah*, and in contempt *Coniah* (Q), who, was then but 18 years old; whether he took the crown contrary to *Nebuchadnezzar*'s mind, or endeavoured to shake off his yoke, the text doth not say, but only observes, that he was as wicked as his father. However, that monarch came up against him before he had reigned three months: *Jehoiachin* came out to him, not in an hostile but submissive manner, attended with his mother and his whole court; but they found him inexorable, and were all sent away captives into *Babylon*, and died there, according to the prophet's prediction, mentioned in the last note. The temple, palace, treasury, and the whole city were a second time ransacked, and stripped of all that was valuable in them; even many precious ornaments and utensils of the temple, which had continued there ever since the time of *Solomon*, became a prey to the conqueror: he likewise transported 10,000 men, famed either for their valour or wisdom; besides 1000 of the best artificers in gold, silver, and other metals and materials; in a word, he left scarcely any behind, but the very common people to cultivate the land. Among his captives of note was the famed *Mordecai*, and, as is most generally believed, the prophet *Ezekiel*. After this he set *Mattaniah*, who was the son of *Josiah* and uncle to the unhappy *Jehoiachin*, upon the throne, and changed his name into that of *Zedekiah*; and, having laid him under a certain tribute, and taken an oath of fidelity and subjection¹, returned to his dominions.

Zedekiah began to reign in the 21st year of his age, and proved as impious as his late predecessors; however, he continued faithful to the king of *Babylon* some few years, during which, he received some embassies from the kings of *Ammon*, *Moab*, *Edom*, *Tyre*, and *Sidon*, who were all under the same yoke with him; seemingly indeed to congratulate him upon

¹ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13. Ezek. xvii. 12, & seq.

found upon his body, which proved, that he dealt in devilish arts (52); and much more to the same purpose.

(Q) He is called by this last name in *Jeremiah*, who uttered this dreadful prophesy against him (53).—That he should be given into the hand of the king of the *Chaldeans*; — that he and his mother should end their days in a strange country, wishing still in vain to return into their own land: as it happened accordingly not long after.

(52) *Vid. de his Auct. tradit. Hebr. in paralip. Hieron. in loc. Eupolem. ap. Euseb. Tostat. & al.*

(53) *Cb. xxii. 24, & seq. his*

his accession to the crown, but in fact to enter into a confederacy with him against the *Chaldeans* †. The young prince gave but too much heed to their proposal; but *Jeremiah*, who was warned of it, sent to every one of the ambassadors chains and yokes, which he bid them carry to their respective masters, advising them in the name of God to submit themselves willingly to the king of *Babylon*, and not provoke him to lay a much severer yoke upon them, by giving credit to their lying sooth-sayers and star-gazers ^k. There were at the same time in *Jerusalem* several pretended prophets, who endeavoured to persuade the too credulous king that in spite of *Jeremiah's* predictions to the contrary, the captivity would be shortly at an end, and that the sacred vessels which had been carried away, would be all restored to the temple; to which *Jeremiah* replied, that those few, on the contrary, which had been left behind, would be carried off with the rest. Thus, for some years, there was nothing scarcely to be heard but victory and deliverance on the part of the false prophets, and desolation and ruin from the mouth of *Jeremiah*. This raised him many a bitter enemy, not only in *Judæa*, but even in *Babylon*: for he had taken the opportunity, as often as *Zedekiah* sent his yearly tribute thither, to write letters to the captives, exhorting them to bear their yoke patiently, and not to expect a deliverance before the seventy years were expired; and they, in return, wrote letters into *Judæa*, to desire that he might be apprehended and punished, as a dangerous enemy to his country, who uttered, not what the God of *Israel*, but what the king of *Babylon*, dictated to him ^l. Deceived by his false prophets.

THIS contest lasted some years, during which, his enemies had in vain essayed to stop his mouth, by causing him to be apprehended and imprisoned. The infatuated king ^{Rebels against} was at length persuaded, by his false prophets, to shake off the *Babylonish* yoke, and that rash enterprise completed both his own and his kingdom's ruin, and hastened the total destruction of the temple and city. He was then in the ninth year of his reign, when *Nebuchadnezzar* came with a powerful army, wasted the whole country, seized upon his fortresses, and at length laid close siege to *Jerusalem*, before *Zedekiah* could make any provision either for his own defence or escape ^m. It was then that, seeing his error too late, he sent privately for *Jeremiah*, to consult with him what

† See Vol. II. p. 96.

^k Jerem. xxvii. pass.^l Ibid.^m 2 Kings xxv. 1, & seq. Jerem. xxxix. 1. & JOSEPH. Ant. l. x. c. 10.

to do ; but the prophet only told him, that the city and temple would certainly be destroyed, and himself and all his subjects carried into captivity (R) ; which answer did so exasperate the king, that he ordered him to be immediately carried into prison *. In the mean time *Pharaob-Hophra*, or *Apries*, came with an army against the besiegers : *Josephus* says, that *Zedekiah* had made an alliance with him, before he ventured to throw off the yoke ° ; if so, he was the only one that kept it with him ; for as for all those other princes, who sent their ambassadors to him at the first, it is plain, that they were so far from assisting him, that they rather became his enemies and accusers. However that be, *Nebuchadnezzar* did not think fit to let the *Egyptians* come up to him, but raised the siege for the present, and marched directly against them. This spread such an insatiation among the people in the city, that, looking upon themselves as already out of all danger, they ventured even to force into their service those very servants whom they had but lately dismissed, it being the sabbatic year ; not so much out of regard to the law of *Moses*, as out of the fear they were in, of their revolting to the *Chaldeans*. The king, however, was not so sanguine, but sent to desire *Jeremiah* to put up his prayers to God for him and the nation ; but was answered by him, that the *Chaldeans* would renew the siege with fresh vigour, and that his *Egyptian* allies would leave him to their mercy, and return into their own country. Soon after this, the prophet attempted to make his escape, but was caught in his flight, and brought before the princes, who ordered him to be scourged and flung into a dungeon. In the mean time, *Nebuchadnezzar*, having routed the *Egyptians*, returned to the siege, and carried it on so vigorous-

* Jerem. xxxiv. 1, & seq.

° Ubi supra.

(R) About the same time, *Ezekiel* prophesied at the captivity (54) much the same things that *Jeremiah* did at *Jerusalem* ; only with this difference seemingly, that the one said, the king should never see *Babylon* ; whereas the other said expressly, that he should be carried thither prisoner, and end his days there. This seeming contradiction, *Josephus* tells us (55), staggered the king's faith, and made him give less heed to them : but the difficulty was rather how to reconcile *Ezekiel* to himself, who adds, *that he should die there*, though he did not see it. However, *Nebuchadnezzar* found out the way of doing it, by putting out that unfortunate prince's eyes.

(54) Ezek. xxi. 1, & seq. xxiv. 1, & seq.

(55) Ant. l. x. c. 10. ly,

ly, that the inhabitants began to labour under such great scarcity of provisions, that they found it impossible to hold it out longer. During this last siege, the king sent often to *Jeremiah*, in hopes of receiving at length some comfortable news; but neither his resentment, nor the grievous things which he was made to suffer, could make him send a better answer, than that they must be all carried away into captivity. Happy had it been for them if they had taken his counsel, and tried to soften their conqueror by a timely submission; but instead of it, the king, to avoid the threatened captivity, endeavoured to make his escape by night, attended by his nobles and guards. The *Chaldeans*, who were soon apprised of it, pursued after them, and brought them back to their exasperated monarch at *Riblah*; where he glutted his revenge upon the unfortunate king of *Judah* with the utmost cruelty, by causing all his children to be butchered before his eyes, and ordering them immediately after to be put out, that no object might afterwards obliterate the idea of that bloody scene. This happened towards the end of the eleventh year of his reign; he was soon after sent into *Babylon*, laden with chains, and ended his days in a prison.

IN the mean time, the *Chaldeans* having entered the city, fell to plundering the temple, palaces, and noblemen's houses, and seized every where upon the richest spoil. *Nebuzar-adan*, who commanded them after *Nebuchadnezzar's* departure, caused the two brazen columns, that stood in the court of the temple, to be broken in pieces (S), and all the gold, silver, and costly furniture to be taken away, whilst the rest of his army made the same havock in the city; and on the third day after his entrance into it, which was the tenth of the fourth month, answering to our *August 27th*, and a sabbath day; he ordered the temple, palace, and the

ah's mis-
able end.

Year of
the Flood,

2411.

Year be-

fore Christ

588.

The city

plundered,

^P USSER. sub A. M. 3416. p. 91.

(S) The same which *Solomon* had caused to be made by the famous *Hiram* (56), and which we have spoken of in the description of the temple. These together with the large molten sea, lavers, and many more of the like nature, though all of them master-pieces in their kind, had hitherto been spared by other conquerors, but became now a prey to the fury or avarice of the *Babylonish* general, who caused them to be all carried away, with a vast multitude of other sacred utensils, such as cauldrons, censers, tables, tongs, forks, and many others, whether of gold, silver, or copper.

(56) 2 Chron. iv. 11, & seq.

whole

and burnt. whole city to be set on fire, and burnt to the ground. The walls, towers, and other fortifications were next ordered to be demolished, and all the *Jews*, down to the very common people, to be carried away prisoners, except some few of the baser sort, whom he left to till the land¹. As for *Jeremiah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* had given his general such charge concerning him, that he was well treated and set at liberty, and went and lived with *Gedaliah* (T), whom that general left as a kind of governor over the miserable remnant left behind.

THIS was the dreadful end of that glorious kingdom, and of the *Israelitish* monarchy, after it had stood 468 years from the time that *David* began to reign over it, 388 years from the revolt of the ten tribes from it, and 134 years from the excision of the *Israelitish* commonwealth²; and had continued under the sun-shine of the divine protection, which nothing could have eclipsed, but their almost constant and horrid ingratitude, and invincible itch of imitating the idolatries and witcheries of other nations: crimes, which though become as abominable to God, as they were universally practised by mankind, yet seem to have flowed from a purer source, though corrupted by degrees to this vast height, by the amazing degeneracy of mankind; but for this we shall refer the reader to the Appendix here annexed. How the *Jewish* captives fared in *Babylon*, will be seen in next chapter: all that remains to be taken notice of, with respect to the *Jews* that were left in *Canaan*, is, that treacherous and bloody action, which was committed upon *Gedaliah*, the *Jewish* deputy, by one of the princes of *Judah*.

His name was *Ishmael*, he had escaped the common fate, by taking timely refuge with the king of *Ammon*. After *Nebuzar-adan*'s departure, he observed, that great numbers of dispersed *Jews* flocked to *Gedaliah*, who gave them a kind

¹ 2 Kings xxv. pass. 2. Chron. xxxvi. 11, & seq. Jerem. xxxix. pass. JOSEPH. Ant. l. x. c. 11. ² See USSER. ubi sup.

(T) This *Gedaliah*, was the son of *Abikam*, a person in such credit in all the latter reigns, that he had been able to screen that prophet from the resentment of the king, and fury of the people; so that it is very probable, *Jeremiah*, in gratitude to his father, obtained this favour for him from *Nebuzar-adan*. And this might also be the motive that induced him to go and live with him in *Judah*, rather than to go into *Babylon*, when that general put it to his option, not without some considerable encouragements, to invite him to the latter.

reception,

reception, and plenty of provisions to subsist upon, till they could come to till the land; and being moved with envy, and instigated by the *Ammonitish* king, came to him with ten resolute fellows to *Mizpah*, with a design to assassinate him. *Gedaliah* was indeed warned of his intent, but was so far from giving credit to it, that he entertained him with all the tokens of friendship and respect, and gave thereby the treacherous *Ishmael* an opportunity of murdering both him and all the brave *Chaldeans* he had about him. Two days after, meeting with about fourscore *Israelites* clad in mourning, who were going to bewail the ruin of the city and temple, and to offer up their devotions there; he by some means enticed them to *Mizpah*, where he murdered them, and threw their carcases into a well. He was returning into the land of *Ammon*, with a number of prisoners which he made at *Mizpah*, among whom were some princesses of *Judah*, whom the *Babylonish* general had left with *Gedaliah*; but was pursued by *Jobanan* and some other *Hebrew* captains, who rescued all the prisoners, and forced him to fly for his life, with only eight of his men.

THIS barbarous action made the *Jewish* officers, and the rest of the people, so afraid of the *Chaldeans* resentment, that they began to think of fleeing into *Egypt* for safety. They consulted *Jeremiah* about it, who gave them this answer from the Lord ten days after, that if they tarried in *Judaea*, they should be protected from the *Chaldeans*, but that if they persisted in their design of going down into *Egypt*, they should all inevitably perish there, and share in the dreadful calamities of that perishing kingdom. This speech, however, was so far from deterring them, who were always bent upon disobedience and contradiction, that, suspecting him to have been instigated by *Baruc*, rather than inspired by God, they both ventured to go down, and to force them also to go along with them. As soon as they had reached the city of *Taphnes*, *Jeremiah* began to foretel the taking of that place, and the desolation of that kingdom by *Nebuchadnezzar* †; which happened accordingly soon after, as we have seen elsewhere ‡, and shall have occasion again to mention in the next chapter. What became of *Jeremiah* is not known; some suppose him to have been stoned by his countrymen; but that is mere guess-work, and it is not material enough to enquire further about it.

† 2 Kings xxv. 23, & seq. 2 Chron. ubi sup. ad fin. Jerem. xl. & seq. pass. ‡ See Vol. II. p. 51.

An APPENDIX,

Concerning the Rise and Progress of IDOLATRY and WITCHCRAFT.

WE hope our readers will not think it amiss, if we close this *Jewish* history with a short enquiry into the origin and progress of those two epidemic evils, *idolatry* and *witchcraft*, which had so long and so universally infected the world, and more particularly the *Israelites*; and proved so obstinately rooted in the latter, as to bring a total excision of one of their kingdoms, and so long and severe a captivity upon the other.

WE shall, however, forbear descanting upon the manifold opinions of the learned about this matter, because we think, that they have gone a great way for the causes of it, and overlooked those more natural ones which were just at their elbow. But here, with respect of the first of these evils, we would be far from rejecting that probable opinion of some judicious men^a, which fetches its origin from the promise, made to *Adam*, of the seed of the woman, or the *Messiah* and *Mediator*; from the progenitorship of whom *Ham* and *Canaan* having been excluded, for their irreverent behaviour towards their naked father, our authors suppose *Canaan* might be induced to obliterate and revenge that loss and disgrace, by corrupting the true meaning of the prophesy; and instead of one mediator, to be born in after-ages of the line of *Shem*, to introduce the worship of a multiplicity of them, not of human race, but of some superior nature, among their posterity. And if it be at least a very probable opinion, that it was this very *Messiah* who appeared in some visible shape, and had frequent intercourses with *Adam* and the patriarchs; or though even these apparitions were, as others will have them, only those of angels, deputed by God, and speaking in his name †, but from whose intercourse he and his cursed posterity may be reasonably supposed to have been excluded; how natural was it for him to arrogate a superiority over his rival, as well in the number and frequency, as in the intimacy and excellence of those heavenly visitors, by rearing an infinite multitude of altars to them. Thus for instance, *Egypt* was the place, where *Ca-*

^a Vid. int. al. ALIX. in Pentateuch. not. (T). & p. 487. not. (S).

† See Vol. II. p. 371.

naan, if not *Ham*, fixed his abode ; and how thriving a soil it proved for them, needs not to be repeated here ; whereas the holy patriarchs, who offered their sacrifices to the true God, upon those altars only, which they occasionally reared in those places where he appeared to them, having but a very small number of them, appeared vastly inferior to them in this respect in the eyes of an ignorant world.

BUT though this accounts probably enough for the rise of polytheism, yet it leaves us wholly in the dark about the more absurd and unnatural worship of stocks and stones, under various figures of the planets, and of several parts of the animal and vegetable creation ; which is more particularly the subject of our present inquiry. For we cannot see, which way these can be said, in any sense, to have been introduced in consequence of the former. As for those who derive them from the custom of deifying their heroes, and erecting statues and monuments to them, which came in time to be worshipped, instead of the prototypes, we can by no means agree to them ; because it doth not appear to us, that those *Apotheoses* began any thing so early as the times we are speaking of ; they seem rather to have been introduced in consequence of the notion of polytheism ; so that we must seek elsewhere for the source of idolatry. For as for what we have said on this head in the history of *Egypt* *, the reader may remember, that we did not give it as our particular opinion, but either as the best account, which the priests of that nation could give for their various kinds of worship to *Herodotus*, or as the conjectures of that, or other authors, concerning their superstitious and nonsensical mythology.

BUT as to us, we rather think, that the origin and progress of idolatry is plainly pointed out to us, in the account which *Moses* gives us of *Laban* and *Jacob's* parting †. The reader may remember, that these two, after a sharp contest, being ready to depart, the one into *Mesopotamia*, and the other into *Canaan*, agreed to bind themselves and their posterity, by a solemn oath on both sides, to live in peace and friendship with each other. Now the way they took to ratify and perpetuate the memory of this covenant, was the rearing up a heap of stones in the place ; which seems, therefore, to have been founded upon some antient and common custom of that nature, and well known to them both, and only differently interpreted by them, according to their different religions. *Jacob*, who was a worshipper of the true God, called this monument *Galeed*, or *Gall-bed*, a heap of

* See Vol. I. p. 455, & seq.

† Gen. xxxi. 44, & seq.

witness, that is, an authentic record, of his having appealed to the God of heaven for the faithful performance of the agreement on his part : This was the pure original sense of this ceremony. *Laban*, on the other hand, interprets it according to the corrupt theology of his time and country, in terms to this effect ; this heap be both a *Galeed*, or *record* of our mutual oath, המצפה *Ve-hammitzphah*, and also a *watchman*, or rather a *watch-tower*, from which the gods, that is, that of *Abraham*, and that, or those, of *Nabor*, may behold and punish the aggressor, when we come to be at such a distance from each other, that there will be none else to see and judge between us.

It is true, indeed, that *Laban's* words might be capable of a more figurative construction, did not the outcry which he made after his gods^c shew him to have been such a thorough-paced idolater, as to be incapable of being understood in any other sense. This made *Jacob*, who doubtless could best judge of his meaning, carefully avoid swearing by any other oath than by the Dread, that is, by the God, of his father *Isaac*^d.

HOWEVER, not to lay greater stress upon this than we need, it is plain, that if such a custom as this was once introduced, of erecting monuments in memory of any solemn covenants, the transition was easy into the notion, that the Godhead, or rather some deity, took its residence in it, in order to punish the first aggressors ; and how soon this might be improved by an ignorant and degenerate world, till not only birds, beasts, stocks, and stones, but sun, moon, and stars, were called into the same office ; though used perhaps at first, by the designing part of mankind, as scare-crows, to over-awe the ignorant. This is indeed the most that it ever did, even whilst idolatry was at the height ; whilst the more cunning sort laughed at it, and only made it to serve their own ends.

THE next improvement might be that of witchcraft, and the same kind of policy might oblige those *Machiavels* to wink at, if not to encourage, a numerous herd of inferior knaves, as must naturally be bred out of the dregs of this corrupt theology, under the denominations of astrologers, enchanters, forcerers, teraphim-makers, retainers of familiar spirits, soothsayers, fortune-tellers, and many more of the same nature, who were all greedily resorted unto by the populace upon all occasions ; though, in matters of greater mo-

^c Gen. xxxi. 30, & seq. pass.

^d Ibid. ver. 53.

ment, they were forced to receive their directions from their principals.

HITHERTO we have avoided meddling with the common opinion, which makes the devil the cause of all these mischiefs ; if he was really so, what we have said will only shew how easy it was for him to compass his end. But tho' the scriptures seem plainly to intimate some kind of intercourse between some men and women, and some kind of spirits, as in the case of the *Egyptian* conjurers, and the witch of *Endor* ; yet we do not find, that the devil is any where charged with having debauched mankind into idolatry or witchcraft, how glad and ready soever he might be to encourage them, after men had once introduced the notion of them into the world. This we purposely take notice of, because the hypothesis we are speaking against supposes such an extent of power in him, as would be highly derogatory of the divine goodness, whilst it left the bulk of mankind under a kind of inevitable necessity of falling into all his snares, with those little assistances they had, either from the dim light of reason, or the the book of nature.

THERE is, indeed, a great deal of difference between supposing, that the devil first blinded mankind, and then led them into all manner of wickedness ; and saying, that men having shamefully corrupted themselves, proceeded from one wickedness to another, till at length, being given up to their abominable lusts, they became the slaves of that evil spirit, and were easily enticed by him into this excess of impiety.

WE may add, that mankind, if we except the families of a few patriarchs, carrying their views no farther than this life, their insatiable desire after wealth, their care of preserving it, an unaccountable itch to pry into futurity, and the like, did naturally lead them into all that variety of superstitious trash we have been speaking of. Could any thing therefore more effectually cure the *Israelites*, too prone to imitate them in all these, than to make their worldly happiness rise and fall, according as they shewed the greater abhorrence or fondness for every thing that bordered upon idolatry and witchcraft.

THUS then the antient and truly religious custom of ratifying oaths and contracts by such monuments, which was only an appeal to God's all-seeing eye, insensibly degenerated into the grossest and absurdest idolatry, under the multiform notion of guardian idols or gods, protectors of houses, lands, kingdoms, &c. Thence sprung the trades of conjuring each respective deity to its particular idol, and use ; of foretelling things by a pretended intimacy with those deities ; the art

of star-gazing and astrology; of making teraphims, idols, and other charms, offensive and defensive, under their proper constellations; with the whole train of heathenish superstition, forbid under such severe penalties by the *Jewish* law-giver.

BUT if this should not sufficiently account for the origin of witchcraft, what we shall add concerning one branch of it, as yet unmentioned, may perhaps do it more effectually; we mean the heretofore so much boasted craft of enchanting serpents, insomuch, that we read of whole nations that pretended to it, and some learned fathers seem to express such an admiration of it, as if they had really seen, or had been some other way fully convinced of it. But the notion must have been of much older date, since the psalmist, speaking according to the vulgar opinion, compares the sad mischiefs of an evil tongue to the poison of the deaf adder, that stoppeth her ears against the charms of the most cunning enchanter^e. What pains hath it not cost some antient fathers^f, and of late, especially, the learned *Bochart*^g, to find out a serpent that answered the character given here by the psalmist. Deaf ones we need not be at a loss for; we have a sort in *England*, which, though not exactly of the same colour with those of our author, but rather of a reddish copper hue, seem to be quite deaf, and their bite is reckoned mortal: but *David* speaks of one that stoppeth her ear to the charmer's voice and this has given occasion to various conjectures, which may be best seen in the author himself. For our part, we see no reason to understand these words literally, any more than if he had compared an evil tongue to the voice of a syren, the claws of a harpy, the eyes of a basilisk, or of any other fabulous creature; we hope, that in neither case there is now any necessity, either for disproving the reality of such creatures, or for vindicating the sacred poet's allusion to them. All that we pretend here, is to enquire, how the notion of this pretended art came to be introduced, and so universally received in the world; and this cannot, we think, be done, without fetching its origin from the old serpent in paradise^h.

AND here we need not observe, how much every circumstance in the history of his seducing the woman; his being, according to the common version, called the most subtle of all creatures, his being chosen by the devil, as the fittest in-

^e Psal. lviii. 4. 5. ^f ORIG. EUSEB. in Ps. lix. AUGUST. de Genes. ad litt. lib. ix. Respons. ad quæst. 44. vid. & SCALIG. de Animal. lib. 1. ^g De Animal. sacr. lib. iii. c. 6. ^h Gen. iii. 1.

strument to deceive her, the curse pronounced against him by God, and the enmity entailed between his and her seed, might contribute to the notion of serpents being infected with some diabolical pestiferous quality, which made them thus strangely destructive to mankind. But what we would first of all take notice of is, that though, in our former account of our first parents seduction †, we followed the current of all versions, which represent that reptile as the most subtle of all living creatures, yet the term **חָרָם** *Harum*, which *Moses* there makes use of, signifies quite another thing, namely, in its primitive signification, *naked*; accordingly he says, in the preceding verse, that our first parents were **עֲרֻמִּים** *Harumim*, *naked*; so that in a figurative sense, it may properly enough signify a harmless inoffensive creature. It seems even probable, that the sacred historian takes notice of this circumstance, as one main reason of *Eve's* being so easily deceived by it; for what could be more fit for the devil's purpose than such a one, which was furnished with neither legs, claws, horns, or any one single part, even for its own defence? had it indeed been really the craftiest of all animals, *Adam* could not but have known it, seeing he gave them all names according to their natures; and then *Eve* could not but have been particularly mistrustful of him, so that he would have been the last that the devil would have pitched upon to tempt her. Hence we would observe, 1. That it was chiefly this naked, defenceless, and inoffensive appearance, though adorned perhaps with all those beauties of shape, colour, and wings, which we mentioned before under that head *, that gained credit with her; and, 2. That whenever the same term is used afterwards to signify *cunning*, as it sometimes doth; it is only the word *Harum*, *naked* or *simple*, ironically applied.

HERE was then a creature, which, from being originally harmless and inoffensive, became the most dangerous and deadly one in the whole creation: a wonderful change of nature, to all outward appearance, without change of shape; a power to kill infused into it, without the addition of any offensive part; inflicting a sure and speedy, a painful and unaccountable death, and yet not able to give the body a greater wound, than that of a seemingly slight prick. What could an infant world attribute all these surprising effects to, but to some deadly occult quality, which the devil left behind him with it? or what could be more apt to cultivate that notion, if not to give the first rise to it, than the enmity en-

† See Vol. I. p. 119.

* Ibid. p. 123.

tailed

tailed between mankind and the serpent, after the prophetic sense of it had once been obliterated with the far greatest part of the world? and whence should they expect a remedy against this supposed preternatural evil, but from pretended preternatural means? so that though we are far from thinking, that it sent men to the devil for help, for charms, and enchantments, yet it might easily induce those who first found out a cure for the bite of those venomous creatures, to assume to themselves some supernatural skill, in order both to gain greater credit and admiration among the people, and to prevent their prying too narrowly into their secrets. How much farther these pretended enchanters improved this notion of a preternatural, or diabolical vertue in serpents, above all other creatures, is plain, from that vast variety of surprising tricks, which they attributed to them¹; one of which, and that not by far the most extraordinary, was that of stopping their ears, that they might be proof against all enchantments; and it is this, we shall now endeavour to account for.

It is not to be doubted, but these cunning artists had acquainted themselves, as far as they could, with all the various kinds of serpents; some of which, such as our common snakes, being found to be perfectly harmless, might serve them to amuse the ignorant, by pretending, that they had charmed them into that inoffensive familiarity, which they beheld with the utmost wonder; others of a more dangerous nature, such as the viper or adder, but which only bite when hurt or provoked, might be either tamed by degrees, and by gentle usage, or rendered harmless by breaking those two teeth, through which they inject their poison; the latter therefore might be used as an amusement, and the former to try experiments, to find out remedies; and both together to deceive the world, by shewing their pretended capacity, or incapacity, to hurt or kill, according as they were, or were not, enchanted. But as they found their remedies ineffectual in many cases, and against the bite of some kinds of serpents, they had no other way to save themselves, than by pretending, that those had a particular virtue, which was proof against their charms; and as the deaf kind is the most deadly, and hitherto found to be incurable, nothing could be more natural, than for the pretended enchanters to affirm, that their charms consisted in the sound of certain words, pro-

¹ Vid. Auct. sup. citat. & POMPONAC. de incant. TRITHEM. Steganogr. TLXIR. Hist. Pers. DELRIO. Disquisit. magic. & al. mult.

nounced in the hearing of those reptiles, which could therefore have no effect against them, because they had the skill of turning a deaf ear to them. Hence came the notion of their hearing but with one ear, which they stopped either with the end of their tail, or by laying it close to the ground, whenever they found themselves in danger of being enchanted; and many others, equally absurd, invented on purpose to account for the pretended superiority of skill in this creature, above that of the enchanter.

THUS we hope, that the history of *Jacob* and *Laban* makes it at least very probable, that idolatry, with all its long train of vain and absurd, of vile and abominable attendants, was at first foisted into the world from the primitive notion of God's omnipresence; which, through the degeneracy and ignorance of the world, which could not perhaps comprehend the possibility of the deity being present and attentive to every part of the creation, branched itself out into that infinite multitude of deities, of various sizes and natures, as best suited with their corrupt notions and morals. We may add, that the righteous line of *Shem* is not the only people, who are recorded to have preserved this pure and primitive notion, since, as we observed formerly †, the inhabitants of *Thebais*, or *Upper Egypt*, did worship none but the *Cneph*, or supreme deity, whilst the lower part of the country was immersed in the grossest idolatry. How far the early notion of good and bad spirits might further contribute to corrupt this pure and primitive sense of God's omnipresence, and degenerate by degrees into a belief that they were, if we may be allowed the expression, the eyes and hands of the deity, and the instruments of his favour or justice, we need not say; and if this was the case, how easy was it for the corrupt physiologists of those times to turn them all into deities, and even assign them their several provinces over every creature, according as they found it beneficial or hurtful to mankind. Hence proceeded, most likely, the worship of *crocodiles*, *ibis*, *rats*, *onions*, *garlick*, and many more among the *Egyptians*; and of the *heavenly bodies*, both by them and the rest of the world *.

Now there is nothing more plain, than that all this infinite variety of superstitions was owing to that insatiable desire after those various kinds of happiness, which their vitiated taste made them seek after, according to their different inclinations, from those imaginary dispensers of them. So that if the *Israelites* could but have kept themselves wholly free

† See Vol. I. p. 28.

* Ibid. p. 24.

from it, it would have proved the most effectual means, perhaps, of recovering the rest of mankind, by setting before their eyes a whole nation, enjoying the height of grandeur and happiness, not from those fancied deities which engrossed the worship of other nations, from whom they were so far from expecting any blessings, that they had both them, and their stupid votaries, in the greatest contempt and abhorrence; but under the influence of the only supreme creator of heaven and earth, whom alone they acknowledged to be the bountiful giver of all good. Here then was at once the source of their guilt and unhappiness, that they thwarted, instead of complying with, the designs of providence; and by their shameful imitation, confirmed other nations in their delusions and idolatry, whom they were designed to cure by their utter detestation of them.

BUT there was still a farther aggravation of their guilt and impiety, the inhuman cruelties which were practised at the worship of some, and the filthy and unnatural ceremonies which were used at that of others, of these false deities. All these may be reasonably supposed to have been invented by crafty and designing men, merely to gratify the depraved appetites of a senseless vulgar, in order to make it subservient to their more latent views; but when they came to be adopted by God's peculiar people, in spite of all his most express prohibitions and threatnings, they carried a much higher degree of guilt in them, because they tended to cast a double dishonour upon him, among those wiser heathens, who were ignorant of his laws against them, and yet abhorred them, as being manifestly contrary to his nature. For what opinion could they have of the God of *Israel*, or how could they believe him to be the supreme being, and yet suffer his people to commit such abominations? What must even the very *Israelites* themselves think of him, if they could suppose, that he would indulge them in those very impieties, for which he had so severely punished the nations, whose land they now inhabited?

To all this let us add their obstinate unbelief, which hardened them against the most pathetic remonstrances, and dreadful threatnings of their prophets, whom God still sent to them upon all such defections; and who never appeared in greater number, than they did toward the approaching captivity, which their multiplied impieties were hastening upon them, and proved at last the only effectual means of curing them at once of their idolatry and unbelief. Whether the severity of their thralldom, the monstrous variety of superstition, which they beheld among the *Babylonians*, or the

continued

100 full of water

100 full of water

A MAP of the Kingdoms of JUDAH

PART OF THE
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SEA



continued exhortations of *Ezekiel* and other prophets, who were with them in the captivity, contributed most to this extraordinary change, we will not pretend to say ; but this is plain, that ever since their return from thence, they always expressed the greatest abhorrence to those two crimes. Yet even in these two respects, they seem rather to have gone into the other extreme, and to have strove only to atone for former faults, by running into others, if not equal in guilt, yet at least equally dangerous. For the truth of this, we need but refer the reader to what we have had frequent occasion to observe concerning them. Thus, for instance, idolatry, once their most favourite vice, has been since had in such abhorrence among them, that they would not stoop before a statue, though it were to pluck a thorn out of their foot * ; and may we not reasonably suppose, that it was in order to make amends for their former unbelief, that they so greedily swallowed down such a number of monstrous fables, of which, those we have quoted in this history out of their *Talmud*, are but a small scantling ; and prefer that pretended oral law or tradition, wherein they find such plenty of materials to exercise their faith, to the sacred writings, wherein they find little or nothing like it ? well might our Saviour charge those of his time with *straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel* † ; and an honest rabbi of theirs advises them to insert the decalogue in their *Talmud*, as the only means to prevent the shameful and almost universal breach of it amongst them.

HOWEVER, it behoves us to spare and pity them in this respect, since it was their unaccountable fondness for these traditions above the sacred writings, that inspired them with that bitterness and malice against the *Messiah*, the redeemer of mankind, which made them persecute him to that slavish death, from which we derive our freedom and assurance of a better life ; especially, since their continuing to this day in unbelief affords us so irrefragable an argument for the authority of the Old Testament, and consequently for the truth and divinity of the New ; into which we are not without some sure hopes of their being admitted in God's good time ‡.

* See Vol. III. p. 157, note (F). † Matt. xxiii. 24. ‡ Vid. Rom. xi. pass.

C H A P. VIII.

The History of ASSYRIA.

S E C T. I.

*The description of ASSYRIA.**Its name.*

WE have already accounted for the name of this country, declaring it to have been derived from *Asbur*, its first planter after the flood ^a, and have observed ^b, that its name extended very far westward over the whole country of *Aram*, or *Syria* (A), which at this time gives appellation to most of the country between the *Euphrates* and the *Mediterranean*. Eastward, southward, and northward it must also have extended its name, where-

^a See Vol. I. p. 360.^b Vol. II. p. 232.

(A) *Bocbart* (1) divides the *Affyrians* into two sorts, those properly so called, beyond the *Tigris* and derived from *Asbur*, and those on this side of the *Euphrates*, who derived their name from צור *Sur*, or *Tyre* (2), by means of an article prefixed thereto, as in הצורים *Hassurim*, but whatever there may really be in this, it will, upon examination, be thought to be of no great weight. The descent of the two nations is so different, the one from *Asbur*, the other from *Aram*, and their distance from each other so wide, that we can never think so slight an accident, as an article prefixed to *Sur*, should cause the potent and antient nation of the *Aramites*, or *Syrians*, to be called by all the nations about, *Affyrians*; and particularly, when there is so much to be said against it, as may be found in the next note.

(1) *Phaleg*. l. 4. c. 34.

(2) See Vol. II. p. 232.

ever its monarchs had established themselves by the fortune of their arms (B).

If we consider the monarchy of *Assyria* geographically, we have already done much towards a description of it, in what we have formerly said of the several countries, whose histories go before, and which may, in this light, be considered as provinces of *Assyria*, and more we shall do towards this work in our descriptions of several other countries, whose histories are to follow, and which the order we have hitherto observed requires us to defer to the places naturally belonging to them; and the same order obliges us here to confine ourselves to the *proper Assyria*.

THE precise extent of this country may not exactly be known, and it might be labour quite in vain to attempt to settle it; but taking it to have been the same with the province of *Curdestân* at this day, it lay eastward of the *Tigris*, and extended almost north-east and south-west from the springs of that river and the lake *Van*, to the province of *Khuzestân* in *Persia*; or, according to *Ptolemy*, it lay along the eastern banks of the *Tigris*, from mount *Niphates* to mount *Zagros*, being bounded on the east by mount *Choatras*. Such was its situation and boundaries, as should seem, and is agreed upon by geographers; but for its exact extent

(B) Where-ever this monarchy extended itself, it is apparent, that it extended its name together with its dominions; so *Mesopotamia*, the *Aram-Nabaraim* of the *Jewish* writers, is said (3) to have been called the *Mid-Assyria*; and so also *Babylon* and *Chaldea* were reckoned to be a part of that country (4), as well as the rest, we may suppose, that owned subjection to the kings of *Nineveh*. In conformity to this, we are told by *Trogus Pompeius* (5), that the *Assyrians*, by contraction, came to be called *Syrians*. It was the first great monarchy, and its name grew venerable in process of time, even to those who had formerly suffered by its power; and hence out of vanity, or from a long settled custom, the nations round about affected to call themselves *Assyrians*, or else others affected to call them so, or thirdly, they may have been commanded so to denominate themselves by the conqueror. To dismiss this, we would take notice, that there seems to be nothing more uncertain, than what the *Greeks* and *Latins* mean by *Assyria* and *Assyrian*; they are of such comprehensive latitude with these writers, as to take in all the country and people between the *Mediterranean* on the west, and the river *Indus*, on the east.

(3) *Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. 7. p. 453.* (4) *Ammian. Mareel. l. 23. c. 20.* (5) *Iust. l. 1. c. 2. See Vol. II. p. 232.*

we choose to pass that over, as a thing uncertain, and not within the compass of our knowledge.

THIS country, which must, in its happy times, have been a land of plenty (C), has almost ever since the fall of its empire been decaying; a misfortune which has been particularly incident to it, by the very nature of its situation, which has, at times, made it the seat of war between potent empires and nations; and it is now become a wilderness, a desert, excepting some little land that may be cultivated about the few and inconsiderable towns which stand within its borders^c, so that there is but little to be said of its productions and properties.

WE have already said as much of the first postdiluvian state of this country and its antient cities, *Nineveh* and the rest, as we have been able to gather, so that we have here nothing to do, but to refer back the reader to what of that kind is in the former part of this work^d, and proceed to the division and arrangement of it by the *Greeks*.

Ptolemy^e divides *Assyria*, beginning from the north-west to the south-east, into the several provinces of *Arrapachitis*, *Adiabene* (D), *Arbelitis*, *Calacine*, or *Calachine*, *Apolloniatis*,
an

^c RAUWOLF'S Trav. p. ii. c. 9.

^d See Vol. I. p. 278.

^e Lib. vi. c. 1.

(C) A land of plenty and pleasure it must undoubtedly have been; but this may not have been the country designated in scripture (6) by a *land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil-olive, and of honey*, as *Bochart* thinks (7), and *Rauwolf* (8); for *Rabshakeb*'s words, who speaks of this (9), may, as is most likely, have been understood, as of some of the new conquered provinces of *Assyria*, and not of *Assyria* itself, properly so called; so that this does not amount to a positive proof of what is asserted concerning the fertility and amenity of the *Proper Assyria*; though indeed it must be confessed to be a very strong circumstance to make us believe, it was no ways inferior to the country or countries intended by the text above; we may easily conceive the conqueror would have seized on the best for himself, and not have bestowed it on the foreign captives he made and transplanted.

(D) The whole country has been sometimes called by the name of this part of it. So *Pliny* observes (10), that the country of *Adiabene* was in former times called *Assyria*; the same says *Ammianus Marcellinus* (11), who (12) derives the name from two rivers of the country, called *Diaba* and *Adiaba*, rejecting the common

(6) 2 Kings xviii. 32.

(7) *Phaleg*. l. 4. c. 19.

(8) *In his*

travels, p. ii. c. 9.

(9) 2 Kings ubi sup.

(10) *Hist. Nat.* l. v.

c. 12.

(11) *Ubi sup.*

(12) *Ibid.*

and *Sittacene*, but there is no pretending to set bounds to these several divisions, or assigning to each the cities, that may, in former times, have belonged thereto. Nor are these all the parts of *Assyria* mentioned by antient geographers: we have the name of *Aturia*^f, or *Atyria* (E), as a part of this country, as also *Artacene* (F) and *Chalonitis*^g (G).

AMONG

^f STRAB. l. xvi. ineunt.

^g PLIN. l. 6. c. 26.

opinion, which derives it from the Greek word *Διαβάσις* *transire*, διὰ τὸ εἶναι πολλοὺς ποταμούς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ δυσχερὲς εἶναι ποιεῖν τὴν διάβασιν, *because of the many rivers which make it difficult to travel or pass* (13). Thus it is also, that *Suidas* (14) accounts for this name; to which he adds fabulously, that here is the mouth of *Avernus*, which sends up so pestiferous a vapour, that no bird or beast may take in the least scent of it, but death must be the unhappy consequence; and that hence also it was called *Adiabene*, or *Impassable*. To pass over other obscurities concerning the derivation of this name (15), *Bochart* (16) gives it an *Assyrian* or *Chaldean* origin, forming it from the *Chaldee* הדיב, or הדיב *Hadiab*, or *Hadyab*, as it is called by the *Talmudists* and the *Chaldee* interpreter; as also הדיבא *Hadjaba*, or *Hadjava*; whence he deduces (17) *Ammianus Marcellinus*'s (18) *Adiavena*, which whence it became the name of this part of *Assyria* may be observed anon.

(E) This also, though apparently but a small district of this country, extended itself over the whole, and, according to *Bochart* (19), was a name synonymous with *Assyria*, allowing only for the difference of dialect; the former being the *Hebrew*, and the other the *Chaldee*, way of writing this name; the *Chaldees* constantly converting the *Hebrew* שן *Sin* into the ט *Tau*; so that what the *Hebrews* pronounce *Assyria*, they pronounce *Atyria*. Whatever there may be in this, the *Greeks* plainly took *Aturia*, or *Atyria*, to be no more than a province or district of *Assyria*. *Strabo* (20) divides *Aturia* from *Arbelitis* by the river *Lycus*; whence it is plain, it was by the *Greeks* reckoned as a part only of this country, however the name may have been common to all of it.

(F) This is supposed to have derived its name from the city of *Erecb* (21), or *Arec*. This is the opinion both of *Scaliger* and *Casaubon* (22); and if so, we have nothing to do with it at present, for it was not in this country, but in the land of *Shinaar* (23), on this side the *Tigris*.

(G) This may have been the same with *Cala* and *Calacine*, for which we must refer to what we have already said (24) before, only

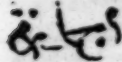
(13) *Vid.* *Bochart. Phaleg. l. iv. c. 19.* (14) *Ad vocem Adiabene.*
 (15) *Vid.* *Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. Vol. II. l. iii. c. 17.* (16) *Phaleg. ubi sup.*
 (17) *Ibid.* (18) *Ubi sup.* (19) *Phaleg. ubi sup.*
 (20) *Lib. xvi. ineunt.* (21) *Genes. x. 10.* (22) *Vid. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. ubi sup.*
 (23) *Genes. ubi sup.* (24) *See Vol. I. p. 280, in the notes.*

observing,

AMONG the rivers of *Assyria*, we may justly reckon the *Tigris* (H), not only because it bathed all the western skirts of this country, but also because all the other rivers of this kingdom fell into this; as also, because the great cities of this kingdom ^h, *Nineveh*, *Ctesiphon*, and others, were situated thereon. The other rivers of less note were, the *Lycus*, the *Caprus*, and the *Gorgus* (I), at almost an equal distance from

^h Vid. CELLAR. Geogr. Antiq. tom. II. l. 3. c. 17.

observing, that the *Callonites* of *Polybius* (25) may have been the same.

(H) Said to have borrowed this name from the number of tigers on its banks; and the rather, as there are two other rivers in this country, the *Lycus* and the *Caprus*, which seem to borrow their names from a cause of the same nature, the one being denominated from a wolf, the other from a goat (26); others derive it from a *Persian* word, signifying an *arrow*^{*}; by this, and the former, importing it to be rapid and violent in its course: But this is contradicted by *Pedro de la Valle* (27), who says, it is a slower stream than the *Euphrates*; and *Thevenot* (28) seems to assign a reason why the *Tigris* should not be so very swift, saying, it is not only more crooked and full of meanders than any he ever saw, but also choaked up with islands and great banks of stone. *Bochart* derives it from its old *Hebrew* name *Hiddekel*; and the *Arabs*, at this day, call it  *Dijlat*. The inhabitants hereabouts call it *Hiddekel* to this day (29).

(I) The *Lycus* and the *Caprus*, according to *Bochart* (30), are the two rivers *Diaba* and *Adiaba*, or *Diava* and *Adiava*. *Diava*, he observes, is *lupus* or *lupinus*, *wolf*, or *wolfish*; *Adiava*, being *Chaldee* for a *wolf*; and hence he derives the *Greek*, *Lycus*, which signifies the same. *Hadiaba*, the name of the other, he derives, or at least is ready so to do, from an *Arabic* word signifying *swift*; but this is a most obscure point; and therefore we proceed to take notice, that these two rivers are now called, or supposed to be so, the great *Zab* and little *Zab*. According to *Bochart* (31), this latter name is corrupted from *Diaba*, or derived from the *Hebrew* זֶבֶב *Zeeb*, which differ but in dialect. *Thevenot* (32) calls these rivers *Zarb*, but speaks as of but one, which he saw fall into the *Tigris*; he calls it a large river, makes it above half as broad as the *Tigris*, and observes, that it is very rapid, that its water is whitish and very cold, which he would seemingly ac-

(25) *Lib.* v. c. 54. (26) *Vid.* Cellar. *ubi sup.* * *Vid.* Gregor. *posthum.* p. 189. (27) *In his travels.* (28) *In his travels*, part 2. c. 13. (29) *Rauwolf's travels*, part 2. c. 9. (30) *Phaleg. ubi sup.* (31) *Ibid.* (32) *In his travels to the Levant*, part 2. c. 13.

from each other, and supposed to have been all between the two cities of *Ninus*, or *Nineveh*, and *Seleucia*.

CONCERNING the natural and artificial rarities of this once famous land we have nothing material to say, and therefore must here close up this section.

S E C T. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade, of the ASSYRIANS.

ASSYRIA, which stands foremost of all in profane ac- *Antiquity.*
counts, is in scripture the second most antient kingdom after *Babel*, or *Babylon*. It was founded by *Ashur*, and not by *Nimrod*, as some have contended (K), who embrace

count for by its falling from the mountains of *Curdestân*, and being merely snow-water. This agrees very well with *Bochart's* thoughts of the smaller of the two rivers above, the *Adiabâ*, which he would have to derive its name from the swiftness of its course; but for dimension, might, one would think, better agree with the larger. And here, by the way, our traveller illustrates, in some sort, a passage in the *Nubian* geographer (33) who, as he is translated, says, the two *Zabs* are great rivers, and, when united, equal to above one half of the *Tygris*; though he says a little before, their mouths were six and thirty miles from each other. It is asked, how in this case these two rivers ever should unite? and whether or no the true meaning might not be, that both together would be more than half of the *Tygris*, or fill the same river one half fuller than it would be without them? *Thevenot* seems to answer this question by affirming they do.

Bochart (34) also seems to think the *Gorgus* and the *Caprus* are two names in *Ptolemy* for one and the same river; and particularly, because he finds none but the two above mentioned elsewhere; but *De Lisle's* maps have three, one to the northward of the two *Zabs*, which is the westernmost of the three, and therein differs from *Ptolemy's* maps, which make the *Gorgus* the easternmost; we leave the reader to make his choice. *Hardouin* would have this river to be the *Zerbin* of *Pliny*, (35). *Cellarius* (36) knows not what to say to it, observing only that γοργυς is *Velox*, which might have tempted *Bochart* to think it the same with his *Adiabâ*, which he would have to be denominated from its swiftness.

(K) The text (37) which mentions the first foundation of this kingdom is variously interpreted, either, *out of that land went forth*

(33) *Clim. 4. part 6.* (34) *Ubi sup.* (35) *Hist. Natur. l. 6. c. 26.* (36) *Geogr. Antiq. Vol. II. l. 3. c. 17.* (37) *Genes. x. 11.*

embrace the *Ctesian* system ; and was in the beginning a kingdom distinct from *Babylon*, though in process of time they coalesced into one, in consequence of mutual conquests. *Asbur* departed from the land of *Shinaar*¹ upon *Nimrod's* usurpation,

¹ Genes. x. 10.

Asbur, and builded *Nineveh*, as it stands in our Bibles, as well as in the best versions of the *Greek*, the old *Latin*, and the *Dutch* ; or, *be* [meaning *Nimrod*] went out into *Assur* and builded *Nineveh* ; as it stands in the margin of our Bibles, and as it is translated by *Vatablus*, *Junius*, *Bochart*, *Cocceius*, *Schotan*, *Heidegger*, *Spanheim*, and *Le Clerc*. Now the whole of the controversy (38) turns upon this, whether the word *Asbur*, in the text, signifies the son of *Shem*, or whether it signifies the country of *Assyria* ; for both ways it is often assumed in scripture. Those who are for the last interpretation, are judged to force the text, being obliged to supply a defect in the *Hebrew*, by inserting a particle [into] to serve their purpose, while those who vindicate the other follow the natural order and construction of the words of the original as they stand. But not to dwell on these grammatical niceties, we chuse to recur to such arguments as may be reasonably offered to set this matter in a clear light.

It is on all hands allowed, that the land of *Asbur*, or *Assyria*, derived its name from *Asbur* the son of *Shem* ; and, according to what we read in scripture (39), it must have been, that he went out of the land of *Shinaar*, where all the descendants of *Noah* were at the time of the dispersion, in order to plant or take possession of the country since called by his name ; and can any thing be more natural, than to suppose, that the text before us is meant of this migration of his ? And who is so likely to have founded *Nineveh* and the other cities as himself ? except we can imagine it likely, that *Nimrod* made a conquest of this country before *Asbur* had well settled himself in it. If this had been the case, the country, it is likely, would have been known by his name, rather than by that of his great uncle. We elsewhere (40) read, indeed, that *Asbur* founded *Babel* ; but no where is it ever suggested, that *Nimrod* went into *Assyria* and founded *Nineveh*.

It is objected as an improbability, that *Moses* should introduce a passage relating to a branch of *Shem*, when he was professedly writing about that of *Ham* ; but this is frivolous. Parentheses of this sort are common enough in scripture ; as in that concerning *Mephibosheth* (41), and in that concerning *Hiram's* fleet (42), introduced in the midst of other discourse. A late author (43) affirms, the scripture expressly calls the land of *Assyria* the land of *Nimrod*.

(38) *Vid.* Perizon. *Origin. Babylon.* c. 4. p. 39.

(39) *Ubi sup.*

(40) *Isai.* xxiii. 13.

(41) 2 *Sam.* iv. 4.

(42) 1 *Kings* x.

(43) *Bedford, in his Script. Chronol. demonstr.* p. 773.

on, and built *Nineveh* and other cities, as *Rehoboth*, *Calah*, and *Resen*; in *Nineveh*, it is likely, he resided, and thus erected a new kingdom, which borrowing his name, was called *Assur*, or *Assyria*. According therefore to our chronology, we have nothing to object against the antiquity of the *Assyrian* kingdom, though as delivered by *Ctesias*¹ and others, who some how or other happen to exceed him, as, for example, *Syncellus*^m, if barely the antiquity of it be considered: which would not well stand by the *Hebrew* computation. But by the *Samaritan*, which we embrace, this boasted *Assyrian* monarchy, instead of running up too far,

^k Gen. x. 11.
p. 165.

¹ Apud DIONOR. SICUL.

^m Chron.

Bochart shewed him the way, and this would go hard against us, if the thing really were so; though if it was really the case, we might cite the text in *Isaiab* in the note above, in opposition to the text in *Micab*, which seems to favour this notion. *Micab* expresses himself thus (44), *They shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod in the entrances thereof*. By this the land of Nimrod seems to be quite distinguished from the land of Assyria: So far is this text, as pretended, from proving they are but one and the same; for the *and* is sometimes taken disjunctively; but in the passage before us nothing requires it. Several expositors (45), both *Jewish* and *Christian*, understand thereby the two countries of *Assyria* and *Babylon*, which were both united in the *Assyrian* monarchy about the time of this prophecy; for *Manasseh*, the son of *Hezekiah*, under whom *Micab* flourished, was carried away captive to *Babylon* by the army of *Assyria*, when *Esharaddon* was king both of *Assyria* and *Babylon*, as will be seen in the course of this history.

The author (46), we have been contending with, resolving to wrest the thing his way, and citing the text in *Isaiab*, which we think makes for us, viz. *Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness*, takes the liberty of inserting the word *Nimrod* after the word *Assyrian*, distinguishing it by an *Italic* letter and a comma after it, as if it could be a part of the text. This is entirely inexcusable in him, who is quite angry (47) with *Sir Isaac Newton*, for a little presumptive addition of the same sort (48). *Sir Isaac Newton*, indeed, had an hypothesis to serve, and so has our author; so that one would have thought, he might have over-looked a liberty in *Sir Isaac*, which he resolved to take himself; except he imagined *Sir Isaac* had not the right to do it he had, which he would be a little puzzled to make out.

(44) *Cb. v. 6.* (45) *Perizon. ubi sup. p. 47.* (46) *Bedford, ubi sup. in his preface to the reader, p. 3.* (47) *Ibid.* (48) *In his Chronol. of anc. kingd. amended, p. 68, & 217.*

will fall short by about 358 years, as will appear by this. The whole interval, according to us, between the flood and the birth of Christ is 2997 years : the beginning of *Cyrus's* reign is, by common consent, fixed to 559, or 560 years before Christ : if to this number 350 years be added for the duration of the empire of the *Medes*, according to *Ctesias*, and 1300 more for the duration of the *Assyrian*, according to the same historian and his followers, the first year of the reign of *Ninus*, the first pretended monarch, will coincide with the 2209th year before Christ, or 789 years after the flood ; whereas, according to us, *Asbur* built *Nineveh* and founded the *Assyrian* kingdom about the year 431 after the flood, or 358 years earlier ; so that with us, its defect, not its excess, in point of antiquity, may be made an objection to the prophane account of this monarchy. In a word, we have no objection to the antiquity of the *Assyrian* kingdom, which may claim place among the first ; but then we make a wide distinction between this simple kingdom and the grand monarchy, which reared its head many ages afterwards, and that, for reasons to be found in the ensuing section.

Government.

BEING so destitute as we are of sufficient authorities and instruction, we can say nothing in particular of the government of this people, except what may be gathered from the conduct and deportment of their princes, in the very little we have of their history. That they were a small kingdom under hereditary chiefs for many ages is not to be doubted, no more than that their government was very simple, in conformity to what has been observed and related of their neighbours, the *Syrians* ^a and *Mesopotamians* ^o (L). When, in
after-

^a See Vol. II. p. 254. ^o Ibid.

(L) There is a difficulty which offers itself with regard to *Mesopotamia*, which seems to have been very early united under one monarch, and to have affected to rule over its neighbours by the violent means of conquest, when *Chusban-rishathaim* came over the *Euphrates*, and made conquest of the children of *Israel*, exacting from them tribute for the space of eight years (49). Who this *Chusban-rishathaim* was, and how he came to be so great a king, as he seems to have been at first, is a great obscurity. But by the scripture (50) it appears, this *Mesopotamian* kingdom, as formidable as it may have been at first, soon mouldered away, and perhaps became extinct, by the successes of *Othniel* against it (51). *Le Clerc* (52) observes,

(49) See Vol. III. p. 451.
(52) In *Judic.* cap. iii. 6.

(50) *Judg.* iii.

(51) *Ibid.*

there

after-times, they rose up to the sublimity of empire, their government seems to have been truly despotic, and the empire to have been hereditary, which is all we can safely say of it.

We have nothing to build upon, or to say in particular of *Laws.* their laws. We would presume, they were few and vague, depending upon the arbitrary will of the prince; for these emperors affecting even divine honours, as will be seen in their history, and setting themselves above all the gods of the people they vanquished^p, and sometimes requiring, that none other under heaven should be worshipped but themselves^q, and even presuming to pass sentence on the whole world^r by the word of their own mouth; it cannot but be imagined, there could not be any settled form of law for the government of this people, except we suppose their kings to have approached so very near to the divinity they would have imperiously arrogated, as never to change, but to continue always the same, which cannot be supposed.

THEIR religion is also pretty much in the dark: in general we know, they were idolaters, and that they had their idols and their temples. *Nisroch* is likely to have been their principal God, at least at one time; but *Selden* declares*, he knows nothing at all of him (M), and therefore any enquiry

^p 2 Kings xviii. 33, &c.

^q Judith iii. 8.

^r Ibid. ii. 2.

* De Diis Syris Syntagm. ii. c. 10.

there is no mention made of this *Cbusban-risbathaim*, in the *Ctesian* series of *Assyrian* kings; and that, according to *Eusebius*'s computation, he should have been cotemporary with *Belochus*, the nineteenth *Assyrian* king according to him (53); and tho' *Josephus* (54) calls him *Cbusarib* king of *Assyria*, misled by the *Ctesian* history, he does not see, why we should depart from scripture to pin our faith upon him. It is impossible even to suppose such an inaccuracy in the scriptures, as the calling of this man an *Aramite* of *Mesopotamia*, if he had been an *Assyrian*. All we would add is, that this *Mesopotamian* kingdom or monarchy was a transitory thing, and that it, in all likelihood, soon broke into the many petty royalties we have observed there in the preceding part of this history many ages afterwards (55).

(M) All that can possibly be said of him is mere conjecture. *Beyer* (56), who takes upon him to supply, in this respect, what is wanting in *Selden*, supposes, he may have been *Saturn* or *Belus*,

(53) See the series of the *Assyrian* kings in the following section.

(54) *Antiq. Jud.* l. 5. c. 3. (55) See *Vol. II.* p. 254. (56) In *Additam. Seld. Syntagm.* ii. cap. 10.

quiry after so palpable an obscurity may be needless. *Nergal* was not properly, as should seem, an *Assyrian* deity, and we shall resume him when we come to treat of the antient *Persian* religion: *Adramelech* may perhaps be properly termed a god of this country, and is said to have been represented as a mule, or a peacock^f (N): *Anamelech* (O), in like manner, is said to have been represented as a horse, or a pheasant, or a quail^g; but these are all *Rabbinical* dreams, and to be considered accordingly. For this small part of their religion, and something more which we shall recollect in the religion of *Babylon*, which may have been the very same, we are beholden to the scripture and the *Jews*; the rest we must more immediately trace out elsewhere, and accordingly look-back to the superstitions of the *Philistines*, *Syrians*, and *Phœnicians*.

Derceto (P), who, according to *Ctesias*^u, must have been an *Assyrian* deity, has been supposed to be the *Philistine* *dagon*, but we have denied it^w, and already given the reasons for our rejection of this notion^x; and though we have ventured to call her the goddess of *Ascalon*^y, we considered the country then subjection to the *Assyrians*. *Derceto*, as the *Greeks* call her, (what her *Assyrian* name may have been we cannot guess) is plainly an *Assyrian* deity, of an inferior order, and particularly in subjection to a goddess our author^z calls *Venus*, who may have been the *Syrian* goddess at *Hierapolis*^a, or the *Phœnician* *Astarte* on mount *Aphac*^b. Thus we conjecture; but this *Assyrian Venus* will be more regularly spoken of, when we are to treat of the religion of

^f Vid. eund. Ibid. c. 9.

^g Vid. eund. ibid.

^u Apud

DIONOR. SIC. l. 2.

^w See Vol. II. p. 199.

^x Ibid.

in the notes.

^y Ibid. p. 200, in the text.

^z DIODOR.

SICUL. l. 2.

^a See Vol. II. p. 257.

^b Ibid. p. 315, & seq.

or, with *Kircher* (57), that he was represented in the form of a ship, in remembrance of the ark; but this is mere fancy, as we shall have occasion to shew in the course of this history and that of *Babylon*. He is in the *Septuagint* called *Mesarach* and *Afarach*.

(N) Hence he is thought to have been related to *Juno* (58).

(O) Both *Adramelech* and *Anamelech* are supposed to have been the same with *Moloch* (59).

(P) She is called by other names, as *Adergatis*, *Atargata*, *Atargatis*, and the like; but we shall forbear saying any further of her till we come to treat of the *Babylonian Venus*.

(57) *In Pantheo.*

(58) *Beyer. Additam. ubi sup. c. 9.*

(59) *Selden. De Diis Syr. Syntagm. ii. c. 9. See Voll. II. p. 99.*

Babylon, which was doubtless the same with that of *Assyria*, being derived from one origin, as the two nations were considered to have been by *Ptolemy*, who calls the kings of *Babylon*, in his astronomical canon, *Assyrians*. We shall therefore only for the present observe, that the *Assyrians*^c and *Syrians*^d paid particular devotion to fishes, in memory, as we are told, of the goddess *Derceto* of *Ascalon*, who was wholly, or partly, metamorphosed into a creature of that sort^e; and that they honoured *Semiramis* in the form of a dove, or pigeon, either because she was nursed by them when exposed after her birth^f, or because they attended her at her death, when it is fabled, she was changed into a bird of that sort^g, which is all we have to say of the *Assyrian* religion in this place, except we repeat, that *Semiramis* was sometimes represented, as supposed^h, with a pigeon on her head, and called the *Sign*; as also that she was represented without that distinction, and in a particular posture of pointing to the great goddessⁱ, for a reason already given^k; as also, that *Sardanapalus* was deified, and represented in a particular habit^l; so that it may hence appear, they deified all their kings in general, whence must have sprung a very multifarious idolatry, which is at present very much in the dark to us.

THEIR customs, their arts, their learning, and their trade, *Their customs*, must certainly have differed but little, if at all, from what *toms, arts,* will be found of the same concerning the *Babylonians*, so that &c. we shall suspend what might be gathered in relation thereto, till we come to the *Babylonian* affairs, only referring the reader back to the language of *Syria*, and the alphabet of *Their language* the *Syrian* character, for the language and character of this *guage and* people, which we have declared to have been the same^m. *alphabet.*

S E C T. III.

Of the ASSYRIAN Chronology, to the Fall of the Empire.

WE shall doubtless be excused, if we are very ample, and even diffuse, in our researches after the *Assyrian* chronology, it being not only of the greatest importance towards fixing the chronology of antient kingdoms,

^c DIODOR. SICUL. ubi sup.

^d See Vol. II. p. 259.

^e DIODOR. SICUL. ubi sup.

^f Idem ibid.

^g Idem ibid.

^h See Vol. II. p. 258.

ⁱ Idem ibid.

^k Ibid. ibid.

^l Ibid.

p. 259.

^m Ibid. p. 266.

but also for vindicating the authority of scripture, which is quite averse to the common prophane account.

The causes, why the antient prophane history is so monstrously corrupt and false, in what regards Assyria, &c. BUT first we would premise, that the causes, which may have induced or misled historians so to err, when they treat of the antiquities of nations, were apparently two, ignorance and vanity. Their ignorance must have principally proceeded from the loss of records, and the neglect of the earliest people, of the more antient nations, to keep any sort of register of what concerned them. The world was peopled by succession, and the progress of wealth, power, and learning was gradual; taking rise in the more early parts, so that nothing is more natural to assert, than that some nations began to keep records before others were in being.

SOME nations there were who never kept any records at all, as may have been the case of the *Scythians*, and as appears by their contest with the *Egyptians* for antiquity^o; and those who did, could not possibly do it at once, or from the beginning, for want of letters and other material conveniencies; and besides, supposing them to have been ever so early in a condition to register their affairs, they could for a long time have had nothing worth the preserving, and much less the reading. The first ages must have been employed in husbandry, and providing for the necessities of life; mankind increasing into multitudes, and nations growing populous, contests, it is likely, arose between them about property and dominion, and these broils may for ages have diverted their thoughts from any thing else. In short, we must suppose the world to have been in a calm of peace, and some nations to have made great progress in learning, before we can, with any reason, suppose any historical monuments, truly such, to have been taken in hand; and ere this, the traditions concerning the origin of the world, and the rise of themselves, may have been quite perverted, or totally lost.

BUT supposing there may have been other nations besides the *Jews*, who had preserved their primitive traditions entire, they may have perished by various means. These nations may have, as it were, become extinct, or their records may have been destroyed by the malice, or, what is the same, the zeal of parties, whether religious or civil. Kings have been known to deface the memory of their predecessors, that they might, without a rival, be admired by posterity, of a humour with that *Chinese* emperor who reigned

about 209 years before Christ †, or, perhaps, to establish an æra as *Nabonassar* ^p, who may also have had an ambition to appear the headmost of the *Babylonish* kings; but, by the way, this seems not to have been the case with him, as we must have occasion to observe, more than once, hereafter.

SUCH may have been the interruptions of the regular descent of history to us; though wars, whether foreign or domestic, must have been more particularly fatal to the archives of all nations in general. It has been, almost ever, the policy of conquerors to destroy them, to obliterate the remembrance of what the vanquished may formerly have been, as also to remove all monuments, which, by the sight of them, might excite to rebellion and revolt. Conquerors also there have been, who have been moved merely by ignorance or superstition to do the same; as may be observed of the *Mohammedans*, where ever their arms have prevailed. And though it may be said, that the *Romans* were, in this respect, favourable to the *Greeks*, we do not understand, that these last were over and above indulgent to those they conquered, the *Egyptians* excepted, whom they may have spared for the same reasons the *Romans* spared them; because they beheld them as their masters in literature and knowledge.

IF then we call to mind the many revolutions which every nation has in its turn undergone, we need not wonder, why the antiquities of the several parts of the world are so utterly unknown, or, what is next of kin to it, so deeply involved in the mist of fable.

THE *Babylonians*, or *Chaldees*, are allowed once to have had a regular body of genuine history from the origin of things, and, by the fragments of it, we understand it to have been agreeable to what we read in the mosaical writings, which perhaps may have been taken from the *Chaldeans*, from whom the *Jews* were descended. But this *Babylonian* account has been long since destroyed, and absurd tradition and ridiculous tales have taken its place; which is the more to be regretted, as we are assured by *Josephus* ^q, it was a most valuable remain.

FOR us to have received any tolerable account of the origin and remote history of nations, they should, from the beginning, have communicated their records with each other; and the historians of every country should have been as sedulous in collecting and digesting the affairs of the neighbouring kingdoms, and states, and actions they knew, as of their own:

† MARTIN Hist. Sinic. l. 6. p. 239. COUPL. Tab. Chron. Sinic p. 17. ^p SYNCELL. p. 207. ^q CONTR. APION.

and in this case, nothing but an universal ruin could have made the desolation, their succeeding generations have beheld as well as we. But the nature of things would never allow of this, as may be observed by those who are conversant in very antient transactions; and particularly that ridiculous vanity, which may be said to have begun with the world, and will, it is likely, end with it, has at all times rendered it impracticable.

A country no sooner began to flourish and refine, than vanity, that darling folly of men and nations, took birth, and increased with its splendor and prosperity; and presently it could admit of no competitor, but must look on all its neighbours round with contempt; and this doctrine infused into the natives, a national pride is contracted, than which nothing is so unpardonable, nothing more repugnant to reason and good sense, and nothing, in the main, so destructive to the peace and happiness of mankind. And this vanity, added to the complete ignorance of what has past aforetime in the historians, for the most part, of antiquity, has been productive of the monstrous births which are a reproach to the science.

WE might point at many glaring instances of the ill effects of what we are here complaining of; but shall on this head just touch upon the *Greeks*, to whom we are chiefly indebted for the antient prophane history, confining ourselves to what at present is before us, till we shall have occasion to resume them hereafter. They, we may aver of them, were more infected with this folly of vanity, or, at least, as much as any nation, that has ever subsisted under the sun. It is plain they despised the history of all other nations besides their own, never concerning themselves therewith any farther than it interfered with themselves, and even then they introduced it rather to adorn their own character, than to preserve any thing to us by way of information.

AND this in nothing appears more plainly, than in their slighting, and even destroying the *Persian* records, when they became masters of that empire. No one of their historians, that we are aware of, ever consulting them to complete a series of the *Persian* affairs: nor was there a nation they were solicitous about but the *Egyptians*, who affected a deep silence, and cared not to tell them any thing very much to the purpose. Some of the *Greeks* indeed, whose good sense got the better of their national pride and prejudices, as *Eratoſthenes*, *Hecataeus* the *Abderite*, and *Menander* the *Ephesian*, may be quoted as exceptions to what we have been saying, as well as some foreigners, such as *Berosus*, *Manetho*,

Manetho, and some others, who were encouraged to write the histories of their respective countries for the use of the *Greeks*. But all this but adds weight to the guilt of that assuming people. It is plain, they did not in the least regard them; for not one of them has reached our days, nor so much as one *Greek* that had made any large extracts from them, if we except *Josephus* and the *Christian* chronologers, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus*, if they may be allowed to have been of the number.

No polite nation has ever been more egregiously faulty, in mixing truth with fiction; and yet they seem to have thought no nation fit to meddle with history, though their own, but themselves; as may be seen by *Diodorus Siculus*, who, in writing of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*, never mentions a word of *Berosus* and *Manetho*, preferring his own crude indigestions to any thing in them. And so with regard to *Assyria*, instead of resorting to such as might truly inform him, such as *Polyhistor* may have sometimes been, for ought we know, he runs riot after *Ctesias*, a most fabulous writer, as will be amply demonstrated in the course of this section: But being a *Greek*, he was preferred by the vain partiality of his countrymen, and his history has had the good fortune of reaching down to us, while others have suffered the fate which *Ctesias* and *Diodorus* had deserved; the fate which *Trogus* has undergone, who, by his epitomiser, is not much to be lamented.

THESE writers were like most of our moderns, who, for what concerns the *Mohammedan* history, consult the *Byzantine* historians; or, by listening to the lame relations of ignorant travellers, give into endless errors they might have avoided, by looking into the translations and extracts the learned would furnish them, if they would be at the pains of inquiring after them.

AND now, to return more immediately to our point, there have been great and powerful nations, who have for many ages past been no more; of this number are the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, and *Lydians*. Their records and their historians have long since been annihilated. The *Greeks*, by a vain negligence and insolent contempt of them, knew little or nothing concerning them; and no other nation, the *Jews* excepted, can tell us any thing about them. Hence, and for reasons to be hereafter subjoined, we make no account of the common histories of these nations, and particularly of the *Assyrians*. We are now to enter upon an obscure task, which has confounded some of the best chronologers, who have un-

19	<i>Bellepares</i>	- - -	30	20	<i>Belatores</i>	- - -	30
20	<i>Lamprides</i>	- - -	32	21	<i>Lamprides</i>	- - -	30
21	<i>Sofares</i>	- - -	20	22	<i>Sofares</i>	- - -	20
22	<i>Lampares</i>	- - -	30	23	<i>Lamphraës</i>	- - -	30
23	<i>Panyas</i>	- - -	45	24	<i>Panyas</i>	- - -	45
24	<i>Sofarmus</i>	- - -	19	25	<i>Sofarmus</i>	- - -	22
25	<i>Mitreus</i>	- - -	27	26	<i>Mithraeus</i>	- - -	27
26	<i>Tautanes</i> -(S)	- - -	32	27	<i>Teutamus, or Tautanes</i> (T)	- - -	32
27	<i>Teuteus</i>	- - -	40	28	<i>Teutæus</i>	- - -	44
*	*	*	*	29	<i>Arabelus</i>	- - -	42
*	*	*	*	30	<i>Chalaus</i>	- - -	45
*	*	*	*	31	<i>Anebus</i>	- - -	38
*	*	*	*	32	<i>Babios</i> (V)	- - -	37
				28	<i>Thinaeus</i>		

the empire for himself, and delivered down the same to his successors, till it fell under *Sardanapalus*. The first dynasty of these kings then, ending with *Belochus*, must be called *Dercetada*, from *Derceto*, the mother of *Semiramis* (63).

(S) According to *Eusebius* (64), under this king *Troy* was taken.

(T) *Syncellus* (65) transcribes the same from *Eusebius* in the note above, observing it was in the year of the world, 4124.

(V) Though *Syncellus*, in the note above, seems to agree with *Eusebius*, as to the reign of the king who was on the throne of *Assyria* when *Troy* was taken, he brings that event down to this reign. He observes (66), that this king was by the *Greeks* called *Titbon*, the father of that *Memnon*, who was by his father sent an auxiliary against the *Greeks*, and fell by the hand of *Achilles*. He tells us the copy of a letter from *Priam* to him, was handed about in his time; and also that he was called *Tautanes the Second*. This story is borrowed from *Ctesias* (67), who calls this king *Teutamus*, with *Syncellus*, but makes him a distinct person from *Titbon*, the father of *Memnon*. This romantic author [*Ctesias*] tells us, he sent 10,000 *Ethiopians*, with as many *Susians*, people widely distant from each other, together with 200 chariots, to the succour and assistance of king *Priam*, who was his tributary. *Titbon*, according to this same author, was at that time governor of *Persia*, in highest favour with the king; and his son *Memnon*, who commanded these auxiliary forces, was then in the flower of his days, and had built a palace in the castle of *Susa*, which retained the name of *Memnonia* to the times of the *Persians*, and had paved a public way, which retained his name many ages afterwards. But it seems (68), the *Ethiopians* next to *Egypt* denied all this story,

(63) *Diodor. Sicul. l. 2.* (64) *Ubi supr. p. 90.* (65) *Chronograph. p. 151.* (66) *Ibid. p. 155.* (67) *Diodor. Sicul. Bibliothec. Hist. l. 2. p. 77.* (68) *Vid. eund. ibid.*

28	<i>Thinaus</i>	- - -	30	33	* * * *		
29	<i>Dercilus</i>	- - -	40	34	<i>Dercylus</i>	- - - 40	
30	<i>Eupales</i>	- - -	38	35	<i>Enpacmes</i>	- - - 48	
31	<i>Laosthenes</i>	- - -	45	36	<i>Laosthenes</i>	- - - 45	
32	<i>Pyriatides</i>	- - -	30	37	<i>Pertiades</i>	- - - 30	
33	<i>Ophrateus</i>	- - -	20	38	<i>Ophratæus</i>	- - - 21	
34	<i>Ophratenes</i>	- - -	50	39	<i>Ephceres</i>	- - - 52	
35	<i>Ocraxapes</i>	- - -	42	40	<i>Acraganes</i>	- - - 42	
36	<i>Tonos Concoleras,</i>	} - 20		41	<i>Thonos Concoleros</i>	- - 15	
	by the Greeks,						
	<i>Sardanapalus</i>						
				Total 1460			
Total 1240							

A TABLE of the Successions of the ASSYRIAN Kings, according to the Canon of Scripture, and as they stand in this History.

According to Scripture.

According to this History.

1	<i>Pul</i>				1	<i>Pul</i>
2	<i>Tiglath-pileser</i>				2	<i>Tiglathpileser</i>
3	<i>Shalmaneser</i>				3	<i>Shalmaneser</i>
4	<i>Sennacherib</i>				4	<i>Sennacherib</i>
5	<i>Affar-baddon</i>				5	<i>Affarbaddon</i>
	*	*	*	*	6	<i>Saosducheus</i>
	*	*	*	*	7	<i>Nabuchadonosor, or Chymiladon</i>
	*	*	*	*	8	<i>Sarac, or Sardanapalus.</i>

The first table.

It is surprising, how many sagacious and inquisitive men, historians and chronologers, both in antient and modern times, have blindly given into the errors, and general forgery of the first table. To reconcile it with scripture, to which it is quite repugnant, they have raised such hypotheses, as are contradictory to all history sacred and profane, though at the same time nothing is easier, than to detect the whole imposture, so gross and palpable it seems to be. The two lists which form this first table are derived, notwithstanding the variations in them, from one

and pretended *Memnon* was their countryman, and made shew of his palace, which in our author's days they continued to call *Memnonia*. More is said in contradiction to *Ctesias's* story, but we may perhaps have anticipated too much upon this head, and therefore drop the subject for the present.

formed

formed by *Ctesias*, who concluded his history of the *Assyrians* with a list of kings from *Ninus* to *Artaxerxes*^r. *Castor* copied him, who was again copied by *Eusebius*^t; who, as *Ctesias* had taught his author, begins with *Ninus*, while *Syncellus*, on the other hand, begins with *Belus*, and assigns him a reign of 55 years, though *Castor*^t, whom in this he follows, declares the length of *Belus*'s reign to be uncertain. But this is not the only difference between them; *Syncellus* has in his list four kings which are wanting in that of *Eusebius*, and which are no where else to be met with; which whence it should come to pass, we shall forbear to enquire (W), and the rather, as we shall endeavour, with the concurrence of several great men before mentioned, to destroy the whole on both sides; but first we would observe, that *Syncellus* exceeds every body in the number of years he allows for the duration of the *Assyrian* monarchy, for while *St Augustin*^u allows it but 1305, *Castor* 1280, *Eusebius* 1240, *Velleius* 1070, *Syncellus* gives it 1460, therein greatly exceeding his original author *Ctesias*, and his two copyists, *Diodorus* and *Trogus*, who mention but about 1300.

SINCE therefore these computations are primarily borrowed from *Ctesias*, and lengthened and shortened apparently to the fancy of the several writers his successors, it will be absolutely necessary for us to enquire into what foundation he builds upon, whether his superstructure be raised upon truth or falsehood. *Aristotle*, who was almost his cotemporary, declares him a writer unworthy of credit, and whoever peruses his *Indica* must immediately conclude him to have been a man of no sort of sincerity; nor is *Aristotle* the only one of the antients that has declared against him, nor are his

^r Phot. Biblioth. p. 134. Tmemat 72. Vid. etiam Diod. Sic. l. 14. ^t Vid. MARSHAM, Can. Chron. secul. 17. De Regib. Assy. ^u Apud SYNCCELL. p. 206. ^v De Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 20.

(W) Though it may be in vain to inquire after this seeming interpolation of no less than four kings in *Syncellus*, we may offer it as an argument to prove the unsettledness of the whole series. It was certainly a vague period of history; and from the variations of it, may be shrewdly suspected of being raised upon no sure foundation, upon no such solid basis as truth. As the whole must have been a fable, those who treated of it used it as such, by altering it as they saw good; or else, we cannot see why the several authors and transcribers should not agree together in essentials, which we find they do not.

Indica

Indica the only proof we have, that he was a fabulous writer, as may be gathered from what is to follow.

WERE his character better established by much than it is, his list of the *Assyrian* kings would be no proof of the duration of that empire, nothing being easier than to invent names, and to add what lengths of reign we please to them^w, and especially for a man who pretends actually to have seen such things in *India* as never were, and never can be. Upon this the question might naturally enough be asked, Might not *Ctesias* as well forge his *Assyrian* history, as create the world of monsters he talks of in *India*? And might we not as justly suspect him of falshood, when he pretends to have compiled his history from original records, as when he gravely avers to have been an eye-witness of what no mortal alive can believe?

AND this question may be the more pertinently asked, as both his relation of the *Indies* and his history of the *Assyrians* are equally marvellous, and equally impossible. Who can see *Ninus* at the head of millions of men, at a time when the earth must have been but thinly inhabited, when mankind must have been a good deal in a state of simplicity and nature; who can read this and add faith to the historian? or who can read his story of *Semiramis*; her mighty valour and heroic deeds at the age of twenty, or thereabouts; her two millions of men employed in the building of *Babylon*, her 300,000 skins of black oxen, made up in the form of elephants, and other things of this nature, and not conclude, that what contained it was no genuine history, but a most barefaced romance? In a word, his *Assyrian* history, as it stands in the next section, is most evidently calculated to astonish and amaze, and to strain credulity beyond all possible bounds.

WHAT particularly argues his list of the *Assyrian* kings of the grossest forgery, is, that it is a medley of *Greek*, *Persian*, *Egyptian*, and other names. *Sphærus*, *Lamprides*, *Laothenes*, *Dercylus*, are *Greek* names, and very common ones. *Amyntas* is the name of a king of *Macedon*; *Arius* is the name of a king of *Sparta*. *Pyritiades* is regularly, as should seem, formed from *Pyritis*, a medicinal herb, with which *Ctesias*, as a physician, must have been well acquainted. *Xerxes*, *Armamithres*, *Mithraeus*, are *Persian* names. *Sosarmus*, according to himself, is the name of a king of the *Medes*, which how it should have come to pass, may not be so very unaccountable, considering the transition of the empire from

^w DU PIN'S *Histor. Biblioth. des Histor.* p. 284.

the *Assyrians* to the *Medes*; but how *Sethos*, the name of an *Egyptian* king, should also have been the name of an *Assyrian*, is what we are wholly at a loss for. Nothing is more obvious to those who have dipt into genuine history, and especially the scripture, than the wide difference between the *Assyrian* names and the *Persian*, and the still wider between the same and the *Greek*; so that nothing can be said in his behalf, except that he translated some of the original names, which is absolutely false; nay, he is confessedly so ignorant in this particular, that he had even no notion at all of the *Assyrian* names, how they were pronounced or uttered; so far was he from knowing how they were compounded, and whence they were formed; a most glaring instance of which will be seen anon.

AGAIN, in all long lists of kings the same names, or some such, are observed often to return; and this is no where more remarkable than in the five names of the *Assyrian* kings, which are all that are recorded in the canon of scripture. *Pul*, or *Phul*, *Tiglath-pileser*, or *Tiglath-pul-assur*, *Shalmaneser*, or *Shalman-assur*, *Esaraddon* or *Assur-baddon*. For the *Assyrians*, to all appearance, borrowed their names from their own gods*, or from the gods of other nations in repute among them. These gods seem to have been *Bel*, or *Pul*, *Chaddon*, *Haddon*, *Adon*, or *Adonis*, *Melech*, or *Moloch*, *Atsur*, or *Assur*, *Nebo*, *Nergal*, *Merodach*; as for instance in the following, besides the names above, *Adramelech*, *Sbar-assur*, *Nabonassar*, or *Nebo-adon-assur*, *Bel-adon*, *Chyniladon*, or *Chen-el-adon*, *Nebo-pul-assur*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Nebuchadonosor*, or *Nebo-chaddon-assur*, *Nebuza-radan*, or *Nebo-assur-adon*, *Evil-merodach*, or *Ilvoradamus*, and many more that might be brought to illustrate this point. After this, who must not reject the wild and arbitrary names in *Ctesias*? who is so ignorantly extravagant, as to suppose *Sardanapalus* to have been the *Greek* name for the last *Assyrian* king, though so naturally deriveable from *Assur-adon-pul*, while he pretends his *Assyrian* name to have been *Tonos Concoleros*, a name which bears no manner of relation to the *Assyrian* language, or any other that we at present are aware of; a name most evidently coined to amuse and catch the ear.

IF in seven *Assyrian* names, all that are mentioned in the canon of scripture, five of them belonging to so many kings, and two to the two sons of *Sennacherib*, there appears such similitude and near relation, would not the same, in all

* Vid. SELDEN, de Diis Syr.

likelihood,

likelihood, have been often repeated, and continually but varied, in a long list of 36 of them according to *Eusebius*, or 41 according to *Syncellus*? but nothing of this kind is in either of them to be observed; the names of all of them are different and independent, except in a case or two; and to crown all, in neither of them is there one name at all belonging to any of the *Assyrian* kings in scripture. To suppose these names to have been unknown to the *Greeks*, would be next to supposing they were perfect strangers to the *Assyrian* affairs; and so all that *Ctesias* has written, and others after him, would fall self-condemned to the ground. But this is what we can very safely contradict; they were actually known to the *Greeks*, or the most curious of them, and particularly to *Herodotus*, who, though he mentions but one king of *Assyria*, calls him exactly by his true name, the termination excepted, *Sennacherib*; and we may thence very fairly conclude, that had he completed the history of *Assyria* he promised, we should have read the names of the rest of the *Assyrian* kings in him with as much accuracy; and the rather, as we have the experience of his conforming with scripture, in the names of several of the *Egyptian* kings: in consideration of which, and the contradictory writings of *Ctesias*, it may be justly wondered, why *Herodotus* should labour under so much obloquy and contempt with many of great learning and judgment, while all the abominable untruths of *Ctesias*, though obvious to every sense, are swallowed and received for granted, even though he in every particular clashes with scripture; while the former confirms it, wherever he happens to speak of things there handed down to us. A monstrous inequality some of the best and most religious of us have been absurdly guilty of; an inequality never to be excused, but in those who have nothing to plead in their behalf but ignorance and want of discernment. But this has been more properly discussed in the preface, and therefore we return to what more immediately concerns us.

THE names in *Ctesias*, and the number of them, are not alone what may prompt us to pronounce him guilty of forgery; the length of the reigns may be urged as another argument against him; except it be answered, that in those very early days, so nearly bordering on the times of the deluge, such length is not to be wondered at. But this would be no answer at all, especially for at least three fourths of them, who must have lived when the life of man was reduced to its present standard. And this remote antiquity is what must also be urged against *Ctesias*, and particularly, as he writes

writes in direct opposition to the scripture. *Ninus*, according to him must have reigned before the days of *Abraham*, and conquered *Perſia*, *Media*, *Egypt*, *Aſſyria*, and all *Aſia*; and his wife *Semiramis*, his immediate ſucceſſor, adds *Libya* and *Ethiopia* thereto. But what trace do we find of all this in the book of *Geneſis*? even none. The *Canaanites* were under their own kings or patriarchs, ages after *Abraham*; the *Moabites*, the *Ammonites*, the *Midianites*, the *Edomites*, the *Amalekites*, the *Philiftines*, were ſubject to no foreign yoke, and free from ſtrange lords, till they began to be perſecuted by the ſword of *Iſrael*. *Egypt* ſeemingly enjoyed herſelf in peace, apprehenſive of no danger from without, till *Sennacherib*, bent upon eſtabliſhing and enlarging his empire, moved towards *Egypt* with deſign to invade it. In proof of all which, we need only refer to the hiſtories of all theſe nations in the former part of this work. It appears then, that no *Aſſyrian* enemy was in theſe parts for many ages after the pretended dates of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, and that all *Syria* and *Mefopotamia* were free alſo from any ſubjection to *Aſſyria*, may be proved as plain.

THE *Syrian* monarchy was confeſſedly older than the *Aſſyrian*, and extended on both ſides of the *Euphrates*, under *Hadadzer* king of *Zobab*, and roſe afterwards to its meridian under the race of the *Damaſcene* kings, and particularly in the days of *Ben-hadad* and *Hazael*: Theſe ruled a mighty empire. Where then were the *Aſſyrian* monarchs, ſo extenſive in their command, and ſo jealous of their power? *David*, before theſe, was maſter of a conſiderable extent of all on this ſide the *Euphrates*, and had no *Aſſyrian* to diſpute the honour with him. The *Phœnicians* continued in independence and freedom, till the days of *Shalmaneſer*, who was ſet at defiance by the *Tyrians*, though he was the third of that fortunate and conquering race. Conſult the hiſtory of *Judea*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, and you will perceive no glimpe of an *Aſſyrian* monarchy till the days of *Pul*, who lived above 2200 years after the deluge, according to the *Samaritan* computation, which we profeſs to follow.

WE have formerly^b almoſt ventured to aſſert, that the *Aſſyrians* impoſed their religion on the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*; which, if it can any way be made to appear, muſt argue the *Aſſyrian* monarchy to have been poſterior to the antient *Syrian* empire. We have ſeen, that the antient gods of

^a See Vol. II. p. 284. & ſeq.

III. p. 321.

^b See Vol. II. p. 310. not (K).

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Syria were Rimmon, Adad, and other deities of mortal origin, their most renowned kings. These were the gods of the Syrians; but they ceasing, as it were, to be a people by their captivity^d, others were introduced into the country, as the custom was^e; and accordingly, in the temple of the great Syrian goddess at Hierapolis, we find the statues of Semiramis and Sardanapalus^f. These, as Assyrians, must have been unknown to the old inhabitants of the country; and to confirm us in a certain and well-grounded belief, that they were both of them later than the kings of Damascus, we would urge, that Semiramis herself is said to have been a Philistine, to have been born in the neighbourhood of Ascalon, at a time when the whole land was in subjection to the Assyrian kings, and, as should seem, in the reign of Ninus^g. When this can possibly have been, but after the subjugation of the Proper Palestine, together with the neighbouring countries, by the successors of Pul, we leave any one to judge; the scripture affords no materials towards even any conjecture of the kind, as may be easily discerned by the history of the Philistines, in the former part of this work.

The father of Thammuz, or Adonis, is said to have been an Assyrian^h; and it is thought, the whole system almost of the Syrian and Phœnician superstition migrated from the banks of the Tigrisⁱ; and as this seems very natural, and may be supported by many powerful arguments, we are apparently wrong in not rejecting Ctesias, who, in opposition to scripture, Herodotus, and other more undoubted authorities, is guilty of a forgery of the most solemn and delusive kind.

HAVING endeavoured to destroy the credit of Ctesias, and therewith the first table of the Assyrian kings from Eusebius and Syncellus, we will proceed to settle the chronology of the Assyrian empire in the best manner we are able, by taking into consideration the second table. By the history of Syria and the neighbouring countries it appears, the Assyrians had no power in the western parts of Asia till the reign of Pul, who made his first appearance on this side the Euphrates, in the decline of the kingdom of Damascus: What they had before that time done in the east, does no where appear; but that the foundations of the monarchy were laid by Pul, or some near predecessor of his, by conquests nearer

^e Ibid. p. 255.^d Ibid. p. 290.^e See before, p. 132.^f See Vol. II. p. 258, & seq.^g Ctes. apud DIONOR. SICUL.

l. 2. p. 65.

^h See Vol. II. p. 1313, not. (S).ⁱ Sir ISAAC

NEWTON, Chron. of Ant. Kings, amended, p. 27.

home, is a matter never to be doubted. We have elsewhere said^k, that the *Assyrian* monarchy cannot be dated much backwarder than the days of *Menahem*; and this is not only to be demonstrated by scripture and *Ptolemy's* astronomical canon, but by several of the most approved and sincerest prophane writers.

Herodotus^l, that venerable and much injured historian, observes that the *Assyrians* had been masters of the *Upper Asia* 520 years, when the *Medes* threw off their yoke; and that the empire of the latter subsisted no longer than 150 years, inclusive of the 28 years, during which the *Scythians* ruled *Asia*. These two sums added together amount to 670 years, for the whole duration of the two monarchies of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*, which being added to the epoch of *Cyrus* before *Christ*, which is universally stated at 559 years before *Christ*, will make 1229, the whole interval between the first rise of the *Assyrian* monarchy and the birth of *Christ*, which cuts off about 1000 years from the common prophane accounts; though it will exceed the æra of *Nabonassar* by 458 years; and therefore *Herodotus's* numbers, as they stand with us, are doubtless too long, though so much short of *Ctesias* and his followers. But, by the way, we would add, that *Herodotus's* computation is not above 200 years later than the days of *Chusban-rishathaim*, king of *Mesopotamia*, or *Aram-nabaraim*, who kept the children of *Israel* under for the space of eight years, till they were delivered from him by *Othniel*^m. In what sense this *Chusban-rishathaim* may have been considered as an *Assyrian*, we take not upon us to say; or whether he was so or not, farther than we are obliged to declare him not to have been of that nationⁿ, seeing he is in scriptureⁿ called a *Mesopotamian*, and seeing we might with as much justice call *Gedorlaomer* an *Assyrian*, though he is expressly said to have been an *Elamite*, or *Persian*: and this care in the sacred pen-men, thus to distinguish the men who from the beginning made inroads upon the *Euphratesian* regions, expressly saying the first was an *Elamite*, the second a *Mesopotamian*, and expressly calling *Pul* an *Assyrian*, leaves us no room to imagine, that the two former were kings of *Assyria*; but that *Herodotus* should be a little elder in his date than may have been quite exact, will not perhaps be wondered at by those who rightly consider what we have urged in the former part of this section.

^k See Vol. I. p. 381.

^l 1. 1. c. 95.

^m Judg. c. iii. ver. 8.

ⁿ See before p. 130, note (L).

ⁿ Judg. iii. ver. 8.

AGAIN, *Herodotus* tells us^o, that *Semiramis*, who, according to *Diodorus Siculus*^p, or *Ctesias* rather, was the wife of *Ninus*, was but five generations before *Nitocris*, the mother of *Labyntus* [*Nabonadius*] the last king of *Babylon*, which as, by the largest computation, it cannot exceed 200 years^q; she may have been the wife of some one of the kings in *Ptolemy's* canon, and perhaps of *Nabonassar* himself.

FOR these reasons is *Herodotus* much to be relied on, and for the same are we much to regret the history of *Assyria* he promises; and for which he doubtless was furnished with very valuable materials. He actually travelled the country, and conversed with the natives; which though a late author^r makes slight of, presuming the inhabitants might be mistaken themselves, and consequently lead him into errors; yet must it be acknowledged to make greatly in favour of *Herodotus*, since he could possibly have had no better means of information, except he had had an opportunity of consulting the national records themselves.

NOR is he not supported and followed by some of the very weightiest of the ancients. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*^s takes notice, that the *Assyrian* antiquities are run up into fable; that though the monarchy was ancient, it did not extend over a very great part of *Asia*, and that it was not so potent as the empire of the *Medes*, which arose upon its ruins. *Appian*^t affirms the duration of the three empires, the *Assyrian*, the *Median*, and the *Persian*, to have made up no more in sum than 900 years, which being added to 336, the epoch of *Alexander* before Christ, will remove the rise of the *Assyrian* monarchy to the distance of 1236 years before Christ, which will exceed the chronology of *Herodotus* above, by no more than seven years; upon which we cannot but wonder, *St. Jerome*^u, who follows *Ctesias*, should roundly assert, that *Ninus* was the first that ruled over all *Asia*, and that all the *Greeks*, as well as the *Barbarians*, were of the same mind.

SUCH are the sentiments of the most judicious of the prophane historians, concerning the duration of the *Assyrian* monarchy; and they seem to have the concurrence of *Homer* on their side, who, in recounting the most potent princes of the earth, at the time when *Troy* was besieged, is quite silent as to any *Assyrian* monarch, though, after the rate *Ctesias* reckons, that ten years war was waged within the *Assyrian* dominions.

^o Ubi supra, c. 184. ^p l. 2. p. 67. ^q *MARSH. Can. Chron.* p. 522. ^r *BEDFORD*, in his *Script. Chronol.* p. 774. ^s l. 1. ^t In *Præfat.* p. 5. ^u In *Hoseam*, c. 2.

BY what we have said against the first table of the *Assyrian* kings, according to *Eusebius* and *Synellus*, and the preparatory arguments we have been using in behalf of the second, according to scripture and this history, it must appear to an attentive reader, that the *Assyrian* monarchy is of late date; in comparison of what has been too much imagined, even by some of the most learned; as also, that it is in scripture, that we have the nearest view of the rise of the monarchy before us; and more particularly, since it is evident, by *Ptolemy's* canon, that there were really no kings of very extraordinary eminence before the reign of *Nabonassar*, who may have been a descendant of *Pul's*, the first *Assyrian* monarch mentioned in scripture, a point, which may be more properly discussed in the chronology of *Babylon*; though, by the way, *Ptolemy* calls all the kings in his canon *Assyrians*, which was a common practice.

THE authority of this famous canon is not to be disputed; and it most remarkably reduces the *Assyrian* æra to the bounds of scripture history, or nearly so; for though *Pul* himself will not fall within the compass, he will so little exceed it, that it may be offered as a very powerful argument, to evince, he was the first considerable monarch in these parts: but this being what we may have occasion to resume hereafter, we proceed to what we have more immediately under consideration.

To fix the exact æra of the *Assyrian* monarchy is what we cannot pretend to, except we do it relatively to ourselves in the western parts; and in that case we must compute from the year of *Pul's* first appearance on this side of the *Euphrates*, which was about the second year of *Menahem*, 23 years before the æra of *Nabonassar*, 2228 years after the flood, and 771 years before Christ.

THUS far it is no difficult matter to ascertain the beginning of this empire. Its end may perhaps be more nearly fixed, though that is what we cannot settle beyond all possibility of dispute. The text of scripture, which gives us so near a prospect of its beginning, and relates to us some of the remarkable transactions of five of its most potent princes, drops us on a sudden; so that we are obliged to resort to the *Apocrypha* and *Ptolemy's* canon, for the successors of the great *Esarhaddon*. The book of *Judith* so very nicely corresponds with *Herodotus*, in what he says of the war between the declining *Assyrians* and the rising *Medes*, that we have not been able to avoid adding faith thereto; and seeing the reign of

* *Patriæ. Antiq. Babylon. p. 10.*

Nabuchadonoser most naturally coincides with that of *Gbyniladen* in the canon, we have ventured to pronounce them to have been one and the same king, the second in descent from *Esarbaddon*, or *Affaraddin*: as for *Sarac*, whom we borrow from *Polybistor*², and whom we also call *Sardanapalus*, from a similitude of his story and exit in the same historian, with what is related thereof by *Ctesias*, we must confess ourselves considerably in the dark, as we may note hereafter in the body of our *Assyrian* history. In the mean time it may be objected to us, that *Polybistor* is a follower of *Ctesias*, and as such we have considered him; but we would answer, with the assistance of Sir *Isaac Newton*³, That there may be something of truth in the bottom of the *Ctesian* History, as there uses to be in romances; as that *Nineveh* was destroyed by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, that *Sardanapalus* was the last king of the *Assyrian* empire, and that *Astibares* and *Astyages* were kings of the *Medes*. But whence it is, that we have no such name as *Sarac* in the *Nabonassarian* canon, we shall here forbear to enquire; seeing we may have a more convenient opportunity of offering our conjectures concerning him, when we come to the history of his reign; and therefore, since nothing positive can be ascertained, as to this last stage of the *Assyrian* monarchy, we here conclude this section.

S E C T. IV.

The History of ASSYRIA, according to Ctesias of Cnidos, and his Followers.

ALTHOUGH we have condemned whatever is here to follow as forgery all and falsehood, yet, as it has been so long received for truth, by most of the wisest and most sagacious historians and chronologers, and, as we may say, from all antiquity admitted into the body of history, we are under an indispensable obligation of producing it here in all its particulars, as it is, with great solemnity and all possible confidence, handed down to us. *Ninus* (X), a prince

² Apud *SYNCELLE*. ³ Chronolog. of ant. kingd. amended, p. 267.

(X) We will not take upon us to say, there never was such a king as *Ninus*, or such a king as his pretended predecessor *Belus*; but it is very likely, these names were forged by the *Greeks*, or others, to account for the building of the two great cities, *Nineveh*, and *Babel*,

prince of martial genius and immense ambition, resolved to make a conquest of the nations round about, and erect an empire over them : to this purpose, he assembled together the robustest of the youth in his dominions, and diligently trained them up to the exercise of arms, and enured them to hardship and labour, and fitted them for war* (Y).

BEING now in a state to execute his purpose, but apprehending, he might be stopped in his career by the *Arabians*, whom alone he dreaded, as a bold and resolute people, jealous and tenacious of their liberty, he entered into a league

* Apud DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. Histor. l. 2.

bel, or *Babylon*. However, thus far we know ; he cannot have been *Nimrod*, or *Ashur* rather, their ages not at all agreeing (69), and therefore it is impossible, *Ninus* should have been the first king. We would do all we safely could to reconcile the sacred history with the profane, and will allow, with several, that *Nimrod* may be *Belus*, and *Ashur* *Ninus* ; or let *Nimrod*, as others (70) think, be the son of *Belus*, (whom they will have to be *Cush*), and let *Ninus* be the son of *Nimrod* ; but then let their works and exploits be suitable with the early times they lived in, not such as we read of in *Diodorus Siculus* (71) ; let the cities they build be plain, and without art and cost. Let them reign agreeably to the state of things in the first ages, without pomp, without luxury. Let them wage war, but let it be in thier neighbourhood, not in far distant countries ; with a few thousands at their heels, not with millions ; with rude and undisciplined men, not with regular bodies of trained soldiers.

(Y) We cannot forbear thinking, that the whole story of *Ninus*, is, with some variation, a copy of that of the great *Egyptian Sesostris* (72), and the rather, as we actually find them confounded together as one and the same person ; for *Tacitus* (73) expressly calls *Sesostris* king of *Assyria*, and observes, he is the same *Diodorus Siculus* calls *Sesoosis* (74), that he was monarch of the *Assyrians*, that he ruled over all lands, and that he yoked kings to his chariot. In short, he at length relates the story we have upon the same occasion told of the *Egyptian Sesostris* (75), without the least variation, except that he calls him an *Assyrian*.

The parallel is plain ; *Amenophis* trains up a number of youth to the fatigues and exercises of war, to serve under his son in the conquests foretold of him (76), the world being then unconscious of the havock of the sword ; *Ninus* does here the same, and with the same intent, except that those he trained were designed to serve under himself.

(69) See before, p. 128. (70) Petav. de Doctr. Tempor. (71) Biblioth. Histor. l. 2. (72) See Vol. II. p. 9, &c. (73) Chil. 3. v. 83. ad calc. edit. Gal. Herodot. p. 676. (74) See Vol. II. p. 9. (75) Ibid. & seq. (76) Ibid. p. 21.

with *Ariæus* their king; whereby if he did not obtain his immediate assistance, he might, at least, secure his neutrality and connivance (Z). But *Ariæus* joined forces with him, and marched with him into *Babylonia* (A). The city of *Babylon*,

(Z) It is made an objection to the *Ctesian* history of *Assyria*, that it introduces a king of the *Arabians* before the *Arabians* were a people; our author (77) supposing them originally descended of *Ismael* the son of *Abraham*; but this cannot hold good, for the country was before planted by *Joktan* (78). But what is more material and unanswerable is, the question that might be asked concerning these ancient *Arabians*, How it was they were in *Ninus*'s days so famed for war and love of liberty? How came *Ninus* to know this? We understand by this history, that *Ninus* was the first that invaded the rights of his neighbours; and tyranny and slavery seem by this history to have been at these times unknown. If then these *Arabians* had never been invaded, they never could have distinguished themselves in these respects from the rest of the nations; and if they had been invaded, it is plain, *Ninus* was not the first warrior or conqueror. We read, that *Sesostri* king of *Egypt* subdued the *Arabians* (79); and in this particular, indeed, our parallel between him and *Ninus* is interrupted. But is *Sesostri* older in these parts than *Ninus*? our author (80) intimates no. By prophane authors, they must have been nearly of an age. Now if *Sesostri* conquered the *Arabians*, it is no great sign they were invincible. What other conqueror there should have been in these parts, before these two, we perceive not; *Justin* (81) reckons them two of the first that disturbed the peace of the world in *Asia*. If *Asia* had been free from war till the days of *Ninus*, and if he was the first that affected to rule over his neighbours, the *Arabians* must, to all appearance, have been as ignorant in martial affairs as other nations. On the other hand, if *Ninus* was later than *Sesostri*, and if this last actually subdued the *Arabians*, what had *Ninus* to fear from them, that he must court them after this rate, and lay himself under the obligations he afterwards does to their king? The inconnection and forgery is palpable. It is wonderful, that such stuff as this should ever have passed with men for history, when it is even too silly to be called good romance, which ought to be the shadow of truth and probability at least.

(A) If *Ninus* resided in the country we now call *Assyria*, and if this mighty *Arabian Ariæus* ruled over the country we now call *Arabia*, he could not with more convenience at all have joined his *Assyrian* friend, than by marching through the kingdom of *Babylon*. Now if these *Babylonians* had been so feeble as here represented our warlike *Arab* might have subdued them in his march, and made

(77) Bern. Montfauc. *apud* Du Pin. *Biblioth. Univ. des Histor.* p. 286. (78) See Vol. I. p. 374. (79) See Vol. II. p. 22. (80) Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. (81) Lib. I. c. 1.

bylon, so famous since, was not at that time in being ; though the province itself was stored with cities, whose inhabitants, unknown in the arts of defence (B), fell an easy prey to

a present of them and their country to *Ninus*, upon their first greeting ; and the rather, because it would not only have redounded to his honour, but have saved time and expence also.

(B) Why the *Babylonians* should have been so particularly ignorant in martial affairs beyond their neighbours, is what we can no more conceive, than why the *Arabians* should have been so particularly versed therein. If the *Arabian* had been what he is represented, it is very strange, the *Babylonian* should not have dreaded so turbulent a neighbour, and provided for his own safety against him. And here we would observe, that, according to our author (82), and by what is observed in the note next above, the *Arabians* must have been famous warriors, before the *Assyrians* themselves knew any thing of the matter ; and if so, it would be but natural to suppose, that the *Babylonians*, who lay between them should have cultivated the use of the sword before the *Assyrians*, and that for several reasons, and particularly, as it so stood them upon, to be on their guard against such an enemy as the *Arabian*. But, as natural as this may seem, we are here told quite the reverse ; the *Babylonians* knew nothing of the matter, and they were swept away at once. They, it seems, knew not the *Arabians* were such a people as we are told, and contracted no jealousy from the extraordinary preparations and proceedings of their neighbour, the king of *Assyria* ; and so neither took the field, nor walled their cities. How likely this is to have been, we leave the reader to judge, and shall only add, that this account clashes very remarkably with two very express and important passages of sacred history relating to the *Babylonian* kingdom, which represents this country to have been the first after the flood where any great buildings, as cities, and the like, were erected, and particularly the tower of *Babel* (83) ; and the people to have been a warlike enterprising nation, so early as the days of *Abraham*, when we read of a king of *Shinar*, or *Babylon* (84), making excursions upon the *Canaanites* and others, in company with the king of *Elam* (85). This *Babylonian* king was plainly a warrior ; and, according to common computation, could not have been much, if at all, later than *Ninus*. The city of *Battra* was, we find by our author, so strongly walled, as to be in a manner impregnable. But *Babylon*, it seems, was as yet not in being, and the whole province, and its more antient cities, were swept away at once. How this agrees with the scripture, we leave the reader to judge ; it is *totò còelo* distant from it ; as may be more amply observed hereafter.

In the preceding note we have endeavoured to expose the absur-

(82) *Ctes.* apud *Diodor. Sicul. ubi supr.* (83) *See Vol. I. p. 313, & seq.* (84) *See Vol. II. p. 166, & seq. & p. 361.* (85) *Genes. xiv.*

to the turbulent and aspiring *Ninus*, who imposed on them an annual tribute; and carried away their king and all his children, whom he afterwards put to death (C). He then fell upon *Armenia* with a mighty hand, bore down cities and all before him, and injected such a terror into the hearts of all the people there, that their king *Barzanes* himself waited on him with rich gifts, and made submission to him; which had this effect, that *Ninus* courteously left him in possession of his kingdom of *Armenia*; but upon this condition, that he should be to him as a vassal, and serve him in his wars, whenever he should require it (D). Encouraged thus to proceed, he makes an attempt upon *Media*, and overthrew its king *Pharnus*, though at the head of a mighty army. Most of the army of the *Medes* he slew, the king himself was taken prisoner, together with his wife and seven children, and crucified* (E).
AND

* Apud eund. *ibid.*

dity of this position; but though the *Babylonians* should have been more ignorant in war than the nations round about; it must have been, because they had never known what war was. In this case, it must be supposed, their neighbours, not excepting any, must have been as ignorant therein as themselves. One warlike nation always makes another, and so on.

(C) What this prince should have done to provoke *Ninus* to use him in this cruel manner, may be very hard to come at; but it is plain, he could give him no great offence; his weakness and inactivity seem to have been the only crimes to make him obnoxious to the *Assyrians*; and that these were the crimes he suffered for, may be unnatural to suppose. In a word, it seems to have been the first thing that came uppermost, and to have been said at a venture; perhaps for variety sake.

(D) This king of *Armenia*, it is plain, at first made some resistance; but, finding himself unequal to his adversary, submits to be his vassal, and, in consideration of this, his life is spared. This looks as if he not only resisted at first, but made terms for himself afterwards; or we cannot possibly perceive, why he should be suffered to live any more than the apparently innocent and offensive king of *Babylon*; whose case, if true, must have redounded much to the dishonour of this new conqueror; and not, must reflect highly on the judgment of the relater, who could make his hero so cruel and undistinguishing a man; so that he *Ninus* does not make the figure of even a common hero in a romance, who is commonly proposed for a pattern of true justice and magnanimous prowess.

(E) If there be any coherence in the narration thus far, it is in the gradation of resistance in these three nations that were first attacked,

AND now nothing would serve him, but he must make himself master of all *Asia*, between the *Tanais* and the *Nile*; and that he might, with the more safety, enter upon this enterprize, he fixes an intimate friend of his in the government of his new conquest, *Media*, while he marched away against the other provinces of *Asia*, which, in seventeen years time, he reduced, all but *Bactria* and *India*. The number of the nations he subjugated, it seems, are no where enumerated, or the battles he fought by any one described and reckoned; but thus far, we are told, is known; he made himself master of the sea-coasts, as well as of the inland parts, conquering *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Myfia*, *Lydia*, *Troas*, and *Phrygia* upon the *Hellepont*, the *Propontis*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, together with the barbarous nations from *Pontus* to the *Tanais*; the *Cadusians*, *Tapyrians*, *Hyrceanians*, *Dacians*, *Derbicians*, *Carmanians*, *Choramnians*, *Borchanians*, and *Parthians*, not excepting *Persia*, *Susiana*, and what was called *Caspiana*, which he penetrated by the passes called the *Caspian Streights* (F). Other nations of less account he now subdued,

attacked, upon the supposition, that the world in those days knew not what war was. The *Babylonians*, who were first attacked, make no resistance at all; the *Armenians*, whose turn was next, make some faint shew of resistance; and now the *Medes*, who came third in turn, resist indeed. For here we find, they had regular armies in the field to cope with *Ninus*; and a most bloody battle is fought. *Pharnus*, according to this, must have made a very extraordinary progress in the art of war, and must have been a furious enemy; and might have been a rebellious vassal, and a turbulent neighbour, if he had been permitted to live; and so he is put to death, with all his family. But this *Mede* seems to have been as much too strong, as the *Armenian* and *Babylonian* are too weak; the whole has all the air of untruth and inconsistency one could wish.

(F) Such was the extent of this youthful monarchy according to our author. All these conquests were made, with uninterrupted success, by *Ninus*; and these numerous nations, and others, were ever after considered as parts of the *Assyrian* monarchy, till its dissolution; a falsehood, which may be proved by what we know of the history of every of these nations; who if they were in very early days conquered by any antient *Assyrian* king, *Ninus*, or any other, their subjection can have been but for the time. We know, by the history of the several nations that precede in this work, that they were free from any *Assyrian* yoke, from the first times we know of, down to the days of *Pul*; an interval of many ages, during which no *Assyrian* monarchy existed on this side the *Euphrates*. So that if any

duced, but found it impracticable to make any notable impression on the *Bactrians*, who were secured by the difficulty of their passes, and the numbers of their hardy warriors (G), and therefore he defers his war with them, till he should be better assured of making his attempt with success ^b.

^b Apud eund. *ibid.*

such there had been, and if its duration was such as *Cresus* and his followers report, it must, according to the *Hebrew* computation, or the *Samaritan*, have taken rise many ages before the deluge, and have ended about the time these nations, and particularly all on this side the *Euphrates*, began to have any being that we know of; for, from the days of *Abraham* down to *Pul*, there is no vestige of an *Assyrian* power extended over the western parts of *Asia*. This is plain, and is enough to prove this monarchy took birth in the person of *Pul*, the first *Assyrian* king, according to scripture; after him these nations, or many of them, and particularly those on this side the *Euphrates*, did confessedly pay obedience to the *Assyrian* throne; which before that time they certainly never did, at least for any continuance; so that there could have been nothing of this pretended *Assyrian* monarchy from *Abraham* to *Pul*, which is an interval of about 1150 years, which, being added to the years of the interval between *Abraham* and the flood, will remove the rise of this monarchy so near to us, in comparison of what prophane authors tell us, that we may reckon it to have been of late origin.

(G) How these *Bactrians* came to be such very hardy warriors is perfectly in the dark to us; they must never have had the experience of a single campaign before they had to do with the ambitious *Ninus*. The same arguments may be brought to prove, that *Ninus* could not possibly know what they were for soldiers; as we have, a few notes above, offered to demonstrate he could know nothing particular of the martial capacity of the *Arabians*; for if we suppose, with our author and *Trogus* (86), that *Ninus* was the first real warrior, we cannot allow, there can have been any nation famous for arms till after his conquests; and though some nations, during his progress, may have put themselves in a posture of defence, and gathered together in the nature of an army, *Ninus* could know nothing particular of them till he had tried them; and could have nothing to apprehend from them, except he judged by their stature and strength of body; which may, it is most likely, have been the same in all these neighbouring nations. In short, considering the advantage he had of numbers and experience, as also the torrent of his victories, it were ridiculous to suppose, he could dread any one of these nations more than another.

(86) Justin l. 1. c. 1.

LEADING

LEADING his army back again into his own country *Returns* [*Syria*, as it is called] (H), he determined to raise himself *into his* as great a name for his magnificence at home, as he hoped *own coun-* he should enjoy for his warlike exploits abroad; and, with *try*. this design, marked out a spot of ground whereon to erect a city, which for extent and stateliness, should not only far surpass all that had ever before been in the world, but also be such as should, with the greatest difficulty, be equalled by any other prince in ages to come (I). Having dismissed *Dismisses* the Arabian king, who had followed him in his wars, with *the king of* high honours and noble gifts (K); and having got a multi- *Arabia.* tude of hands about him, and amassed a treasure proportionable to his undertaking, he laid the foundations of his intended city, which rose to that stupendous degree as was never after beheld in any city whatsoever. It stood on, or near, the *Nineveh* *Euphrates* (L), surrounded with lofty walls and towers; the *built, and* former being 100 feet in height, the latter 200, and 1500 *described.* in number; for this city was an oblong square, no less than 480 stades in circumference, or 60 miles; the walls were so very broad, that three chariots might drive thereon a-breast. This city, which he honoured with his name, *Ninus* [*Nineveh*], he gave for a possession to the most eminent of the *Assyrians* (M), with liberty, at the same time, for those of any other nation to settle there, adding thereto a large territory to be dependent thereon.

c Apud eund. *ibid.*

(H) We have already (87) observed, that *Syria* and *Assyria* are promiscuously used for each other, and that this is the cause of much confusion in geography (88).

(I) This is *Sesostris* exactly: Thus he, returning from the conquest of *Asia*, applied his mind to such stupendous works, as might immortalize his name, and everlastingly contribute to the public good (89).

(K) Thus also did *Sesostris* to his army (90).

(L) This is false; it was not the situation of this city (91). This inaccuracy, which is more than once repeated by our author (92), has been noted by several geographers and others; but whether he borrowed the mistake from his admired *Ctesias*, or whether he struck it out of himself, is quite uncertain.

(M) This again is almost the very story of *Sesostris*, who settled certain portions, by lot, of the most fertile land in Egypt, on his whole army (93).

(87) See before, p. 122. (88) *Ibid.* & p. 123, note (B). (89) See Vol. II. p. 26. (90) *Ibid.* (91) See Vol. I. p. 279, note (B).

(92) Diodor. Sicul. *Biblioth. Histor.* l. 2. (93) See Vol. II. p. 23.

Ninus *gain makes* *not so good* as to tell us, *Ninus* takes the field again to sub-
war with due the *Bactrians*, whom he had left unconquered; and
the Bactri- though in this expedition success and triumph crowned his en-
ans. deavours, it is for nothing more remarkable, than for his
Semiramis marriage with *Semiramis*; which leads us to say something of
the obscurity of her birth, and the sublimity of her elevation,
her birth. Her birth and extraction were, to be sure, more than merely
mortal, for she sprang from a goddess, *Derceto* by name,
who had a temple erected to her near a fishy lake, not far
from *Ascalon* in *Syria* (N), who came to be represented by
a woman upwards and a fish downwards (O), upon the fol-
lowing remarkable occasion: This goddess, some how or
other, laboured under the displeasure of *Venus*, who, to pu-
nish her, caused her to fall impatiently in love of a youth,
who, among others, happened to be paying sacrifice to her,
and unfortunately conceiving by him she was deliver-
ed of a daughter; but ashamed of her guilt, and desi-
rous to conceal it, she murdered the youth, and exposed
the infant among the rocks of a desert, and, overwhelmed
with grief and dishonour, threw herself headlong into the
lake, and became a fish (O*). Mean while the unhappy in-
fant was miraculously sustained and nourished by a flock of

(N) As much as this city was in *Syria*, it was a city of the *Pro-
per Palestine*, and belonging to the *Philistines* (94); so that by this
account, as we have observed elsewhere (95), *Semiramis* was a *Phi-
listine* by birth, and consequently could have no manner of relation
to the king of *Assyria*, either as his subject or his vassal, till after
the conquest of that country by the successors of *Pul*, many ages
after this pretended time.

(O) Hence she is supposed to have been the same with the *Phi-
listine Dagon*, who is commonly supposed to have been pictured in
some such manner; but this we have endeavoured to confute (96).
Besides, *Dagon* was not the peculiar god of *Ascalon*, but of *Asbdod*,
or *Axotus* (97); and therefore very unlikely to have been the *Der-
ceto* of *Ascalon*.

(O*) Hence perhaps the worship of fishes at *Hierapolis* in *Syria*
(98), where, near the temple of the great *Syrian* goddess, was a
lake for the preservation and adoration of that watery creature,
which we have at length described (99). But whether *Ascalon*, or
Hierapolis, was the original seat of this fable, or any other place,
is a most uncertain matter.

(94) See Vol. II. p. 193. (95) See before p. 146. (96) See
Vol. II. p. 199. (97) Ibid. ibid. (98) Ibid. p. 259.
(99) Ibid.

doves or pigeons (P), which frequented near, and kept her warm with their wings, and fed her with milk from the neighbouring cottages; and when, at a year old, the child required a more substantial food, they picked cheese for her, and conveyed it to her; which being remarked by the neighbouring shepherds, who had their cheeses thus served, they made search after the cause, and in the end found a beautiful child, which they took home with them, and sent to the chief

(P) Hence it should be, that *Ascalon* was so remarkable for flocks of pigeons (100), not only in the roads and fields, but about every house; which the people here religiously abstained from, on account of an old tradition concerning the unlawfulness of the contrary (1).

There are those who are ready to believe, *Semiramis* may have borrowed her name, as *Diodorus* insinuates (2), from a word in the *Syrian* tongue, signifying a dove (3); but others (4), finding no such word in that language, rejected the notion as groundless. And these are most likely to be right, whatever may be offered to the contrary, upon a supposition, that the word may, in length of time, have been obliterated (5). From all this, and more, it is asserted, that the ensign armorial of *Assyria* was a dove (6); and it has been ventured to blazon the *Assyrian* shield in these terms; *The field Sol, a dove volant proper* (7). So that *Semiramis* is reckoned † to have been the origin of coats and crests. Hence it is supposed (8), that in the *Vulgate* we read (9), *quia facta est terra eorum in desolationem a facie iræ columbæ*; where in our translation, instead of the *anger of the dove*, we read the *fierceness of the oppressor*; and, in the *Septuagint*, ἀνὸ προσώπου τῆς μαχαίρας, *the face of the sword*; which, in a very antient *Saxon* translation in the library of *Christ-church* in *Oxford* (10), was thus taken, *the face of the sword of the kulver*. That the dove was a peculiar distinction of *Assyria*, may be collected from *Hosea's* (11) *dove out of the land of Assyria*. In fine, it is by *Cornelius à Lapide*, and others who follow the interpretation of *St. Jerome*, related, that God calls *Nebuchadnezzar* a dove (12). Whatever there may have been in all this, others have thought the *Syrian* dove was hieroglyphical only (13), and expressive of the lascivious nature of this queen; and this may appear by the nameless figure of her, in the temple of the great *Syrian* goddess at *Hierapolis*, with a dove on its head (14): All this is extremely dark.

(100) *Ibid.* p. 194. (1) *Philo apud Euseb. Præpar. Evangelic.* l. 8. p. 398. (2) *Biblioth. Hist.* l. 2. (3) *Gregor. in Posthum.* p. 235. (4) *Joseph. Scalig. in Not. ad Fragm.* p. 43. (5) *Vid. Gregor. ubi sup.* (6) *Vid. eund. ibidem.* (7) *Ibid.* † *Ibid.* p. 236. (8) *Ibid.* (9) *Jerem. xxv. ver. 38.* (10) *Vid. Gregor. ubi sup.* (11) *Ch. xi. 11.* (12) *Vid. Gregor. ubi sup.* (13) *Pier. apud eund.* (14) *See Vol. II. p. 258.*

of the king's shepherds, *Simma* by name (Q), who being childless adopted her his own, and called her *Semiramis*, borrowed from a word in the *Syriac* tongue, which signifies doves or pigeons (R); which the *Syrians* ever afterwards adored as divinities ^d.

Is married
and carried
to Niniveh

SHE grew up; and by far exceeded all of her sex for wit and beauty; and, no wonder, captivated the heart of one *Menon*, who was sent to survey the king's cattle, though, at the same time, no less than chief of his master's council, and governor of all *Syria*. *Menon* had sight of the divine *Semiramis* at *Simma*'s house; and, not without great difficulty, obtaining her to himself; conducted her to *Niniveh*, where he married her, and had two sons by her, *Hypates* and *Hydaspes* (S). In short, she governed her husband, who did nothing but by her advice, and with her participation, and grew into great fame for wisdom ^e.

Ninus's
extraordi-
nary prepa-
rations for
the conquest
of the Bac-
trians.

HAVING said thus much, preparatorily to what is to follow, we must leave her for a while, to follow *Ninus* in his *Bactrian* war. Sensible he had a task of the greatest difficulty to surmount, he made choice of the ablest and stoutest men in all his dominions, and resolving not to miscarry this time; as he either did; or thought he should, before, he mustered together 1,700,000 foot, above 210,000 horse, and no less than 10,600 scythed chariots. Our author tells us, these numbers may seem incredible, but that we shall think them nothing, if we do but consider a little the vast extent of *Asia*;

^d Apud eund. *ibid.*

^e *Ibid.*

Why not
incredible.

(Q) The name of this man, *Simma*, has made some mistake him for no less than *Sem*, or *Sbem*; and so, according to them, *Semiramis* must be the daughter of that son of *Noah* (15). This is giving her antiquity enough, and allowing her to have been born before any body who is, by the various authors, supposed to have laid the foundations, either of the kingdom of *Assyria*, or of that of *Babylon*.

(R) This was particularly the practice at *Ascalon*, as may be gathered from what we have cited, a note or two above; though it is certain to have been a custom, more or less, with all the people within the limits of the *Assyrian* empire.

(S) These are *Greek* names, void of all affinity with any names, either *Assyrian*, or *Babylonian*. *Hydaspes* was, according to the *LXX*, the name of a river, not far from the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* (16).

(15) *Vid. Gregor. Posth. p. 235. Geograph. ad vocem.*

(16) *Vid. Ortel. Thesaur.*

and especially if we, at the same time, call to mind the 800,000 men *Darius* led against the *Scythians*, and the numberless army that followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*; things of late transaction, and what every body in his time, in a manner, knew ^f.

HAVING by this, and other arguments and examples of the same kind, endeavoured to get the better of the incredibility that might start up to the disadvantage of this part of his history, he proceeds to tell us, that *Ninus*, as he advanced towards the streights and passes into *Bactria*, was obliged to divide his army into two or three columns; and that so he made his way into the enemies country ^g.

BUT before we proceed, we must, by the way, take notice, that *Bactria* was, in those days, adorned with many large and noble cities, that the capital was called by the name of *Bactra*, that one *Oxyartes* was at this time king there, that he called in all his subjects that were able to bear arms, and that, in consequence of this, he gathered together an army of 400,000 men. With these he marched towards the passes which gave admission into his country, and quietly suffered *Ninus* to enter with a part of his army; but, perceiving their numbers to swell considerably, he fell on them in the plain, routed them, forced the *Assyrians* into the mountains, and killed 100,000 of them. Thus was *Ninus* repulsed by the *Bactrians*; but he had his turn of conquest, overpowered the *Bactrian* with numbers, and broke and dispersed his army, which ran to the cities to defend them against the invader. *Ninus* with ease enough reduced all the cities and strong holds, but the ^h city and fortress of *Bactra* itself, which had like to have been too many for him, and held him out a long and tedious siege (T).

DURING this siege, *Semiramis's* fond husband, then attending the king, was taken with an impatient desire to see ^{Semiramis goes to the camp before Bactra.}

^f Ibid.

^g Ibid.

^h Ibid.

(T) This, according to our author, must have been the first warfare the *Bactrians* were engaged in; and yet, by this story, one would think, they had been old and experienced in all the branches of that destructive trade. Here you may have a vast army of well-disciplined troops, a wise and prudent king at the head of them, a country well defended by nature, and a city impregnable by art. All this is purely said to exalt the valour and might of *Ninus*; though if it had been asked, how in nature it could be possible for the *Bactrians* to be so extremely well prepared to withstand the enemy, it had been a question *Ctesias* could never have answered with any propriety or consistency.

his wife, and sending for her, she, as desirous to display the superiority of her understanding and other excellencies, as her husband was of her company, set out for the camp, in a habit so prudently contrived, as at once to preserve her beauty and conceal her sex, and at the same time to be fit for agility and action; a mode of dress which so took with the fancy, that the *Medes* are said to have assumed it when they came to empire, and the *Persians* also ¹.

She is the
cause that
the city is
taken.

SHE no sooner arrived before *Bactra*, than she made remarks on their manner of conducting the siege, and particularly took notice, that they amused themselves with assaulting the weakest places, and never so much as thought of making an effort upon the citadel, and other parts of more strength; and that for this reason the besieged neglected them, to defend the places more defenceless. Observing this, she took with her some who had a particular faculty of climbing up rocks, and with these she, with unspeakable toil and dexterity, got possession of part of the citadel, and immediately made signal to the *Assyrians* to assault in that quarter, which being done, and the city thrown into the wildest consternation, the whole place was immediately reduced ² (U).

¹ Apud eund. *ibid.*

² *ibid.*

(U) Whoever reflects on the history of this woman hitherto, must at once conclude the writer of it to have been no better than a fabulist, and an aukward one too. Her extraordinary birth, her miraculous preservation by doves, and now her behaviour at this siege, are all circumstances completely and self-evidently romantic. But the story had been imperfect without a woman. Thus, in the tale of *Sesostris*, his daughter *Atbyrte* is the adviser of his conquests, and assures him success would attend him in his wars (17), and has, as it were, the honour of all his conquests. So is it now with *Semiramis*; she here, by her sagacity and intrepidity, performs what without her perhaps had never been brought to pass. Where is the difference between *Atbyrte* and *Semiramis*? The one advises, the other executes. They look very much like the same person in different employments; nor must we wonder, that *Tzetzes* talks, after this, of an *Assyrian Sesostris* (18), or if any other should write of an *Egyptian Ninus*. We would now add, that the *Bactrian* king, who is here called *Oxyartes*, is by others (19) called *Zoroastres*; concerning whom, or the name at least, we shall have so much to say in a more proper place, that we should not here anticipate any thing concerning him.

(17) See Vol. II. p. 22.
Just l. 1.

(18) See before, p. 151, not. (Y). (19)

Ninus, astonished at this action, at first rewarded her as *Ninus* first she deserved, and presently fell a slave to her irresistible beauty, endeavouring by all means to persuade her husband to ^{smitten} *surrender* her up to him, and particularly tempting him with the promise of giving him his daughter *Sofana* in marriage; but this making no impression on him, *Ninus* changed his note, and threatened to pull out his eyes; which threw poor *Menon* into such a fit of rage and despair, that he immediately went and hung himself. Thus was it, that *Ninus* became possessed of the incomparable *Semiramis* (V), who was ^{marries} *now* advanced to the imperial dignity ^{her,} 1.

Ninus, now lord of *Babylonia*, returned with immense spoil particularly of gold and silver; and some time afterwards had a son by *Semiramis*, called *Ninyas*, whom (dying) he left to ^{has a son} the care of his wife, whom he constituted regent of the empire ^{by her,} (W). She deposited her husband in the palace, and raised

1 Apud eund. *ibid.*

(V) *Scaliger* (20) will have it, that *Semiramis* was married to *Albur* the son of *Shem*, which is much the same as making her the daughter of *Shem*, as we have observed, some would have her to have been, a note or two above. His reason for it is (21), because the name of her son *Ninyas* better agrees with the *Hebrew* way of writing the name of the city of *Nimrod*, than that of her pretended husband *Ninus*; a name he will have to have been imposed by the *Greeks* upon the patriarch *Albur*, the grand-son of *Noah* (22). According to this notion *Shem* himself must have been the vulgar *Belus*, the supposed father of *Ninus*, and not *Nimrod*, who was three generations later, and descended from *Ham*. The absurdity of all this, though our author exults much upon it (23), we hope we have demonstrated by a great variety of arguments, and it would be repetition to animadvert thereon in this place.

(W) Thus was it then, that she became queen of *Assyria*; but by another author (24) we understand, that as great as we are taught she must have been in the eyes of the people, she was afraid they should know who ruled them; though in right of the minor her son. That, to conceal this, she cloathed herself so as not to be known from her son, with a long robe on her body, and a tiara on her head; that, to cover the deceit, she commanded the people to dress after the same fashion; and thence forward they retained the habit. This account of the dress, which she is said by *Diodorus* (25) to have brought into fashion, is much more likely to be true, than what the same author (26) relates concerning the same,

(20) *Not. in Fragm. ad calc. Emend. Temp.* p. 43.

(21) *Ibid.*

(22) *Ibid.*

(23) *Ibid.*

(24) *Just. l. 1. c. 2.*

(25) *Biblioth.*

Histor. l. 2. p. 67.

(26) *Ibid.*

raised over him a mount of earth of wonderful dimension, no less than nine stades in height, and ten in breadth (X), conspicuous, and very remarkably so, over all the plain, where the city of *Nineveh* stood, which it long survived, remaining a stupendous monument, many ages after the subversion of the empire ^m.

Semira-
mis's cha-
racter.

Semiramis, as may be gathered from what has been said before, was a woman of an aspiring mind and immense ambition, and now thought of nothing less than eclipsing her husband's glory (Y), to which end she determined to erect a city

^m Apud eund. *ibid.*

that she assumed it to preserve her beauty, and to qualify her for action, which requires a succinct dress, rather than that which may be seen to have been the mode of these parts afterwards in *Babylon* and *Persepolis*; for the former of which, we, for the present, refer the reader to *Herodotus* (27); for the latter, to the sculptures of the ruins of *Persepolis* (28).

The story of her pretending to pass with the people for her son *Ninyas*, is exploded by Sir *Walter Raleigh* ^{*}; since, according to this historian, *Ninyas* must have been but a child when his father *Ninus* died, and nothing near to the stature of his mother; who, being supposed to have been a comely personage, could never by any arts of concealment have passed for a child.

(X) Or a mile and a quarter, allowing eight stades or furlongs to the mile; and by this same rule it must have been a mile and half quarter in height. This seems so incredible to *Monf. Rollin* in particular, who has unaccountably adopted the absurdities of the several prophane authors in his history, and rejected most of, if not all, the improvements that have been made in history and geography, by the assiduous researches of later days, that he is willing to think the stade made but little more than the sixteenth of our mile, and that fifteen of them might be reckoned to the mile, as some have imagined (29). This allowed, this funeral monument would very far exceed any thing that perhaps ever was in the world.

(Y) *Rollin* supposes, she wanted to cover the meanness of her extraction, by the greatness of her deeds and enterprises (30). Thus is it his translator expresses himself in *English*, which we are, for this once, obliged to use for want of the original *French*. But this thought seems to be a little too refined for the early times he supposes her to have lived in; besides, his historian (31) warrants him in nothing of the sort that we can perceive. This her ambition puts us in mind of a story told of her, That she was a *Syrian* by birth,

(27) *Lib. 1. c. 195.*

(28) See *Chardin's and Le Bruyn's Travels.* ^{*} *Hist. of the World, c. 12. § 2.*

(29) *Hist. of the Assyrs. vol. II. p. 8. in a note at the bottom.*

(30) *Ibid. p. 9.*

(31) *Diodor. Sic. l. 2. p. 95.*

city in the province of *Babylon*; making incredible preparati- *Resolves to*
on for the work, and assembling together two millions of men *build Ba-*
to assist therein. This city, as she contrived it, was divided bylon.
by the *Euphrates*, and she surrounded it with a wall of 360
stadia in circuit (Z), of such thickness, that six chariots
might drive a-breast thereon, and of height beyond imagina-
tion, no less than fifty orgyas, or fathoms, and adorned with
250 turrets, in due and proper proportion thereto, the whole
a solid body of brick cemented together with bitumen, and
between this wall and the houses therein was left a space of
two plethra, or 200 feet *.

THAT this enormous city might be erected with the dis- *The man-*
patch her impatience required, she allotted a spot of a furlong, *ner she con-*
to as many of her trustiest friends as the greatness of the sur- *trived to*
face required, allotting to each every thing that was necessary *have the*
for the undertaking; by which means, though she allowed *city built*
no more than the short space of a year for the completion of *in a short*
the whole, her commands were punctually obeyed. She *time.*
highly approved of the work, and to join the divided parts of

* Apud eund. ibid.

a servant-maid to one of the king's servants, and the king's concu-
bine; and that at length she got such an ascendant over the great *Ni-*
nus, that she obtained of him to let her sit on the throne and com-
mand for one day; and that, perceiving all her orders to be most
exactly executed, she at last ordered her guards to seize on *Ninus*
himself, bind him, and put him to death; and that thus it was she
became queen of *Assa* (32). This same story, with some variation,
is also told by others. If the former part of this be true, she had
some reason to be ashamed of her extraction; and if the latter, it
was but policy in her to endeavour to outdo her fond predecessor;
who, according to this, must have been such a *Ninus* as described
by *Phœnix Colophonius* (33), who is represented exactly as another
Sardanapalus, and may, it is likely, have been meant for the same;
for we cannot conceive, how so very effeminate a character can suit
with the great *Ninus* the conqueror. A mean and scandalous prince
she might have outdone, and kept her ground after she had destroy-
ed him; but for such a prince, as *Ninus* is on all sides allowed to have
been, we cannot apprehend, it could have been in her power, either
to have pacified her new subjects, or to have eclipsed him.

(Z) We shall have occasion hereafter to describe this city in form,
so that we here confine ourselves to what *Ctesias* relates of it, re-
gardless, whether true or false, which we reserve for a particular
inquiry in the history of the *Babylonian* kingdom.

(32) Plutarch. *Ερωτικος*, p. 75. (33) Apud Athenæ. *Deipnosoph.*
l. 12. p. 530.

the city, she ordered a bridge, which was as substantially built, as artfully contrived, and as beautifully adorned, as any that since then has ever appeared in the world. The stones of it were firmly clamped together with iron, and the passage over was on a floor of cedar, and cypress, and palm-trees; but the breadth of it, which was seemingly too small for the length, which was five stades, amounted to no more than thirty feet. On each side of the river she raised a wharf, or key, of the breadth of the walls, and an hundred stades in length; and at each end of the bridge she erected two palaces, whence she might reciprocally survey and awe both parts of the city. The *Euphrates* passing through the midst of *Babylon*, from north to south, these two palaces stood, the one to the east, the other to the west; both of them sumptuous and magnificent to the utmost. The western was surrounded by a lofty wall of brick, full sixty stades in circuit, within which was a second, wrought and adorned with figures, as it were from the very life, so curiously were they formed, and so naturally coloured. This magnificent wall was 40 stades in circumference, 300 bricks thick, 50 fathoms high, and thereon were raised towers of 70 of the same measure in height. Within this there was a third wall, or inclosure, far surpassing the second in height and breadth, on which, and its towers, were represented all manner of living creatures, as before; and more especially a great hunting of all kinds of wild beasts, each four cubits in height and upwards; in the midst of which appeared *Semiramis* herself, mounted on a steed, darting through a leopard, and her husband *Ninus* near in close combat with a lion, whom he pierced with his lance; this wall was 30 stades about. To this palace she had three gates, under which were rooms of brass, for the celebration of festivals, which were opened by a mechanical contrivance •.

THIS palace far exceeded that on the other side of the river, both for dimension and magnificence; for the outermost wall of this was no more in circumference than the innermost wall of the former, and for decoration, the whole was much inferior to what we have described. So our author tells us, though with some seeming inconsistency, when in the same breath he informs us, that, besides brazen statues of *Ninus*, *Semiramis*, their great officers, and *Jupiter*, whom the *Babylonians* called *Belus*, there were not only whole armies drawn up in battalia, but likewise the representation of va-

• Apud eund. *ibid.*

rious kinds of hunting, to the great delight and recreation of the beholder ^p.

ALL this being compleated, *Semiramis* sunk a vast lake, *The lake* vast, considering it was sunk by the labour of man. This lake, *she dug.* for so we may well call it, was four square; each side of it was 300 stades in length, the whole lined with brick strongly cemented with bitumen, and no less than 35 foot in depth. This lake was sunk on purpose to receive the waters of the *Euphrates*, which she diverted, while she erected a covered passage, or vault, across the bottom of the river, whereby to have communication between her two opposite palaces. This vault was twenty bricks thick, twelve foot high, and 15 broad; a work finished within the space of 260 days, when the river was again restored to its antient course and liberty. At the ends of this vault she had brazen gates, which continued, say they, to the time of the *Persian* conquest ^q.

IN the midst of the city, though on which side is not said, *Temple of* she built a temple to *Jupiter Belus*, concerning which our *Belus.* author has nothing particular to relate, except that it must have been of exceeding height (A); that like the rest of the city, it was built of brick and bitumen; and that on the top of it *Semiramis* placed three statues of beaten gold, viz. of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Rhea*. The statue of *Jupiter* was upright, and, as it were, walking, forty foot high, and weighing 1000 talents of *Babylon*: The statue of *Rhea* was of the same weight, and sat in a golden throne, with a lion standing at each knee, and near them two very great serpents of silver, weighing 30 talents apiece: The statue of *Juno* was erect, and weighed 800 talents; she with her right hand grasped a serpent by the head, and with her left she held a sceptre enriched with gems. These deities had a table, or altar, common to the three, made of beaten gold, 40 foot in length, 15 foot in breadth, and weighing 500 talents. On this table stood two flaggons, or goblets, of 30 talents weight, and near them two censers, but these weighed 300 talents each; as also three drinking bowls, or vases, of which parti-

^p Ibid. ^q Ibid.

(A) We have, as well as we have been able, determined the height of this tower, which was raised long after these pretended times by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and must refer the reader back to what we have formerly said about it (34).

(34) See *Pol. L. p. 121. & seq.*

cularly

cularly that dedicated to *Jupiter*^r weighed 1200 talents of *Babylon*, the other two 600^r (B).

Builds several cities.

ALL this is attributed to *Semiramis*, and much more there is to come. *Babylon* was not the only city she raised, she built several others on the banks of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for the sake of commerce and communication with the remote parts of her empire, and to exalt the majesty of the great capital; which she farther distinguished by a most extraordinary obelisk, hewn out of the mountains of *Armenia*, 125 foot high, five foot broad, and five deep. This she removed from its native place, by multitudes of oxen and asses, and thence shipping it on the river, conveyed it to *Babylon*, and erected it in a remarkable part of the neighbourhood of this city; and it is by our author reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the world^r.

Her obelisk.

Wars upon the Medes.

WHEN *Semiramis* had done all this, she puts herself at the head of a vast army, and marches away into *Media*, and there incamps near a mountain called *Bagistan*, where she made a pleasant garden, of 12 stades in circumference: It was in an open champaign country, and plentifully supplied with water from a neighbouring spring. This mountain was dedicated to *Jupiter*, or *Belus*, and towards this same garden, its craggy precipice was 17 stades from top to bottom, which she is said to have ascended from the plain to the top of it, on the packs and loads carried by the beasts of burthen that followed her. At the bottom of this rock she caused a statue of herself to be hewn out, and attended by 100 of her choicest guards^r.

FROM hence she marched till she came to *Choon*, a city of the *Medes*, and there encamping on an eminence, she took notice of a very lofty rock, on the top of which also she formed a very fine garden, and erected stately edifices, whence she might command a view of the beauties of the spot, the wide extension of the place, and the whole camp of her army. Here she is said to have wasted much of her time, and to have given herself up to wanton dalliances and prostitution (C); for, jealous of her power and high command, she

^r Apud eund. ibid.

^r Ibid.

^r Ibid.

(B) *Pliny* (35) takes notice of *Semiramis*'s bowl, or goblet, which weighed no less than fifteen talents.

(C) Authors are divided in their opinions of her chastity, as may be remarked hereafter.

(35) *Hist. Nat. l. 34. c. 3. p. 584. Edit. Frob.*

would take no partner to her bed ; but chose rather to admit the comeliest men of her army to her embraces, which were fatal to all that enjoyed them, for all such she immediately doomed to death. * (D).

MOVING from this place, she advanced towards *Ecbatan*, and in her way levelled the mountain *Zarcæum*, which was many stades in extent, and for its frequent precipices impassable, but by much labour and loss of way. This she did to add to the glory of her name, and to facilitate the passage to all that should have occasion to travel that way (E). This she did with infinite labour and expence, and hence the work came to be called SEMIRAMIS'S ROAD, or WAY. When she came to *Ecbatan*, she there built a most magnificent palace, and did more than she had any where else done. The city, till then, had laboured under a want of water, a defect which she amply supplied with her usual toil and expence w.

FROM *Media* she continued her progress through *Persia*, and the rest of her *Asiatic* provinces, levelling both rocks and mountains before her as she went, in parts incommoded by eminences of the sort ; and on the contrary, in plain and champaign tracks, raising hills to vary and adorn them, and at the same time serve for monuments to her captains and chief commanders. Sometimes she would build towns and cities, and was constantly used to raise an eminence, whereon to erect her own pavilion, that so she might have a prospect of her whole army. Many of these things are said to have remained a long time after her in *Asia*, and have been commonly called SEMIRAMIS'S WORKS *.

HAVING thus visited her dominions in *Asia*, she next went to *Egypt*, surveyed that kingdom, and added the greatest part of *Libya* to what belonged to her before ; and paying a visit to the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and enquiring how long she had to live, the oracle made answer, *She would vanish from the sight of men, and obtain immortal honour and worship from some of the Asiatic nations, at such time as her son Ninus should plot against her life.* How she took this, we are not told ; but from hence she made war upon *Ethiopia*, and having settled things there, and taken a view of the rarities of

* Ibid.

w Ibid.

* Ibid

(D) This is of a piece with the story, five notes above, of her circumventing her husband *Ninus*, and putting him cruelly and ungratefully to death.

(E) *Plutarch*, as we shall observe a little farther, compares her with *Sesostris*, for valour and magnificence.

that fabulous country, she marched back into *Assa*, and reposed herself at *Bactra* 7.

*Resolves
to invade
India.*

HERE she for some years enjoyed herself in peace; but at length, impatient of so quiet and calm a way of life, she meditated a war against the king of *India*. She had been informed of the transcendant affluence of the country, its double fertility, its immense riches, and matchless elephants; and resolved upon nothing less than the conquest of that most extensive part of the old world. But, knowing well what a task she should have of it, she ordered all her governors in general to select a proportion of the choicest of the youth in their provinces, and to furnish them with compleat habiliments for war, and to take care they rendezvoused at a place appointed in *Bactria*, within the space of three years. She sent for shipwrights out of *Phœnicia*, *Syria* and *Cyprus*, and other maritime places, and, preparing a store of timber answerable to her designs, she ordered, that they should frame her a certain number of vessels, to be transported in pieces by land, wherewith to cross the *Indus*, whose adjacencies were destitute of wood.

*Her Mock-
elephants.*

SHE in the next place considered, that she laboured under a great disadvantage by the want of elephants, in which *Stabrobates*, the king of *India* at that time, was mighty and strong. How to get any she knew not; art therefore must be used, and she ordered a number of counterfeit elephants to be contrived, thinking particularly to terrify the *Indians* by this stratagem, they being possessed with assurance, the elephant was no where a native but in their country. The thing is resolved on, 300,000 black oxen are slaughtered, and their flesh distributed to poor people, who were to make up their hides in the form of elephants, which were to be stuffed out, and carried by a camel within, and guided each by a man without. The people who wrought at this were surrounded by a lofty inclosure, and no body suffered to go in or out, that none might know what they were about, and convey the news to the *Indian* king.

*Stabroba-
tes, king of
India, pre-
pares to
receive
her.*

HER vessels and her elephants ready, and all in two years, she, in the third, rendezvoused her army in the kingdom of *Bactria*, to the amount of three millions of foot, 200,000 horse, 100,000 chariots, and 100,000 men on camels, who wielded swords four cubits long. Her transports were 2000

7 Apud eund. ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

in

in number, and carried by camels (F), as were also the mock-elephants, which the horsemen endeavoured to familiarise to their steeds, that they might not take fright at them when they came to battle.

Stabrochus heard of this, and prepared for the storm; and first he built him 4000 boats of the great canes [Bamboos], which grew in the rivers and fens of *India*; and with great diligence got together a far greater army than that of *Semiramis*. He added to the number of elephants he had before, causing numbers to be taken for that purpose, and to be apparelled with every thing that might make them dreadful to an enemy; that by their number and armour they might be invincible by any human force. Thus prepared, he sends ambassadors to *Semiramis*, then on her march towards him, with complaints and reproaches for offering to make war upon him, without any offence at all given on his part; by a private letter, at the same time, upbraiding her with her infamous life, and vowing by heaven, that, if he conquered her, he would crucify her. She perused this letter, smiled at the contents, and answered, *The Indian ere long should be better acquainted with her by her carriage and actions*.

*Semiramis
on the
banks of
the Indus.*

WHEN she came to the banks of the *Indus*, she discovered the enemy's fleet drawn up against her; whereupon she pre-

^b Apud. ^a und. ^c ibid.

^e Ibid.

(F) These numbers, says *Suidas* (35), she levied by her lieutenant *Dercetæus*, who, by his name, should have been her kinsman. The same author (36) exaggerates these numbers most monstrously, writing, that she thus gave orders to the said *Dercetæus*, 'Go to, and prepare for an expedition in three years, beginning from the Hellespont and Libya to Bactria, and levy three millions of foot, one million of horse, 100,000 scythed chariots, and the like number of men to fight upon camels; 200,000 camels for other uses; and let there be 300,000 ex-bides prepared, and 3000 ships built in Bactria, with brazen prows, and manned with Syrians, Phœnicians, Cypriots, Cilicians, and others on the sea coasts quite to the Hellespont.' This is a notable addition to the *Cæsar* story, and a great instance of credulity, or presumption, in the writer, and tempts us to say, that the *Greek* historians seem to have been particularly fond of the marvellous, and to have made a greater merit of magnifying things, even beyond all bounds, than of representing them as they really were. For here it is observed (37), that no spot on the face of the earth could have sustained these multitudes, though every man and beast had fed upon nothing but grass.

(35) *Ad vocem Συναρμίδος.*
of the World, ubi supr.

(36) *ibid.*

(37) *Raleigh's Hist.*

pared and launched her own, which she manned with the bravest of her people, and gave battle, ordering it so, that those ashore might be aiding and assisting upon occasion. The fight was obstinate, but *Semiramis*, in the end came off victorious, sunk 1000 of the *Indian* barks, and took a multitude of prisoners. Elated with this, she fell on the cities and islands of the river, and made 100,000 captives^d.

*Stabrobates
feigns a
retreat.*

UPON this *Stabrobates* draws off his army, as if afraid, but in truth to decoy *Semiramis* over the river; and she, ignorant of his meaning, no sooner perceived his retreat, than she ordered a broad bridge of boats to be stretched across the river, and marched over her army, leaving only 60,000 men to guard the bridge, while she went in pursuit of the flying *Indian*. She marched with her mock-elephants in the front, thereby to deceive and intimidate the enemy, and it seems, that herein she did not contrive amiss; for the *Indian* scouts, mistaking them for real, gave a dreadful account of their multitudes, and injected a terror into their countrymen, who all astonished, could not conceive, whence the *Assyrians* should have furnished themselves with these tremendous creatures: But the deceit did not trouble them long, for some of *Semiramis*'s people, deserting over to the *Indians*, for fear of punishment they expected for neglect of duty, revealed to them the whole fallacy, and *Stabrobates* immediately ordered proclamation thereof to be made throughout all his army^e.

*Semiramis
on the other
side of the
Indus.*

Semiramis, in the mean time, advanced towards the *Indian* army, continuing with her false elephants in her front, which came up with the *Indian* horse and chariots, which had been disposed at some distance, before the grofs of the foot and the elephants. They charge, and an unexpected fright seizes the *Indian* horse, who at a distance, accustomed to the sight of elephants, advanced with great fury; but within scent of these ox hides, it was new and offensive to them, and they broke into the wildest disorder, throwing their riders, or running away with them into the midst of the *Assyrians*. *Semiramis*, perceiving the advantage, with a choice body of men attacked the disordered *Indians*, and compleatly routed them and drove them back again to the grofs of their army. *Stabrobates*, in some degree of consternation at this partial defeat, charges with his foot, sustained by his elephants, himself mounted on a stately one in his right wing, and opposite to *Semiramis* then in her left. The shock was violent and had a sudden effect, and great was the slaughter caused particularly by the elephants. *Semiramis*'s mock-elephants now proved

^d Apud eund. Ibid.

^e Ibid.

useless and cumbersome, and the whole *Assyrian* army betook them to a precipitate flight. In the midst of this battle, the *Assyrian* queen and *Indian* king fought hand to hand, and he wounded her first in the arm with an arrow, and then with a dart in her shoulder, as she was turning about to get from him, and trusting to the fleetness of her horse, she fled with the rest of her army t. *Her fight with the king of India.*

WHEN they came to the bridge, the throng was such, that many who had escaped the hand of the enemy were miserably pressed to death, or perished under foot, being thrown down and trampled upon, or shoved into the river from the sides of the bridge. *Semiramis*, when the body of her army had crossed the river, ordered the bridge to be cut away and destroyed, while chiefly laden with *Indians*, many of whom perished by this means. And now she was safe from farther danger; the river was between her and the enemy; and not only so, but the *Indian* was also admonished not to be eager for the pursuit, by the intervention of prodigies, and the like: In a word, having on each side made an exchange of prisoners, *Semiramis* returned to *Babylon* with scarce a third part of the army she had carried out (G). *Her overthrow and flight.*

AND now, under this eclipse of her glory, she approaches towards her end; the predicted time is come, she is attempted to be assassinated by an eunuch, subdolosely and unnaturally employed by her son (H); and thereupon, calling to mind the

the
(G) *Apud eund.* (H) *Ibid.*

(G) *Arrian* (38) and *Strabo* (39), say, she died in the midst of this expedition, and never returned out of *India*, though by this last she should have made her escape, but with no more than 20 men at her heels; but *Sir Walter Raleigh* thinks this number to be too small a remnant of so infinite a multitude.

(H) Having thus conducted this famous woman through a long course of incredible undertakings and exploits, which we have forbore to animadvert on, apprehending, we have said abundantly enough in the former part of this section, to prepare the reader for a disbelief of what was to follow, which indeed were a needless task, had not this piece of history received the sanction of some of the greatest men in all ages; we must now enquire into her end, and particularly how it should come to pass that her son *Ninyas* sought her life. We are told (40), that she would unnaturally have tempted him to commit incest with her, and that thereupon he

(38) *In Lib. Rer. Indicar.* (39) *Geograph. l. 15. p. 686, 722.* (40) *Ibid. Hist. of the World, ubi supra.* (40) *Iust. l. 1. c. 2.*

the answer she had received from *Jupiter Ammon*, she suppressed all thoughts of revenge for what had been caused, as it were, by a divine fatality; she forgave her son, surrendered up every thing to him, commanded all her subjects to pay him duty and homage as their king, and was translated from the sight of men, as the oracle had foretold. It was fabled, she made her exit in the form of a dove or pigeon, together with a flock of that kind, which settled upon her palace just at the time, and, say they, it was hence the *Assyrians* were addicted to the worship of a dove (I). In fine, she was queen

of conceived such a hatred of her, that he could not bear that she should live any longer, and therefore murdered her. *Diodorus*, or his author *Ctesias* rather, here tells us, her son employed an eunuch to dispatch her, but that she escaped and vanished from sight. We have seen, by the same author, that she gave herself up to wanton dalliances in the plains of *Media*, and cruelly sacrificed her gallants to her furious lust; but no mention at all is by him made of any attempts of hers to seduce her son. Now, according to the course of this history, there seem to have been two provocations, that may have stirred up *Ninyas* to get rid of her: the one, her scandalous way of life; and the other, her usurpation of his right as king and sovereign; which, how he should so long have submitted to, is past our solution; though we may just touch on it anon, dismissing it for the present. It is here somewhat to our purpose, that *Cotton* (41) calls her not the wife, but the mother of *Ninus*, and that lying with him by accident, she afterwards acknowledged him publicly for her husband. According to this reading (42) *Ninyas* should be the person meant; but *Sir Walter Raleigh* acquits her of all faults of this kind, and ascribes them, as his words run, to the envious and lying *Grecians* (43). *Gregory* (44) would offer it as an argument of her chastity, that she, as *Ammianus* relates, first instituted eunuchs to attend her in her bed-chamber.

(I) Concerning the *Semiramides* dove, we have treated largely already (45) and may have occasion to resume the subject hereafter, when we are to speak of the *Babylonian* religion; and the rather, as *Semiramis* is more likely to have been a *Babylonian* than an *Assyrian*, appellations confessedly synonymous. And now, that there was such a woman as *Semiramis*, we doubt not in the least, but that there ever was a woman of any name that performed any thing like what is here reported, is impossible to believe. Her birth, her elevation, her reign, and her death are all extraordinary, unnatural, and impossible, as related by the bulk of historians; but above

(41) *Apud Phot. Biblioth. p. 427.* (42) *Vid. Gregor. Posthum. p. 234.* (43) *Hist. of the World, chap. 12. § 4.* (44) *In Posthum. ubi sup.* (45) See before, p. 159, note (P).

of all *Asia*, *India* excepted, and continued in the fight of men 62 years; 42 of which she reigned ¹.

Ninyas (K) succeeded his mother *Semiramis*, and taking *Ninyas*, neither after father nor mother, he chose to enjoy himself in peace;

² Apud eund. *ibid.*

all her antiquity, which is exaggerated so monstrously by *Josephus Scaliger* (46) and *Remsius* (47), is a matter so easily disproved, by the circumstances of her birth and country, that it were sufficient to destroy whatever other extravagance is advanced of her. *Conon* (48) makes her to have been the same with the *Atossa*, or *Semiramis*, who reigned 12 years with her father *Belochus*, the 18th king of *Assyria*, according to *Eusebius* (49), and in the same place calls her the daughter, and not the wife, of *Ninus*, though copies, it must be confessed, differ in the reading, and have sometimes (50) mother instead of daughter. But this latter is to be preferred, because of its congruity with the author's meaning, who makes her the *Atossa* of *Belochus*, who were confessedly daughter and father (51): *Belochus*, then must have been the *Ninus* of *Ctesias*, and he, instead of being the first, or the second, king of *Assyria*, is, according to *Eusebius* (52), the eighteenth king; this takes much from the antiquity of both, and we are ready to subscribe the same, and the rather, as it may be observed hereafter, to quadrate with *Herodotus*, and is much more conformable to our notices of the true and more certain history of this monarchy. To conclude, had this queen done but half what is reported of her (53), or even a tenth part, she would have been worthy of the greatest fame, and even, according to the genius of those times, of deification itself. A most extraordinary personage she must have been, nor do we wonder, considering the romantic humour of the times, that she should be reckoned to have discovered and invented the use of metals, to have been the first queen and tyranness, and, in short, to have been called the goddess *Rhea* (54). She may be compared with the Egyptian *Isis*, and the Phœnician *Astarte*, as her husband *Ninus* may with the Egyptian *Osiris*, *Sesostris* and the like.

(K) He is also called *Zanis* (55), the German writers will have him to have been called *Tribita*, and to have built the city of *Treves* (56); he is also called *Thourias* (57), or *Thouras* (58), or *Ares* [*Mars*]; and is said to have had the first statue erected to him,

(46) *Ibid.* p. 163.

(47) Apud Gregor. Posthum. See before,

in the notes, p. 163.

(48) Apud Phot. Biblioth. p. 427.

See before, p. 138.

(49) *Ibid.* Gregor. Post. p. 234.

before, ubi sup.

(50) *Ibid.* (51) See

World, ubi sup. § 4.

(52) Suid. ad vocem Σαυραμίδς.

before, p. 138.

(53) See

MSS. Gr. Anonym. apud Gregor. Posthum. p. 226, 239.

(54) Suid. ad vocem Ουρας.

(55) See

which

Ninyas's
sloth.

His policy.

peace; and, indeed, there must have been a necessity for it, if his parents had done all that report says of them; he could make no war upon any that were not either his subjects or vassals¹. As for *India*, which alone was free from his yoke, a war there had been sufficiently experienced to be very impracticable and absolutely dangerous. Having therefore nothing to do abroad, he locked himself up in his palace, unseen by any but his eunuchs and concubines, and contracted such a habit of sloth and vice, as has tainted his memory to all succeeding generations. However, he was not so supinely negligent, as totally to neglect his interest and security. It was a custom with him, every year, to levy an army, by a certain proportion of men out of each province, under their respective generals, while he appointed such governors over the several parts of his dominions, as he could most safely confide in. This army served a year in the city, and about it, we may suppose, and was then relieved by another, raised in the same manner; and the former, having taken an oath of fidelity to him, were permitted to depart each to the place of his abode. By this step of policy it was, he thought he might best keep his subjects in awe and order; and, at the same time, prevent any disturbance from his officers, who having

¹ Vid. JUST. l. i. c. 2.

which they called *Baal Gib*, Lord God. In short, he is said to have waged war and to have slain the tyrant *Caucasus* of the tribe of *Japhet*, or *Japetus*, and to have been consecrated into the planet *Mars* (59). How different is this character from that of the slothful *Ninyas* in most other authors? No extremes can be at a greater distance from each other. The authors we have cited make him the successor of *Ninus*, without any mention of *Semiramis*, which seems to have some sort of agreement with what we have from *Eusebius* observed in the note above, that she was the very *Arofa*, the daughter of *Belochus*, and that she reigned with her father, as his colleague and assistant, for the space of 12 years only (60). And this seems the rather to have been the truth of the case, as we cannot help wondering with Sir *Walter Raleigh* (61), how she should have been able to keep the reigns in her own hands, in prejudice of her son who was her lawful sovereign. He has no way to account for this, but by supposing he had regard to his pleasures only, and cared not of how much trouble his mother eased his shoulders (62). But that he was not so poor a wretch as this amounts to, will, among other things, be observed in the next note.

(59) *Idem ibid.* vid. etiam Joan. Malel. p. 120. & Cedren. p. 15.
(60) See before, p. 138. (61) *Hist of the World*, chap. 12. § 2.
(62) *Ibid.*

scarce time to be at all known to their soldiers, could have it the less in their power to aspire at any thing to his prejudice (L). All this he concerted to secure himself from insults and rebellions, while he wallowed in lasciviousness within the walls of his palace: in which he was an unworthy example to his successors after him; reserving himself from the eyes of men, as something more than mortal *.

AFTER this rate was it that all his successors reigned in the great empire of *Assyria*; so that they, it seems, have left little or nothing to be recorded of them, except that they

* Apud eund. *ibid.*

(L) *Diodorus, Athenæus, Justin*, and others, represent him, as we have seen, a slothful, inactive, and lascivious king; to have locked himself up in his palace; to have sequestered himself from the eyes of his subjects, and to have had communication with them but by messengers; to have even turned woman, and to have conversed with none but that sex; and yet we see him here consulting and contriving to preserve the empire his parents had left him, and which, in the nature of things, he could not possibly enlarge. We see him here acting the part of a resolute tyrant and consummate politician; and may thence conclude, that if there had been any possible work of the sort left for him to do, he would have turned out a conqueror. Upon the whole we would remark, that according to this, he must have been a haughty and a politic prince by nature; and one that, to all appearance, would not have suffered his mother to rule for him, or rather over him, for the space of 42 years. His retirement may be offered as an argument of his pride and policy; and this his regulation for the duty and relief of his armies, may be thought to favour strongly of absolute sway and love of power, in the person that instituted it. All this we have insisted on to prove, that he did not succeed *Semiramis* in the manner our historian writes; which must appear even by the inconsistent character our author here gives of him. To which we would add, that if the same method of restraining the empire were the practice of *Ninyas* and his successors, as by our author it appears, what is the meaning we perceive no footsteps of it any where within our knowledge, in the very long interval of 1200 years at least between *Ninyas* and *Sardanapalus*? we apprehend, that no body can give us a satisfactory answer to this. And here we cannot but wonder how *Sir Walter Raleigh* should ever take it into his head, that this *Ninyas*, this mighty *Assyrian* monarch, might be the petty king of *Shinaar*, *Amraphel* in *Genesis* (63), or that he should, if he reposed any confidence at all in profane writers, imagine the monarchy had, even in *Abraham's* time, even in its very infancy, received a downright fall as he calls it (64).

(63) See his *Hist. of the World*, c. 1. § 9. l. 2.

(64) *Ibid.*

lived and died in their palace at *Nineveh* (L*); and hence it is, we must abruptly proceed to the very last of them¹.

Sardana-
palus's
character.

Sardanapalus (M) exceeded all his predecessors in sloth and luxury. He sunk into such a depth of depravity, that, as far as he could, he changed his very sex and nature; he cloathed himself as a woman; he spun amidst the companies of his concubines; he painted his face, and decked himself out with all manner of enticements, and every way behaved more lewdly than the most lascivious harlot; he imitated the voice of a woman, and buried himself in the filth of an unbounded sensuality, quite regardless of sex and the dictates of nature^m (N).

UNDER

¹ Apud eund. *ibid.* ^m *Ibid.*

(L*) This vast chasm of inaction in the *Assyrian* monarchs, from *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*, a vacancy, as we may call it, of at least 1200 years, is as strong a proof that the prophane accounts are fabulous, as any of the many we have offered to prove them so. Is it probable, that in so long a succession of princes there should have been one only that did any thing worth the recording? Or is it possible, that in so very long a succession of years there should have arisen no man at all, who had ambition and courage enough to take advantage of the sloth and supineness of these kings at *Nineveh*? Where were the other kings of the world all this time, and especially such as were vassals to this throne? Did they glory in their chains and the burthen of their tribute? Or did they all sink into a lethargy with their master? Was there no king of *Bactria*, no king of *India*, to rouse them from their silken slumbers? Had *Ninus* destroyed the race of mankind, so numerous in his time, to that degree, as not to be able to recruit again, in all that length of years, to take vengeance on his successors for his sake? More, many more, queries of this kind may be made, but we desist. So many pacific ages, such a series of the calmest peace, both from within and from without, may shock the easiest credulity. The monarchies which succeeded this were of very short duration in comparison of this, and why the *Assyrian* should have the sole privilege of standing so long erect, we are at a loss for. Great monarchies have been always objects of common hatred among men, and subject to such sudden and violent subversions, as this monarchy certainly underwent.

(M) This name is not the only one said to belong to him, he is also called *Tonos Concoleros*, *Concoleros*, *Mascocoleros*, and by other such names (65).

(N) *Dio Cocctianus* (66) has taken much pains to let us know, that he was the most libidinous and abandoned wretch the sun e-

(65) *Vid.* Geor. Syncel. & Euseb. Pamph. Valef. p. 762.

(66) *In Excerpt.*

UNDER this wretch, as represented (O), it was, that the *His reign.*
Assyrian monarchy came to ruin. He grew odious to his
 subjects

ver shone on; and says, That no one could tell what he did and suffered to be done to him, and that no body would bear to hear it; though he descends to several particulars bad enough of all conscience; but, as they may be built upon no solid foundation, merely traditionary, and besides unfit for us to relate, we pass them over. *Nicholas of Damascus* (67) is more moderate, and accuses him chiefly of passing his time with his women, and contending with them about dress and ornament, in the very words used to the same purpose in *Suidas* (68). *Trogus* (69) also seems to have described his way of life much to the same purpose. *Duris* (70) says, he turned woman, dressed as such, painted himself, and spun; all to the same purpose; and therefore we need say no more about it.

(O) A man of pleasure and lewdness he may have been, and doubtless was, it being impossible to think otherwise of monarchs of this sort, as experience teaches us, and for the proof of which we need go no farther than *Constantinople*, to take a view of the great *Turk*; but nevertheless he may have been a man, who, at some intervals, minded business; such a man we are told he was, for he is said to have built *Tarsus* and *Anchiale* in one day (71); in testimony of which he had this inscription on his tomb, ΣΑΡΔΑΝΑΠΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΑΚΤΝΔΑΡΑΞΕΩ ΑΓΧΙΑΛΗΝ ΕΔΕΙΜΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΣΟΝ ΜΗ ΗΜΕΡΗ, ΑΛΛΑ ΝΥΝ ΤΕΘΝΗΚΕΝ, *Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxis, built Tarsus and Anchiale in one day, but now is dead.* This is a grave epitaph, and might besit any prince, but we find it varied a little to disadvantage; for, instead of the three last words, we have this addition to his magnificent exploit of having built these two cities in a day, ΕΞΘΙΕ, ΠΙΝΕ, ΠΑΙΞΕ ΩΣ Τ' ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΤΤΟΥ ΟΥΚ ΑΞΙΑ, *Eat, drink, and be merry, for the rest is not worth the snap of a finger*; which was signified by his statue here, in act of snapping its fingers (72): This monument and statue is said to have been not far from *Anchiale*. A modern author (73) supposes the same inscription and statue to have been at the other city *Tarsus*, where *St. Paul* was born, and thinks the apostle alludes thereto, when he writes, *Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die.* However, there seems to be such incoherence between the former part of this last inscription and the latter, that we know not what to think of it; there is no manner of relation between

(67) *In Excerpt. ejusd.* p. 424. (68) *Ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.*

(69) *Justin. l. 1. c. 9.* (70) *Apud Athen. Deipnosoph. l. 12.*

p. 529. (71) *Athenæus Deipnosoph. l. 12. p. 529. Vid. etiam Georg. Syncell. Chronograph. p. 165. & Euseb. Pamph. Chron. Can. p. 110.*

(72) *Aristobul. apud Athenæ. ubi sup. p. 530.*

(73) *Gregor. in Posthum. p. 243.*

subjects about him, and, as should seem, particularly to *Arbaces* the *Mede*, and *Belesis* the *Babylonian*. *Belesis* was not only a captain, but a famous priest and a great astrologer, and by the rules of his art he took on him, as is said, to assure *Arbaces*, a man of valour and prudence, *That he should dethrone Sardanapalus, and become lord of all his dominions*. *Arbaces* hearkened to his friend, and promised him the chief place over *Babylon*, if things should happen to answer his prediction; and fully possessed that he was to be as *Belesis* had foretold of him, he cultivates particular intimacies with the other governors of the provinces then at *Ninveb*, and begins to affect popularity; and therein succeeds to his wish. But above all, he endeavours to get sight of the emperor, that he might behold his course and manner of life, and describe him accordingly. This he brings to pass, by the prevalence of a golden cup he presented to an eunuch, who introduced him into the presence. *Arbaces* saw him, and, conceiving the highest contempt of him, was more and more encouraged to rely on his *Chaldean* friend, and, impatient to effect their purpose, *Arbaces* disposes the *Medes* and *Persians* to an open revolt, and *Belesis* does the same with the *Babylonians*; and, in short, the matter was disclosed to the king of *Arabia*.^a

The Medes Babylonians, and Persians revolt.

THE year of duty was now expired, and fresh troops arrived to relieve those who had served it; but the *Persians*, *Medes* and *Babylonians*, assisted by the *Arabians*, came not with design to guard *Sardanapalus*; their intent was to subvert the empire. Their number all together amounted to

^a Apud eund. *ibid.*

the action recorded and the reflection that ensues. In the first, indeed, there is a becoming gravity throughout, and a persuasive to virtue and humility, by representing, that even the mighty king, who could build two cities in a day, was equally mortal with the rest of his kind; but the latter is merely calculated to encourage idleness and vice, *eat, drink, and be merry, the rest is not worth caring for*. If this was any where the genuine inscription, it must have been in derision of him after his death, and upon a presumption, that he was the idle effeminate creature he is painted. *Callisthenes* (74) writes, there were two *Sardanapalus*'s, the one a bold, the other an effeminate man. Others do the same, as we shall have occasion to observe hereafter. *Suidas* (75), who gives this inscription according to the last of the two copies above, thinks it may belong to the masculine *Sardanapalus*, though with what propriety we may consider a little farther.

(74) Apud Suid. *ad vocem* Σαρδανάπυλος.

(75) *Ibid.*

400,000 men, and being all combined together, in one camp, a council of war was called, to deliberate upon what was best to be done. *Sardanapalus*, apprised of this revolt, resolved to stifle it in its infancy, and leads out the troops of the other provinces against the confederated rebels, and coming to a battle with them, he entirely routed them, and with great slaughter pursued them to certain mountains about 70 stades from the city of *Nineveh*. The rebels, however, drew out again to fight the emperor, who, just before the action began, caused proclamation to be made of a reward of 200 talents of gold for the man who should kill *Arbaces* the *Mede*, and twice that sum, together with the government of *Media*, to the man who should produce him alive; and the same was proclaimed concerning *Belesis* the *Babylonian*. This proclamation being made without any effect, a second battle was fought, and the rebels were again slaughtered, and put to flight towards the hills. This victory had assured *Sardanapalus* in his throne, had it not been for the obstinacy of *Belesis*, who persisted in it, that the gods would certainly smile on them, and crown their labours and perseverance with success in the end; thereby reviving their drooping spirits, who in despair had called a council, the result of which was, that they should disperse, and every man return to his home. They fight a third battle, and *Sardanapalus*, victor as twice before, drives them into the mountains of *Babylon*, though *Arbaces* did that day all that man could do, and was now forced to retreat considerably wounded.

Sardanapalus had now certainly put an end to the war (P), if *Belesis*, who had been all night in deep consult with the stars, had not, with all imaginable assurance, persuaded them the next morning, that if they kept together but five days

° Apud eund. ibid.

(P) It must be confessed a little strange, that so degenerated a creature should have the courage and ability thus to defend himself against these revoltors, who should have been of much greater experience and capacity than himself. Indeed, according to what this author and most others say of him, he could have understood nothing in the world relating to war, or almost any thing else peculiar to men; and yet being forced into the field, we find him behaving and defending himself as well as if he had been *Ninus*, or even *Semiramis* herself. From this dissimilitude of *Sardanapalus* from himself it is likely, we have the two mentioned by *Calisthenes* in the note above, *Sardanapalus* the warrior, and *Sardanapalus* the woman. This, as every thing of our own, we offer as conjecture only.

longer,

The Bac-
trians re-
volt to
them.

They at-
tack the
imperial
camp by
surprise.

They be-
siege Sar-
danapalus
in Nine-
veh.

longer, they would be joined and supported by unexpected assistance ; for that the gods had so signified to him by the aspect of the heavens : He intreated them, therefore, to stay but so many days, and in the mean time to place a confidence in the gods. Wrought on to wait the event, and the time expired, sudden advice was brought of a mighty power at hand, sent to the king from *Bactria*. *Arbaces*, upon this, dispatched the most resolute and expeditious men in his army, with orders to prevail on the *Bactrians* to revolt, either by fair means or foul. Liberty was the bait to allure them, and by degrees, from officer to soldier, it prevailed, and the *Bactrians* joined *Arbaces* ; a transaction unknown to *Sardanapalus*, who, presuming he had now nothing to fear, was returned to his usual way of life (Q), and preparing for an extraordinary sacrifice, and a high festival for the entertainment of his victorious army ^P.

IN the mean time the negligence and riot in the imperial camp was conveyed to the ears of *Arbaces*, who, in consequence thereof, fell suddenly on them in the night, made his way into the camp, and drove out *Sardanapalus* and all his army, with a great slaughter, which continued almost to the gates of the city. Whereupon the king commits the care and conduct of his army to *Salemenus* his brother-in-law, undertaking to defend the city in person. His forces were twice defeated, once at some distance, and once under the walls of the city, when *Salemenus* fell, and almost all his army was cut off, and forced into the river, which was tinged with the gore of the slain for a long while ¹.

Sardanapalus was now closely besieged : Many other nations, now eager for liberty, revolted to the confederates ; and perceiving things at so desperate a pass, he sent away his three sons and two daughters, with a very great treasure, into *Paphlagonia*, where one *Cotta*, a particular friend of his, was governor (R), and issued out orders to all parts of his empire

^P Apud eund. *ibid.* ¹ *Ibid.*

(Q) There is seemingly some inconsistency in this, if we consider what follows ; for by that it appears, that he took on him the part of a grateful and beneficent prince, who would reward and feast with his army after their successful toils.—It seems a little uncharitable to think otherwise of him in this case.

(R) Where this *Paphlagonia* should have been situated, and who this *Cotta*, a modern name, should have been, we forbear to enquire, as favouring too grossly of fable ; but, by the way, we cannot

empire (S) to come in to his assistance, and prepare for a siege (T). But though his situation may seem to have been quite deplorable, he, it seems, did not succumb, fully possessed with notions of a prophecy, *That Nineveh could never be taken, till the river became her enemy*, which, according to his conclusion, amounting to an impossibility, he looked upon himself as secure, how great and imminent soever the dangers might be that threatened him^r.

WHILE *Sardanapalus* pleased himself with this imagination, *They take* the confederates, elated by what they had done, considered *the city*. their work as compleated, though they, in those early days, could make no impression on such walls, ignorant as they were of the engines afterwards invented to expedite undertakings of this sort. *Sardanapalus* having taken care to be well

^r Apud eund. *ibid.*

not help asking, how this *Cotta* should have been so particularly his friend and faithful servant, when no one governor had ever seen his face, before *Arbaces* the *Mede* bribed his way to a sight of him; this does not hang at all with the other parts, all inconsistent within themselves, of this story of this last king of *Nineveh*; nor is it even easy to conceive, how he should have sent away any part of his family and treasure: the enemy had certainly secured the passes; the poliorcetic art, in those simple days, consisted of little else. To mend the matter, another tells us (76), who mentions our author *Ctesias* as if he quoted him, that *Sardanapalus*, perceiving himself sore pressed, and ruin coming with hasty strides upon him, sent three sons and two daughters, together with 3000 talents of gold, to the king of *Ninveb*. What city of *Ninveb* this can have been, besides the city he himself was besieged in, we are quite at a loss for, and so we leave this palpable obscurity as we find it, except we infer, that through this seeming mistake the error sprang of making two *Sardanapalus*'s as well as two *Ninevebs*, which we meet with no where else.

(S) How he could do this, closely besieged as he was, is hard to conceive; and what need he had of doing it, will be as difficult, if we consider what follows.

(T) Why should he have been so sollicitous about his family, himself, or the city, if what follows be true, that he was persuaded the place could never be taken? Why in this case should he have exposed his children and treasure by sending them away, when according to his belief, they could no where have been in more safety? and why should he be so busy with his orders, and calling in his people to his assistance in the siege? they could have been of no use to such an impregnable place as was proof against every thing, even famine itself, but the waters of the river.

(76) *Athenæ. Deipnosoph. l. 12. p. 529.*

stored with what was necessary to enable him to hold out a long time, the confederates sat two years before the city without any visible effect; but in the third year the river, swelled by unusual rains, came up to the city, and overflowed a great length, no less than 20 stades, of the wall. The unfortunate *Sardanapalus*, now sensible of the completion of what had been foretold of the river's enmity to the city, had no farther room for hope, and, dreading to fall into the hands of the enemy, retired into his palace, in a court of which he caused a vast pile of wood to be raised, and heaping upon it all his gold, and silver, and royal apparel, and at the same time inclosing his eunuchs and concubines in an apartment within the pile, he set fire thereto, and so destroyed himself and the rest (V); which the rebels hearing, entered the

(V) This was the end of the unfortunate *Sardanapalus*; but the circumstances are most prodigiously exaggerated by *Atbenæus*, who seems (77) to borrow what he says from *Ctesias*, whom *Diodorus*, perhaps, abridged, and *Atbenæus* transcribed at length. He says, within his palace he erected a pile of four *Jugera*, or acres, in dimension, that thereon he laid 150 golden beds, and as many golden tables; that in the midst of it he built a hall or room of 100 foot, in which he had beds for his wife and himself, and others for his concubines; that it was all a solid piece of timber-work, and that it was so fenced about with huge timbers that no body could get out; that within this were no less than a thousand myriads of talents of gold, and ten thousand myriads of silver, together with riches of apparel, and furniture unspeakable; that he ordered this pile to be set on fire, and that it burned no less than fifteen days together; that by the smoak those without thought he had been sacrificing, and that, during the time, the whole was a secret to every body but his eunuchs. *Suidas* (78) seems to intimate, that he was accidentally burnt in his palace. *Amynas* (79) relates, there was a great mount in *Nineveh* raised, as tradition went, as a sepulchral monument to *Sardanapalus*; the same we may safely suppose that is said to have been erected by *Semiramis* in honour of *Ninus* (80), and that on stone pillars the following epitaph was engraved in *Chaldee* characters; (why not *Assyrian*?) which were thus rendered into *Greek* by *Charrilus* the poet (81), ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΕΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑ, ΚΑΙ ΑΧΡΗ ΕΩΡΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΦΩΣ, ΕΠΙΩΝ, ΕΦΑΓΟΝ, ΗΡΟΔΙΣΙΑΣΑ, ΕΙΔΩΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΟΝΤΑ ΒΡΑΧΥΝ, ΟΝ ΖΩΕΙΝ ΟΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ, ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΑΣ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΟΠΑΘΙΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΩΝ ΑΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΗΨΩ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ, ΑΛΛΟΙ ΕΒΟΥΣΙ ΤΑΣ ΑΠΟΛΑΥΣΕΙΣ ΔΙΟ ΚΑΤΩ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ ΟΥΔΕΜΙΑΝ ΠΑΡΕΛΑΒΩΝ ΤΟΤΤΟ ΠΟΙΩΝ. *I reigned, and while I enjoyed the light of the sun, I drank, I eat,*

(77) *Ibid.* (78) *Ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.* (79) *Apud Athen. ubi sup.* (80) *See before, p. 164.* (81) *Apud Athen. ubi sup.*
and

the city by the breach, and became lords of the place. The inhabitants were treated with great humanity, though the great and mighty city of *Nineveh* itself was laid level

and gave myself up to women, knowing how short a time man has to live, how full of cares and trouble; and that the joys I leave behind pass on to others; knowing of this I never missed a day from pleasure. This inscription or epitaph, if any such there ever was, is very likely to have been the parent of the second, we have given some notes above, and may be confounded with the same, which is also said to have been erected at *Nineveh* (82); but we may fairly suppose, there never was any such as either of them erected at that city: For this antient city was confessedly destroyed, whatever place else may have risen, and been known under the same name afterwards; and secondly; *Sardanapalus* having been reduced to ashes, we can suppose no monument to have been raised professedly over him; nor would any remembrance of this sort have been, it is likely, propagated of him at an immense expence on the spot where *Nineveh* was to stand no more; and besides, this mount, or whatever else it may be called, is not only said to have been erected in honour of a former king, at least some generations before him (83), but also to have been destroyed by *Cyrus* (84), who, so far as we apprehend, had never any thing to do in the demolition of *Nineveh*. This may be enough to create a disbelief in us of so extraordinary and unusual a method to spread the shame of this dubious prince; dubious we say the rather because we find him deified in the temple of *Hierapolis* in *Syria* (85), which it is not likely he should have been, if he had been so much the object of contempt, as he is represented to have been. Perhaps his whole crime was, that the *Assyrian* empire was dissolved in his time; and this we say not without ground; for we are given to understand, that though he was despoiled of the empire of *Syria*, or *Assyria*, he died of a good old age (86). From these very different accounts of the death of this famous, or, as the vulgar opinion has it, infamous prince, it may be, that we have another reason why it should be mistakenly imagined, there were two kings of *Assyria* of this same name (87). *Suidas* (88) talks of a *Sardanapalus* slain by one *Perseus*; he has two of the name; and though he endeavours to make them different men, he plainly means the same. To conclude, whatever the bulk of prophane authors tell us, concerning the reign of *Sardanapalus*, and the rest of the *Assyrian* history, is too gross to be called romance, nor deserving to be called even tradition, though certainly built upon very true history, as we shall endeavour to prove in what is to follow.

(82) *Suid. ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.*

(83) See before, p. 164.

(84) *Amynt. apud Athen. Deipnosoph. ubi sup.*

(85) See Vol. II.

p. 259. (86) *Cleitarch. apud Athen. ubi sup.*

(87) See before

in the notes, p. 180, 181, 183.

(88) *Ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.*

with the ground. And thus ended the *Assyrian* empire, subverted by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, after it had, according to our author *Ctesias*, subsisted no less than 1400 years.

S E C T. V.

The History of ASSYRIA according to Scripture and the more approved Authorities.

Year of
the Flood,
2228.
Year be-
fore
Christ,
771.

WE now come to the true, and only history of *Assyria* that may be depended upon. *Pal* (W), the the seeming founder of this monarchy, makes his first appearance in scripture in the reign of *Menabem*^t, king of *Israel*, who just about the same time had forced his way to the

^t Apud eund. *ibid.* ^t See before, p. 65.

(W) He is also called *Phul*, and mistakenly by the LXX *Phua*, an inaccuracy in the transcription, and owing to the very near resemblance of the Greek *Alpha* and *Upsilon*, so that it is no great wonder, this name should, in the Greek character, have been written ΦΟΥΑ *Phua*, instead of ΦΟΥΛ *Phul* (89). He is the first king of *Assyria* mentioned in scripture, from the time that land was planted by *Assur*, and not to be confounded with the kings of the *Medes* and the *Babylonians*, as the custom usually is (90). This *Phul* was by his name a pure *Assyrian*, and not a *Chaldean* or *Babylonian* (91), as he is mistaken to have been by some (92), who would have him to have been the *Bilefis* of *Ctesias*, who, in conjunction with *Arbaces*, overthrew the *Assyrian* power, than which no position can be more gross. That he was the first king of *Assyria*, appears by his name, which is simple, and not compounded, as the rest we read of are. The *Assyrian* names are for the most part compounded of the simple names of their gods (93); and the name of this king we find a primitive, as we may call it, compounded in the names of other princes in these parts, as in *Englab-Pul-Affur*, *Nebo-Pul-Affur*, and the like. From this circumstance, and the affinity of the name itself, he is, with seeming certainty, said to have been the *Assyrian*, *Syrian*, or *Tyrian Belus* (94). *Pal* is pronounced *Pal*, and *Pal* (95), whence, without any straining of the point, we may derive the *Bal*, *Bel*, or *Belus* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. That he should have been the *Belus* of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and

(89) *Vid.* Cleric. in 2 Reg. cap. xv. ver. 19.

(90) *Vid.* eund.

ibid. (91) *Vid.* Scalig. de emend. temp. l. 6. p. 577.

(92) See

Patrick upon 2 Kings xv. 19.

(93) *Vid.* Scalig. ubi sup. Seld. de

Diis Syris.

(94) Sir H. Newt. Chron. of Ant. Kingd. amend. p.

279. See Vol. II. p. 310, (K).

(95) Bern. Montfauc. apud Du

Pin. Biblioth. Univers. des Hist. p. 285.

other

the throne of that kingdom, by the murder of *Shallum* ^u. His march into the country struck the tottering usurper with such

^u 2 Kings xv.

other places, will not be wondered at by those who consider, as will be seen in the course of this section, that the *Assyrians* imposed their own idolatry and religion on all the nations they conquered; as also that they consecrated all their kings (96) into deities. It was the custom of the ancient *Syrians*, long before them, to deify their kings (97); we have seen their *Adad*, king of gods, was no more than their dead king *Benbadad* II. (98), or perhaps his fortunate successor *Hazael*, who, as a king of *Syria*, was also called *Adad*, or *Hadad* (99). We have already asserted (100), that *Adad*, and *Crobus*, and *Assaric*, are of late date in comparison of what the learned have generally thought them; and we now say the same of *Belus*, who was no other than the *Pul* before us, and consequently later than the ancient gods of the proper *Syria*. Thus it is natural to conclude from all circumstances, nor can we but subscribe to it, without rejecting the plain evidence of scripture, for the idle tales of prophane authors, who confound rather than inform us. It were odd, that we should rely on what are confessedly fables, in contempt of what can be so self evidently gathered from the text of scripture history (1). To dwell on the various opinions of chronologers and historians concerning this man, would draw us into a tedious length; we shall therefore pass them over with this bare observation, that by embracing the *Ctesian* fable, and endeavouring to connect it with the history of scripture, and by their scrupulous adoption of each others hypotheses, they have almost all run into most intricate mazes, and endless errors. Our business then is, to prove this man to have been the first founder of the *Assyrian* monarchy, which having been done to our hands by a late chronologer (2), we shall have nothing to do but to borrow his arguments. To the numerous arguments we have already exhibited, to evince that there never was what might be called an *Assyrian* monarchy before the days of *Pul*, it may be added, 1. *Jonah* prophesied when *Israel* was in affliction under the king of *Syria*: . . . about 60 years before the reign of *Pul* (3). 2. *Nineveh*, though then a city of large extent, was full of pastures for cattle, so that it contained but about 120000 persons (4). [These are taken to have been children, because it is said, they could not discern between their right hand and their left (5); but why this should not be as well understood of their blindness and ignorance

(96) See before, p. 133, & 184, note (V). (97) See Vol. II. p. 255. (98) Ibid. (99) Ibid in the notes. (100) Ibid. p. 310, (K). (1) See Sir Is. Newt. Chronol. of Ant. Kingd. amend. pass. (2) Idem ibid. (3) Sir Is. Newt. Chronol. of Ant Kingd, amend. p. 270. (4) Idem ibid. (5) Vid. Gregor. Postb. p. 194.

such dread, that, to prevent the hostilities he may have meditated, *Pul* received from him 1000 talents of silver. Here-upon he seems to have taken the kingdom of *Israel* into his protection (X), and returns from out of the land w. What else

w 2 Kings xv.

in a religious sense, we know not; so that is as likely as not, that the grown persons were also included in the number]. 3. Nineveh was not yet grown so potent as not to be terrified at the preaching of *Jonah*, and to fear being invaded by its neighbours, and ruined within 40 days (6). Its king was not yet called king of *Assyria*, but king of *Nineveh*, [*Jonah* iii. 6, 7.] and his proclamation for a fast was not published in several nations, nor in all *Assyria*, but only in *Nineveh*, and perhaps in the villages thereof (7). But when *Nineveh* . . . was exalted over all *Assyria*, properly so called, and this kingdom began to make war upon the neighbouring nations, its kings were no longer called kings of *Nineveh*, but began to be called kings of *Assyria* (8). Our author then observes, that *Amos*, who prophesied soon after *Jeroboam* had subdued the kingdoms of *Damascus* and *Hamath*, about 10 or 20 years before the reign of *Pul*, never once names the *Assyrians*, though he foretold, [vi. 13, 14.] that *Israel* should be afflicted from the entering in of *Hamath* to the river of the wilderness; meaning of the *Assyrians*, whose monarchy, growing up afterwards, is upon all occasions named in the prophecies of *Isaiab*, *Jeremiab*, *Ezekiel*, *Hosea*, *Micab*, *Nabum*, *Zephaniab*, and *Zechariab*, which were penned after his (9). These and other arguments of the kind, equally demonstrative, he uses to prove what is here asserted; but these shall serve our purpose; and in all this is he supported by the concurrence of several eminent chronologers and historians, as we have had occasion to mention elsewhere (10).

Our author (11) concludes *Pul* to have been the first *Assyrian* that was a conqueror, that he was the first that advanced that kingdom on this side the *Tigris*, that he was a great warrior, that he may have founded or enlarged the city of *Babylon*, and built the old palace, that he may have left that city and the province of *Chaldea* to a younger son, who may have been *Nabonassar*, and that the famed *Semiramis* may have been his daughter-in-law, and the wife of the same *Nabonassar* (12), but these points being such as will more naturally fall under consideration in the history of *Babylon*, we desist from further notice of them for the present.

(X) Here we may perceive the first progress of this monarchy. It was now in its infancy, and was rather to inject a fear of its self into the nations by barely shewing itself, than by a violent irruption at once upon every body, or at first pretending to over run the world

(6) *Sir If. Newt. ubi sup.* (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Idem ibid.*
 (9) *Idem ibid. p. 138.* (10) *See before, p. 864.* (11) *Ubi sup.*
p. 277. (12) *Idem ibid. p. 277, 279.*

else this king did in particular is no where, that we know of, expressly recorded (Y). But from hence we may venture to infer, as we have already *, that he either conquered or received voluntary homage from Syria, and the other nations in his march, as he did now from Israel, and that he became supreme over a very great empire.

Tiglath-pileser succeeded him (Z); and is supposed to have been his son, but upon no certain authority (A). Upon what *Tiglath-pileser.*

* See Vol. II. p. 288, note (C).

by dint of force. How much more natural is this, than what we read of the sort concerning the pretended *Ninus* & *Pul* seems rather to have laid the foundations of the *Assyrian* monarchy, than to have erected it; that he seems to have left to his successors.

(Y) Some Jews think, he began to transport the children of Israel; but this they believe upon a very slight foundation (13).

(Z) He is also called *Tiglath-pileser*, *Toglatb-phalasar*, *Toglatb-phellasar*, *Thilgamas* (14), as supposed, and also *Ninus* junior, according to *Cassor* (15). *Prideaux* (16), by an unaccountable inadvertency, takes him for *Arbaces* the *Mede*. Some (17) are willing to derive the first part of his name from *Diglit*, one way of pronouncing a name belonging to the river *Tigris* (18); others (19) declare, that nothing but conjecture can be offered about it, and that it is quite uncertain.

(A) Some are so far from thinking him to have been the son of *Pul*, that they make him a stranger to his line, a *Mede*, as we have seen in the note above. *Rollin*, misled by that great and otherwise learned guide archbishop *Usher* (20), makes *Pul* to have been the father of *Sardanapalus* (21), by an extraordinary inattention in the archbishop, who thought it must have been so, because in the name *Sardanapalus*, or *Sardan-pul*, he could perceive a relation between this last and this first *Assyrian* king, forgetting, that for the same reason *Tiglath-pul-assur* might have more naturally appeared his son, especially as he is the king of *Assyria*, who is expressly said to have succeeded him in scripture. By what biased him above to make this mistake, he might also, and very naturally, have concluded, that *Tiglath-pul-assur* and *Sardan-pul* were one and the same person, and so have put an end to the monarchy, ere it had well a beginning. The first and second monarchy, according to the scheme of archbishop *Usher* (22), adopted by *Prideaux* and *Rollin*, so entirely repugnant to all history, sacred or prophane, may serve to shew

[13] See Patrick's Comment. upon 2 Kings xv. 19. and upon 1 Chron. v. 26.

(14) *Ælian. Hist. Anim. l. 12. c. 21.* (15) *Apud Euseb. Chron.*

(16) *Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book 1. Part 1. at the beginning.* (17) See Patrick, *ubi sup. ver. 29.*

(18) See before in the notes, p. 126. (19) *Cleric. ubi sup. Com.*

29. (20) *Annal. Vet. Testam. Æt. Mund. Quint. p. 83.* (21) *Hist. of the Assyr. in the English transl. p. 25.* (22) *Ubi sup.*

Year of what particular motive, we know not, he fell upon the king, the Flood, dom of *Israel*, and took *Ijon*, and *Abel-beth-maachab*, and 2259. *Jansab*, and *Kedesh*, and *Hazor*, and *Gilead*, and *Galilee*, Year before Christ 740. and all the land of *Naphtali*, and carried them captive to *Assyria* ⁷, thereby, as we may suppose, the better to secure these distant parts of the empire in their allegiance (B). For such a captivation must naturally have weakened them, and was rightly calculated to deter the remainder from incurring

7 2 Kings xv.

how irreconcilable the latter is with the former in what concerns this empire. A late commentator (23) is so sensible of this, that he declares, when he comes to the text of scripture (24) which first makes mention of *Tiglatb-pileser*, that if the common accounts of the *Babylonians* and *Medes* are true; of their having held the east under subjection one after another, there can be no knowing the meaning of the words, adding, that the learned are now sensible, there were several sorts of independent kingdoms in those days to the eastward of the *Euphrates*. [See Vol. II. p. 274.] and that sometimes one of them was uppermost, and sometimes another; that at this time it happened, that the *Assyrians* were most powerful; who, now crossing the *Tigris*, had carried their arms through *Mesopotamia*, and from thence over the *Euphrates* into *Syria* and *Palestine* (25). In a word, we cannot but reckon this king, to have been the son of *Pul*. From the time of *Pul*'s appearance to the first of this king's appearance, is a space, according to *Usher* himself (26), of but about 24 years; so that they very naturally succeeded one another. It is therefore an eye-sore to see them so disjointed as they are in *Rollin* (27), from whose judgment and converse with the labours and improvements of the later writers, we might have hoped for better things; but as we have been hitherto cautious of passing any censure upon him, we shall for the future avoid the same, as he is a gentleman who does not so professedly write to instruct the mind, as to the reality and consistence of facts, as to form it to virtue and a good life.

(B) *Tiglatb-pileser* here executes what his father had projected, and only sketched out. This was the most extraordinary method that could be possibly taken to secure the empire under due subjection, and was the constant practice of his successors we may suppose for the same reasons. This their constant practice is in all its circumstances so affecting, and must have caused such utter oblivion of the original nations in those parts, that if *Ctesias* had known any thing perfectly of the *Assyrian* affairs, he could never have omitted it, or forbore to have improved it after his manner, which we nowhere find that he did.

(23) Joan. Cleric.
Cleric. in 2 Reg. *ibid*.

(24) 2 Reg. xv. 29.
(26) *Ubi sup.*

(25) Joan.
(27) *Ubi sup.*

so hard a fate; and, on the other hand, may have contributed to the increase of his power, by peopling some tract more immediately under his eye. But whatever may have been his views at this time, he thought himself obliged to do much more of the kind soon after. For receiving an embassy from *Abaz*, king of *Judah*, with a tender from him of homage, and a present of all he had, to deliver him from the hands of *Rezin*, king of *Damascus*, and *Pekah*, king of *Israel*, who were joined in confederacy against him; upon this prayer, and present, and acknowledgment, from the king of *Judah*, *Tiglath-pileser* marched against *Damascus*, took that city, transplanted the people of it to *Kir* (C), slew *Rezin*, and so put an end to that antient kingdom (D).

He was succeeded by *Shalmaneser* (E), who seems to have made war upon *Hoshea*, king of *Israel*, in consequence of his

Shalmaneser.

^a See before, p. 72.

^a Ibid. 2 Kings, c. 16.

(C) There are printed copies of the *Septuagint*, which say not whither the people of *Damascus* were transplanted to; others have it, that the place was *Koppen*, or *Cyrene*, in *Africa*, deceived by some similitude of the names; but it is impossible to suppose, the king of *Assyria* could send them into those parts when he was not yet master even of *Egypt* (28). *Josephus* (29) makes it a place in the *Upper Mediæ*. *Bochart* (30) labours the point a little, but to no fixed purpose. It will be in vain for us to think of settling the site of this and many other places, hereafter to be mentioned, equally and more obscure than this; so that we shall touch on them only by the way.

(D) So that the race of the antient *Syrians* became, as it were, extinct in this country, which gives room to assert what we have only surmised formerly concerning the alteration the old religion of this country must have undergone when conquered by the *Assyrians* (31). How is it to be imagined, that the strangers, who were brought to take possession of this country, should continue the antient rites and superstitions of its first inhabitants? Well may we say then, that *Adad* now gave way to *Belus* and other *Assyrian* gods (32), unknown on this side of the *Euphrates* till now.

(E) His name also is variously written, as *Salmaneser*, *Salmanassar*; he is called *Eumessar* by *Tobit* (33), and is supposed (34) to be the *Salman*, or *Shalman*, of *Hoshea* (35). It has been the common practice of chronologers to make him to have been the same with *Nabonassar* (36); which we shall not here discuss.

(28) Vide Joan. Cleric. in loc. ubi sup. ix. c. 13.

(30) Phaleg. l. 4. c. 32.

(29) Antiq. Jud. l.

(31) See Vol. p. 256.

(32) Ibid.

(33) c. i. 13.

(34) See Sir Is. Newt.

Chronol. of ant. kingd. amend. p. 277.

(35) c. x. 14.

(36) Vid.

Gregor. Postum. p. 246. & Georg. Syncell. Chron. p. 204.

pre-

Year of the Flood, 2271. Year before Christ 728. predecessor's engagements to *Abaz*, king of *Judah* (F). *Tiglath-pileser* had but half fulfilled his promise to *Abaz*, who had be-
 sought him to avenge him of the king of *Damascus* and the king of *Israel* equally; whereas he seemingly concerned himself with the king of *Damascus* only. It is likely then, that *Shalmaneser* made this a pretence to attack the kingdom of *Israel* under *Hoshea*. But whatever his pretence may have been, or on whatsoever it may have been founded, he reduced *Samaria*, and made *Hoshea* his tributary ^b, as it is apparent his predecessors, from
 Year of the Flood, 2274. Year before Christ 725. *Menahem*, had been to the *Assyrian* power before him. Some years afterwards *Shalmaneser* came to understand, that *Hoshea*, having a mind to shake of his yoke, had entered into a league with *So*, king of *Egypt*; and this was confirmed to him by *Hoshea*'s neglect to send him his annual tribute. At this he marches up throughout all the land, and at length lays siege to *Samaria*, with such obstinacy, that he continued it for the space of three years, resolved, once for all, to make an end of the kingdom of that metropolis. At the end of three years he became master of the place, took the king *Hoshea* alive (G), kept him a prisoner [†]; made captives of all the inhabitants, and transplanted them into *Assyria* (H), placing them in *Halab* and in *Habor*, by the river of *Gozan* (I), and in the cities of the *Medes*; replacing them by strangers from *Babylon* (K), *Cuthah*, *Ava*, *Hamath*, and *Sephervaim*; and

^b 2 Kings xvii.

[†] See before, p. 78.

(F) We here speak only as the thing may seem; for between *Tiglath-pileser*'s last expedition in these parts, and this of *Shalmaneser*, there is a distance of twelve years; so that the engagements to *Abaz* may by this time have been as good as forgot.

(G) In the first of these expeditions he carried off with him the *Golden Calf*, which *Jeroboam* had set up in *Bethel* (37); and previously to the siege of *Samaria*, he subdued *Moab* (38).

(H) He did not quite transplant them, he left some behind him for *Esar-baddon* to remove, as will be seen in due place.

(I) There is a town called *Chabor*, or *Habor*, in *Ptolemy* (39), in *Mesopotamia*; and a river *Chaboras*, or *Haboras*; and a region, in the same country, called *Gauzanitis*, or *Gozan*, between two rivers, the former and another called *Sacoras*, one of which may have been also called the river of *Gozan* (40); so that in *Mesopotamia* it must be, that we must look for these two places; as for *Halab*, we have declared what we know of that long ago (41).

(K) Those who follow the common current are at a loss to conceive, how *Shalmaneser* should be so free with the *Babylonians*;

(37) *Seder Olam Rabba* c. xxii.

(31) *See Vol. II.* p. 96.

(39) *Asia Tabul.* 4to. (40) *Ibid.*

(41) *See Vol. I.* p. 280.

not. (B).

supposing

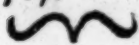
and thus did he put an end to the kingdom of *Israel* ^c. But he was obliged to send back one of the priests of the country to instruct the people in the worship of the God of the land, who, for their ignorance in that particular, plagued them so sorely with lions, that they were necessitated to apply to the king of *Assyria* for this redress ^d (L).

BUT

^c See before, *Ibid.* 2 Kings xvii. 18. ^d See before, p. 79. not. (Q). 2 Kings xvii. ver. 25, 28.

supposing them to have been not only a collateral, but also an independent kingdom, when nothing is more unlikely. Can it with reason be imagined, the kings of *Assyria*, as *Sbalmaneser* and his two predecessors, would have roamed so far from home after conquests, when such prey as *Babylon* was so near at hand? Is it not natural to think, the *Assyrians* began with those who were next to them? Or is it possible to imagine the kings of *Assyria* would straggle so far from home, if they had so dangerous a rival as a considerable kingdom of *Babylon* on their skirts, who never, it is certain, could have been quiet or easy in their absence? It must be impossible to think after this rate; a greater inconsistency can never be. The monarchy of *Assyria* was now in the vigour of its youth, and the passage before us plainly informs us, that *Babylon* was now under *Assyria*, and so were the *Medes*, as may not only appear by the western nations, said to have been transplanted to the cities of that country by these three first kings; but the same will most evidently appear in the next reign, when the *Medes*, taking advantage of this king's successor, actually revolted from him, and from thence forward began to make the figure they afterwards did. Nothing of equal antiquity and importance is clearer, than what concerns these three monarchies or empires, if we do not saddle divine writ with prophane romance; which has been so unaccountably preferred by the learned *Christians*, that in favour of that they have obscured what would otherwise appear as bright as day in the sacred historians.

(L) This transplantation, this complaint of the lions, and this mission of the priest, is put off to the days of *Esar-baddon* (42); because in *Ptolemy's* canon they find, that he sat in the throne of *Babylon* as well as of *Nineveh*, and consequently was the only *Assyrian* king of the second race, as they fondly dream, who could send people from *Babylon* to inhabit the land of *Israel*; but this is sufficiently answered in the note above. Nothing is more plainly a part of *Sbalmaneser's* history, than all that is here said, and no greater violence can be offered to the text, than to remove it hence, into the midst of a reign which was the second after this. All these needless shifts, these turnings, and windings, we owe to

Year of the Flood, 2282. Year before Christ 717:  But how effectually soever he triumphed over *Samaria* and others in the neighbourhood, he had the mortification to be set at defiance by *Hezekiah*, king of *Jerusalem*, who, as it is said, rebelled against him, and would send him no tribute (M). But *Samaria* and its territory did not alone feel the effects of his power, he also lorded it over all *Syria* and *Phœnice*; and made war upon *Tyre*, where *Elulæus* then reigned*. He at first made war upon the whole country of *Phœnice*, but upon the conclusion of a peace marched out of the country. Shortly after the cities of *Sidon*, *Arce*, *Palæ-Tyrus*, and others, revolting from the *Tyrians*, went over to *Shalmaneser*, who, disdaining the *Tyrians* (N) should dare to dispute his supremacy, dispatched a fleet of 60 sail, and 800 rowers, under the conduct of *Phœnicians*, to attack the *Tyrians*, but they were shamefully routed by a small number of *Tyrian* ships†, and the project most completely miscarried. *Shalmaneser* therefore, convinced, it was to no purpose to contend with the *Tyrians* at sea, blocks them up by land; and, by diverting their waters which supplied the city, doubted not but to reduce this haughty people; who supplying

* See Vol. II. p. 344.

† Ibid.

the tenacious credulity of some great, though mistaken, men, who have turned their thoughts towards the illustration of these very evident matters.

(M) This monarchy, or the strength of it at least, was not yet sufficiently known, it should seem; it was not yet arrived at its summit; it had still difficulties to struggle with; it was not seemingly so strong as not to be set at defiance, and contemned; so it should seem by this. *Prideaux* (43) thinks he was diverted from resenting this, by his war with the *Tyrians*.

(N) The *Tyrians* had as yet never known any thing of an *Assyrian* yoke, and now defied this new monarchy, trusting in their own strength and riches; though it is somewhat difficult to conceive, that they were not in some shape or other tributary to the *Assyrian*, who must have had it very much in his power to hurt their trade at land, if he could not affect them by sea. Their situation (44) may have protected their persons from immediate slavery; but it is not to be thought, their purses were as free from exilation and loss; in a word, they could not have traded almost any where in the inland places of this part of the continent without the king of *Assyria*'s leave, and must have been quite cut off from any of the benefits and conveniencies of the rivers, if they had not been upon some sort of terms with him: so that this seems to be a very obscure piece of history.

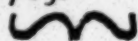
(43) *Ubi sup.* l. i. p. 19.

(44) See Vol. II. p. 296.
themselves

themselves by wells they dug within the city, the *Assyrians* wasted five years in this fruitless attempt ^g (O).

Sennacherib (P) succeeded *Shalmaneser*, and resolved to reduce the kingdom of *Judah* to the homage and tribute it had professed to the *Assyrian* throne, in the person of king *Abaz* ^h. He appears then at the head of an army, and bore down all before him ⁱ. At length he laid siege to *Lachish*, intending in the next place to invest *Jerusalem* itself. As he was laying siege to this place, he received a most submissive message from *Hezekiah*, asking his pardon, begging, he would not pursue him to destruction, and offering to pay him what tribute he should think fit to impose on him. *Sennacherib* seemed satisfied with this, and ordered *Hezekiah* immediately to send him 300 talents of silver, and 30 talents of gold, as if that would pacify him for the present, and stop his further intentions. This sum, it seems, was with great difficulty sent to him ^k; but instead of granting the king of *Judah* the truce and rest he expected, he behaved towards him as if nothing of the kind had been transacted, and apparently broke his word with *Hezekiah*, seemingly with no manner of cause ^l; and, instead of withdrawing with his forces, sent three of his officers, *Tartan*, *Rabfaris* (Q), and *Rabshakeh* (R), at the head of a great army, to invest *Jerusalem*, insult *Hezekiah*, intimidate his people, and, in a word, to blaspheme against God. *Rabshakeh* was the spokesman, as we say, and vented himself to the officers *Hezekiah* had sent

Year of
the Flood,
2286.
Year be-
fore Christ
713.



^g MENAND. apud. JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. l. ix. c. 14. ^h See before, p. 72. ⁱ See before, p. 79. ^j 2 Kings xviii. 2 Chron. xxxii. ^k 2 Kings xviii. JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. l. x. c. 1. ^l 2 Kings ubi sup. JOSEPH. ubi sup.

(O) His army, or part of his army, continued the blockade this while; as for himself, he seems to have retired to the other side of the *Euphrates*, leaving affairs on this side in a very unsettled state.

(P) His *Hebrew* name is *Sauberib*, and it is seldom or never, that we recollect, writ with any greater variation, except that he may, by contraction, have been called *Jareb* (45).

(Q) This is thought to have been rather the name of an office, though commonly taken for the proper name of the person, signifying, *The chief of the eunuchs* (46).

(R) The same is observed of this, as in the name above, it signifying, *The chief cup-bearer* (47).

(45) *Hof.* 10. 6. *eund. ibid.*

(46) *Vid* Joan. Cleric. in *loc.*

(47) *Vid.*

out to treat with them ^m, and to know what further was expected from him, he vaunted his master's mighty power, styling him the great king, the king of *Assyria*, set at nought *Hezekiah*, and spoke contemptuously of the king of *Egypt* (S), in whom he supposes *Hezekiah* to have placed a confidence, as if he could save him from the *Assyrian* arm; and to crown all pretended, speaking in his master's name, as he all along does, that God had sent him on purpose to destroy the city and the land. This he uttered with great violence in the *Hebrew* tongue, that all might hear and understand him; and being by the *Jewish* commissioners entreated to be more moderate, and to deliver himself in the *Syriac* tongue, which they well understood ⁿ, that he might not dishearten their people on the walls of the city; he, far from complying, raised his voice higher than before, and in the *Jewish* tongue, particularly addressed himself to the inhabitants of the city, who were beholding the interview; told them, their king *Hezekiah* would obstinately deceive them to their destruction, and that it was in vain he trusted in the Lord: He then exhorted them to submit, promising them the free and full enjoyment of their present possessions, until there should be a convenient opportunity to transplant them to a country every way equal, if not superior, to their own. He then again admonished them, not to let their king deceive them with false hopes of deliverance from the hand of the Lord; observing, that as the gods of the nations they had already conquered, the gods of *Hamath* and of *Arphad*, the gods of *Sépharvaim*, *Henah*, and

^m See before, p. 85.

ⁿ See before, p. 85.

(S) It is thought, this was done more out of mere rage than any thing else, *Sennacherib* disdaining to have been disappointed and baffled in his attempts upon *Egypt*, according to the story we have of it in *Herodotus* (48); but however plausible this may seem (49) at first sight, it is seemingly contradictory to the text, which supposes him, if we are right, to be busied in the siege of *Lachish*. He had not made his attempt upon *Egypt* yet. We think, we have a more natural account to give of the contempt here expressed against the *Egyptian*, for *Sethon* was then king of *Egypt*, who being recorded to have been a priest, and to have minded nothing but the functions of that office, and to have hated all military men (50), it can be no wonder, *Sennacherib*, or his servant for him, should ridicule and despise the then king of *Egypt*.

(48) See Vol. II. p. 42.
See Vol. II. p. 41.

(49) Vid. Joan. Cleric. in loc., (50)

Ivah,

Ivah (T), had not been able to withstand the *Assyrian* power, or to save *Samaria* from captivity, so neither should theirs: This he aggravated still farther; but all his oratory procured him no answer, and so he returned to his master, who had left *Lachish* and was now at *Libnah*, which he was besieging. Here as he lay he had advice, that *Tirhakah* (V),
king

(T) Sir *Isaac Newton* (51) uses this boast concerning the nations and their gods, as an argument for the novelty of the *Assyrian* monarchy in these days, observing that this desolation is recited as fresh in memory, and to terrify the *Jews* (52). *All the above cited nations had, till now, their several gods, and each accounted his god the god of his own land, and the defender thereof, against the gods of the neighbouring countries, and particularly the gods of Assyria; and therefore they were never till now united under the Assyrian monarchy, especially since the king of Assyria doth not boast of their being conquered by the Assyrians oftner than once: but these being small kingdoms, the king of Assyria easily overflowed them: Know ye not, saith Sennacherib to the Jews, [2 Chr. xxxii. 13, 15.] what I and my fathers have done unto all the people of other lands? . . . for no god of any nation or kingdom was able to deliver his people out of mine hand, and out of the hand of my fathers: how much less shall your god deliver you out of mine hand? He and his fathers, therefore, Pul, Tiglathpileser, and Shalmaneser, were great conquerors, and with a current of victories had newly overflowed all nations round about Assyria, and thereby set up this monarchy* (53). This is a just remark, tending to prove what we have hitherto contended for, concerning the lateness of the *Assyrian* monarchy, in comparison of the common computation, and may account for what we have as good as asserted (54). That the religion of the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*, as known to the *Greeks*, or even to themselves, to all appearance, was of *Assyrian* origin; which may not only be amply proved by the strange nations who were transplanted thither (55), but from this way of proving the god of the prevailing nation to be stronger than the gods of the vanquished, which, as fallacious an argument as it may seem to us (56), was in those days of idolatry and superstition sound and indisputable doctrine: So *Belus* or *Pul*, the *Assyrian* god, having proved himself too strong for *Adad*, the *Syrian* god, the latter gives place to the former of course; and *Belus* thenceforward became the god of the *Syrians*, instead of the unfortunate *Adad* (57).

(V) According to the course of the *Egyptian* history, this *Tirhakah* can have been no other than the *Sabbaco* (58) of *Herodotus*, who

(51) *Chronol. of Ant. Kingd. amended*, p. 273, 276. (52) *Ibid.* p. 274. (53) *Ibid.* p. 276, 277. (54) See before, p. 186, note (W). See also Vol. II. p. 256. (55) See before in the notes, p. 191. (56) *Vid.* Joan. Cleric. comment. in loc. (57) See Vol. II. p. 256. (58) *Ibid.* p. 40, & seq.

king of *Ethiopia*, intended to give him battle, at which, taking the alarm, he seems to have marched towards *Egypt* (W) to meet him, and to have sent *Rabshakeb* back again to *Jerusalem*,

was an *Ethiopian*, a great warrior, and had some time before conquered *Egypt*, and held it 50 years (59): He retired from *Egypt* at the expiration of that term (60), and returned into *Ethiopia*, and by that means *Sethon* the priest of *Vulcan*, as he is called (61), came to be king of *Egypt*. *Sethon* being more strictly a priest than a king, and *Tirbakab*, or *Sabbaco*, the great *Ethiopian*, conscious *Sethon* could not pretend to make head against so formidable a conqueror as *Sennacherib*, and perceiving *Egypt* to be in imminent danger of subjection, puts himself at the head of his army to protect *Egypt*, and at the same time secure his own country *Ethiopia*. *Sabbaco*, though an *Ethiopian*, must have had a great concern on him for the liberties of *Egypt*, not only as it was his barrier and next neighbour, but also as he had resided so long in it as lord or king. He may have been still alive, though he must have been a man in years, for he did not die in the throne of *Egypt*, but left it of his own accord (62). We do not pretend to give this for certainty, but it has such an air of probability, or at least corresponds so nicely with what we read of the history of *Egypt* in scripture, that we fancy the reader may be tempted to think this transaction may have been as we have here suggested, if he would give himself the trouble of comparing what we here say therewith.

(W) The history of this his war in these parts is very cloudy: we only know in general, that he took several cities belonging to the king of *Judah*, and perhaps some others; that he besieged *Lachish*; sent to insult *Jerusalem* and its king, after he had accepted his tribute and homage in seeming good part; that he was under some apprehensions about *Tirbakab*, king of *Ethiopia*; and finally, that the gross of his army was miraculously destroyed. But *Prideaux* (63), supported by nothing besides a supposition, that he was the *Sargon* of *Isaiab* (64), writes, that he conquered *Egypt*, miserably wasted it for three years together, and carried away multitudes into captivity; as also that he took *Assodod*, or *Axotus* (65), by his general *Tartan*. *Sargon* was not *Sennacherib*, but his son *Esharhaddon*; and if it be answered he must have been the former, because his general's name was *Tartan*, we say *Tartan* was general to both of them. Nor was, as he says, *Sevechus* the son of *Sabbaco* the *Ethiopian*, at that time the king of *Egypt*; nor were, it is likely, *Sevechos* and *Sabbaco* two persons, the father and son; they are one and the same name, with a very trifle of variation. *Herodotus* has no such king as this *Sevechus*, nor *Diodorus*: This is sufficient to justify

(59) *Ibid.* p. 41. (60) *Ibid.* (61) *Ibid.* (62) *Ibid.* p. 41. (63) *Connect. of the Old and New Test.* l. 1. part 1. p. 22. Edit. 8vo. (64) xx. 1. *Prid. Connect. ubi sup.* (65) *Idem ibid.*

Jerusalem, to block up that city, and to prevent *Hezekiah* from joining his friends against him. *Rabshakeh* returned to his post before *Jerusalem*, and would have insulted *Hezekiah* in person, as should seem, but not being able to do that, he sent him a letter as from *Sennacherib*, fraught with the same words almost he had used before in his boasting and vain speech to the *Jewish* commissioners, adding to the nations he formerly mentioned to have been conquered by *Assyria*, *Razeph*, and the children of *Eden* which were in *Thelasar* ° (X). His former insolent and blasphemous message had drawn on him the fearful prophecy of *Isaiah*, *That he should fall by the sword in his own land* * ; and for this second it was denounced against him by the same prophet, *That he should not come into the city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with a shield, nor cast a bank about it* † : The meaning of which seems to be, that he was gone, whence he should return so disabled, that he should neither be able to besiege the city in form, or barely assault it. This is seemingly the import of the text, and if *Herodotus* may be introduced upon this occasion,

° 2 Kings xix. ver. 8. 12.
32.

* Ibid. ver. 7.

† Ibid. ver.

us in what we say ; nor was *Seusebus*, or *Sethon*, whom *Prideaux* (67) supposes to have been the same, the son of the *Ethiopian Sabbaco*, as may appear by *Herodotus*, who calls him priest of *Vulcan*, and plainly insinuates, that he was an *Egyptian*, and a stranger to *Sabbaco's* line, and one who was chosen to succeed after some seemingly great disturbance in the state (68). Besides, it might be asked, where the dreadful *Tirbakah* can have been, during the three long years *Sennacherib* must have ravaged and lorded it over *Egypt* ? or what he was about all that time, that he should not come to the relief of the country till it had been, as it were, undone ? In short, nothing is plainer than that *Sennacherib* not only did not conquer *Egypt*, but even suffered some notable loss or repulse, in so much as offering to invade that land ; in which attempt he must have erred against the rules of common prudence and policy, considering that *Syria* and *Palestine*, which should have been his first work, were not as yet fully subdued.

(X) The most probable opinion is, that these places were somewhere in *Syria*. There is a city called *Reseph* in *Mesopotamia*, near the mouth of the river *Saocoras* (69) ; and a city called *Resaph* in the *Palmyrene* of *Syria* : which of these may have been *Razeph* we decide not ; the other cities are not so easy to be found.

(67) *Ubi sup.* (68) See Vol. II. *ubi sup.* (69) *Ptolem. Tab. As. Geograph. iv.*

caſion, who makes expreſs mention of his name, though he miſtakenly calls him king of *Arabia* (Y) inſtead of *Aſſyria*, he will tell us, that as *Senacherib* lay before *Peluſium*, there one night came ſuch ſwarms of field rats and mice into the *Aſſyrian* camp, as deſtroyed all their ſhield-ſtraps and bow-ſtrings^p. What truth ſoever there may be (Y*) in this, it muſt be ſaid very nicely to correſpond with the prophecy above. But to wave this, it appears, that he was very unfortunate (Y†) in this expedition, and his ſun from henceforwards ſets apace. His army is ſaid to have been ſmitten by the angel of the Lord (Z), who ſmote 185,000 *Aſſyrians* in their camp (A), and *Sennacherib* departed for *Aſſyria*, and took up his abode at *Nineveh* * ; where, finding himſelf fallen in the eſteem of

^p HERODOT. l. 2. c. 41. * 2 Kings xix. 36.

(Y) This may not originally have been the fault of *Herodotus* himſelf; it may have been owing to tranſcribers.

(Y*) True it certainly is not; biſhop *Patrick* (70), with ſome ſeeming paſſion, calls it a *horrible lye*; but as much a lye as it may be, it may be ſaid to confirm what is written in ſcripture concerning the ſudden deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* army, and therefore may be born with. The *Egyptians* aſcribe the honour of it to their God (71), than which there is nothing more natural.

(Y†) *Herodotus* declares as much (72), and ſo does *Joſephus* (73).

(Z) This is a figurative expreſſion common with the *Jews*. Some ſuppoſe this havock to have been made “by a plague, or perhaps by lightning, or a fiery wind, which blows ſometimes in the neighbouring deſerts, or rather by being ſurprized by *Setbon* and *Tirbakab*; for the *Egyptians*, in memory of this action, erected a ſtatue to *Setbon*, holding in his hand a mouſe, the *Egyptian* ſymbol of deſtruction” (74).

(A) Where his camp was at this time is no very clear matter; whether at *Libnah*, or *Peluſium*, or *Jeruſalem*. It is alſo uncertain, whether his army was all together at this time, or divided, part under himſelf elſewhere, and part under *Rabſhakeb* before *Jeruſalem* (75), as we have ſuppoſed; and conſequently, whether it was the army under himſelf, or that under *Rabſhakeb*, that was thus ſwept away, or whether they both ſuffered. After what we have already ſaid, we leave the reader to ſatisfy himſelf about this obſcurity.

(70) *Comment. upon 2 Kings xix.* (71) *See Vol. II. p. 42.* (72) *Ibid.* (73) *Antiq. Jud. l. x. c. 1.* (74) *Sir Iſ. Newt. Chron. of Ant. Kingd. amend. p. 282. See alſo Prideaux's Connec. of the Old and New Teſt. Book 1. p. 24.* (75) *See Patrick ubi ſup.*

his



his people (B), he grew sullen and tyrannical; particularly venting his rage against the captive *Hebrews* in his dominions, many of whom he unmercifully put to death †, in revenge for his great downfall, which he may have attributed to them. In short he behaved in such a manner, that he was grown odious in the eyes of his own sons, two of whom, *Adrammelech* and *Sbarazer* (C), slew him, as he was at his devotions in the temple of his god *Nisroch*, in a short time after his precipitate return from *Judæa*. They slew him and fled into the land of *Armenia*, seemingly fearful of the revenge that might be taken on them for their parricide (D); thus was he slain in the temple of his favourite god (E), and his third son *Efarhaddon* reigned in his stead ‡.

Efarhaddon (F) may be said to have succeeded to the *Efarhad-* ruins, as it were, of the *Assyrian* monarchy founded by *Pul*, don.

† Tobit. c. i. 18. ‡ 2 Kings ubi sup. ver. 37.

(B) Returning so baffled, with such shame and dishonour, his people could not but think meanly of him, in comparison of his predecessors; though *Sbalmaneser*, his father, does not seem to have been very fortunate in the latter part of his life. We have seen him shamefully beaten by the *Tyrians* in a sea-fight, and his army five years before their city without any effect.

(C) It is supposed, he had, in the midst of his danger, threatened to sacrifice them to his god, and that they took this opportunity of sacrificing him, that they might not be sacrificed themselves (76): what grounds there is for this we have not to say. We nowhere read, the *Assyrians* had any such unnatural superstition in vogue with them; we may enquire into this when we come to treat of the *Babylonian* religion, which must at least have included that of *Assyria*.

(D) If the supposition in the note above be true, they had reason to fly for their disobedience and murder; but if not, we cannot perceive, but they might have justified themselves with the people, who may not have been very sorry for *Sennacherib's* death, upon the principle of self preservation; which might have served for a plea of some validity, if it had interfered with no part of religion or superstition.

(E) We have it from *Josephus* (77), that *Nisroch*, or *Arafcus*, as he calls him (78), was his most esteemed god. Concerning this deity, we have said all we thought necessary in the former part of this history (79).

(F) He is also called *Afarhaddon*, *Afordan* by the *Septuagint*, *Assaradin* in *Ptolemy's* canon; *Sarchedon* by *Tobit* (80), *Sargon* by *Isaiab* (81), and *Afnapper* by *Ezra* *.

(76) *Idem* *ibid.*

(77) *Antiq. Jud. l. x. c. 2.*

(78) *Ibid.*

(79) See before, p. 131.

(80) *Tobit i. 21.*

(81) *Isaiab xx.*

* *Ezra* iv. 10.

Year of the Flood, 2289. Year before Christ 710. and enlarged and established by *Tiglath-pileser*. Under *Senacherib* it fell to decay, either by his imprudence, or ill fortune, or a mixture of both. The *Medes* taking advantage, it is likely, of his long and distant absence, or, perhaps, upon the news of the sudden and general destruction of his army, revolted⁹, and were never after, as should seem, reduced to the *Assyrian* yoke, though *Esar-baddon*, in the course of his reign, seems to have been both a valorous and fortunate prince, as well as ambitious of supporting and enlarging the empire. He was to all appearance, a mild and a gracious personage, and particularly kind to the *Jews*, who had been so cruelly abused by his father after his hasty return to *Nineveh*. He, in the beginning of his reign, seems

Year of the Flood, 2318. Year before Christ 681. to have continued quiet in his capital, and perhaps had enough to do to support his dignity at home; till after some years, his kindred race of the *Babylonish* kings becoming extinct, or some other cause producing an inter-reign in that kingdom, he, either by art or violence, seated himself in the throne^r of *Babylon* (G), thereby retrieving the lustre of the *Assyrian* name, which had been so sullied by the defection of the *Medes*.

Year of the Flood, 2322. Year before Christ 677. CROWN potent by this union, he proceeds to establish his tottering power over the more distant parts of his empire, and marches into *Syria*, and against the remnant of *Israel*, and the kingdom of *Judah*. The remnant of *Israel* he transplanted, as he may have done by the remnant that may have been left of *Syria*, so that they now utterly ceased to be nations, and in their stead he introduced a supply of foreigners (H), according to the policy of his predecessors. Having thus quite expunged *Israel* and *Syria* from the list of nations, he proceeded to the reduction of the kingdom of *Judah*, to the state of dependance it had professed in the person of king *Ahaz*, and took *Manasseh* their king, and bound him in chains, and sent him captive to *Babylon*^r.

⁹ Tobit ubi sup. ver. 15.
^r 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

^r PROLEM. Can. Astronom.

(G) It is very unlikely, that he obtained the immediate possession of the kingdom of *Babylon* by violence; but this is what we may enquire into when we come to consider him as king there.

(H) His being now called king of *Babylon* has been the cause, that commentators have postponed the transplantation of *Israel*, recorded in the reign of *Sbalmaneser*, to his time; concerning which we have declared our mind already (82).

(82) See before in the notes, p. 191.

ELATED

ELATED by this flow of success, and nothing discouraged by the unfortunate attempt of his father, he continues his march, resolving to invade *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* (I). He did so, and subdued them, and transplanted them (K), and held

Year of the Flood,
2326.
Year before Christ
673.

(I) Having, as we have seen, subdued all *Syria* and *Palestine*, in a more effectual manner than any of his predecessors ever had; he was the better qualified to invade *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*. Besides, *Tirbakab*, or *Sabbaco*, may have been now dead; for, according to the history of *Egypt* (83), he must, by this time, have been a very old man. He had nothing then to fear from that warlike prince, and very little from *Setbon* (84), who was now unsupported, and whose kingdom, as it is represented to us, seems to have been, at this time, in the most proper condition to be conquered.

(K) This subduction and captivity was foretold by *Isaiab* (85) *In that day shall there be a high-way out of Egypt into Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians.* In this war the city of *Diopolis*, *No-ammon*, or *Thebes*, which had till then flourished in great glory, is thought (86) to have been miserably wasted and led into captivity, according to the same prophet and another, the former adding (87) to what is above; *So shall the king of Assyria lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot. . . . to the shame of Egypt. And they [the Jews] shall be afraid and ashamed of Ethiopia their expectation, and of Egypt their glory:* And the latter (88), prophesying the destruction of *Nineveh*, and speaking of the calamity of *Egypt* as a transaction of late date, saith, *Art thou better than the populous No [No-ammon], that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea* (89)? All this can have been effected by no king of *Assyria*, *Esar-baddon* excepted, and we shall not need to prove this to the reader, who shall think it worth his while to turn back to the history of *Egypt* at this time. For though the *Egyptians* were too proud to acknowledge this conquest of them, yet their history, though silent about it, seems to confirm what is here said. For after *Setbon*, in the latter part of whose reign, or immediately upon whose death, this invasion must have happened, we find the kingdom to have been in some very violent disorder, and to have emerged under 12 men, who divided the whole kingdom between them, in a kind of aristocracy (90). How this alteration could have been wrought in the constitution of so regular and precise a kingdom as *Egypt*, but by some such means, and by this most likely, we leave to the reader.

(83) See Vol. II. p. 41. (84) Ibid. (85) *Isaiab* xix. 23.

(86) See Prid. Connect. of the Old and New Test Book 1. Part. 1.

p. 22. 8vo. (87) xx. 4, 5. (88) *Nahum* iii. 8. 10. (89) Ibid.

(90) See Vol. II. p. 42.

Year of
the Flood,
2331.
Year be-
fore Christ
668.

them in subjection to him three years^t, which may be as long as he afterwards lived. In the course of this war, he particularly took, by his general *Tartan*, the city of *Ashdod*, or *Azotus*^u, which cost *Psammitichus* so much time to wrest from his successors^w. Thus did he extend his dominions (L), and once more spread the terror of the *Assyrian* name far and near. After a reign of many years, glorious especially in the latter part of it, he died, and seemingly left a character behind him equal to the rank he had held while living; whence, and for other reasons (M), we cannot be induced to think

^t *Isaiah* xx.^u *Idem* *ibid.*^w See Vol. II. p. 45.

(L) The extent of his dominions at this time, which must, one would think, have been more than that of any of his predecessors, is not a little uncertain; though Sir *Isaac Newton*, in a manner, ventures to describe it in these words, "In the reigns of *Sennacherib* and *Ashurbanon*, the *Assyrian* empire seems arrived at its greatness, being united under one monarch, and containing *Assyria*, *Media*, *Apolloniatis*, *Susiana*, *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, and part of *Arabia*, and reaching eastward into *Elymais* and *Paratracene*, a province of the *Medes*; and if *Chalach* and *Chabor* be *Colchis* and *Iberia*, as some think, and as may seem probable from the circumcision used by those nations till the days of *Herodotus*, we are also to add these two provinces, with the two *Armenias*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, as far as the river *Halys*; for *Herodotus* tell us, that the people of *Cappadocia*, as far as to that river, were called *Syrians* by the *Greeks*, both before and after the days of *Cyrus*, and that the *Assyrians* were also called *Syrians* by the *Greeks*" (91). Of all this extent there may be some doubt, whether or no the *Medes* were in subjection to him; they had thrown off the yoke in his father's time, who left the empire, as great as it may have been under him, in a crazy condition; though it is somewhat difficult to suppose, that *Eshar-baddon* did not reduce them to their former obedience before he crossed the *Euphrates*, to confirm himself in *Syria* and *Palestine*: After all, he may have reserved them for his last work, not fearing any damage from them in his absence, being perhaps possessed of some of the most important parts of their country, which he did not live long enough to regain throughout. This may be resumed in the reign of his grandson.

(M) He is styled *the great and noble Ashnapper* (92). It is impossible, he should have been represented as a slothful and effemi-

(91) *Chronol. of ant. Kingd. amend.* p. 283.
iv. 10.

(92) *Extra*

think he can be, in any respect, the *Sardanapalus* of *Ctesias*, there being no likeness or analogy at all between the representations of the two men.

He was succeeded by his son *Saosduchinus* *, or *Saosducheus* *Saosduchi-* (N), concerning whom we have nothing particular, except nus. that he reigned 20 years, that it was probably under him that Year of *Manasseh* was restored to his kingdom (O), and that *Egypt* the Flood, recovered her liberty (P); that he seems otherwise to have ^{2331.} kept full possession of the empire his father left him, and that, Year be- dying, he was succeeded by his son *Chyniladan*. fore Christ 668.

Chyniladan is supposed, and upon good grounds, to be the Nabuchadonisor of scripture (Q), an active and a warlike Chynila- prince, dan.

* PTOLEM. Can. Astron.

nate prince, whose life seems to have been a life of the most unwearied action. He may it is possible, have been known to the ancient *Greeks* by the name of *Sardanapalus*, or *Affar-baddon-Pul* (93), but then he must have been the great one who is called a warrior (94), and is said to have built *Tarsus* and *Anchiale* in one day, and to have died peaceably in his bed (95). He may have been one of the princes called *Sardanapalus*; for we have seen they had two very different from one another, as we have noted in the story of the *Sardanapalus* of prophane authors, in the section before this. The other we may discover hereafter.

(N) *Prideaux* (96) reckons him to have been the *Nabuchadonisor* of the book of *Judith*; but that he is therein most egregiously mistaken, will be proved anon.

(O) *Prideaux* (97) supposes him not only to have been set at liberty by *Efar-baddon* himself, but also to have been invested, by the same monarch, with an addition to his own kingdom, to enable him to support himself against *Psammitichus*, who had now got the dominion of all *Egypt* into his hands, and began to war upon the *Assyrians* in *Palestine* (98); but he has most strangely disturbed the history of *Assyria* by that unaccountable mistake of writing *Sargon* the same with *Sennacherib*.

(P) It is not in nature to suppose it did, before the death of *Efar-baddon*, who, it is most certain, died by the time he had well subdued this kingdom.

(Q) That *Chyniladan*, and no other king in *Ptolemy's* canon, can have been the *Nabuchadonisor* of the book of *Judith*, is what we are now to endeavour to prove; in the doing of which we shall also settle some other points, and especially the three which are the sub-

(93) See before, p. 179. (94) *Ibid.* in the notes. (95) *Ibid.* p. 185. (96) *Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book 1. Part 1. p. 35. 8vo.* (97) *Ibid.* p. 34. (98) See Vol. II. p. 45.

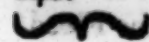
Year of prince, and particularly remarkable for his invasion of the the Flood rebellious and now independent *Medes*, who had formed themselves

2351,

Year be-

fore Christ

648.



ject of three notes above, and which *Prideaux* has involved in great darkness. From the death of *Assar-addin* to the first year of the reign of *Chyniladan* is 20 years, and from the first year of the reign of *Saosduchinus* to the twelfth of *Chyniladan*, that he undertook to reduce the *Medes*, is 32 years. *Manasseb*, king of *Judah*, was taken into captivity by *Assar-addin* in the 21st year of his reign, after which he reigned 34 years. His son *Amon* reigned after him over *Judah* two years, which being added to the former number, make 36 years, when *Josiab* began to reign, who was but eight years old when he first came to the throne. Hence, by the canon, it may appear, that *Chyniladan* began his reign about the 41st year of *Manasseb*, and that warring against the *Medes* in his 12th year, according to the number in the vulgate, or St. *Jerom's* translation, it happened in the 53d year of the said *Manasseb*; *Chyniladan* reigned after this 10 years, or to the sixth year of king *Josiab*; for *Manasseb* reigned full 55 years, and his son *Amon* reigned barely two; so that *Chyniladan* may have died about the beginning of the reign of *Josiab*. This king, as we have observed above, was but eight years old when he came to the throne, and in his reign it must have been, if ever, that *Bethulia* was besieged by *Holofernes* for the king of *Assyria*; and here it seems to be most naturally placed by Sir *Isaac Newton* (99). To suppose with *Prideaux* (100) that *Holofernes* invaded the *Jews* in the days of *Manasseb*, is contradicting, in good measure, himself; for it is expressly said, that the *Jews* were then lately returned from captivity (1), which can be meant of no other than the *Assyrian* captivity, when *Manasseb* was carried away to *Babylon*; and to suppose this war under *Holofernes*, to have been undertaken after the return of *Manasseb* to *Jerusalem*, is undoing what the same historian mentions of the kindness of the kings of *Assyria* to the kings of *Jerusalem*, and the perfect good understanding between them, till *Josiab* was killed in the service of his *Assyrian* sovereign, as he mistakenly writes (2). If he supposes the people returned from captivity without their king, and if they were attacked while he was in prison; then must he also say, that *Assar-baddon* himself was the *Nabuchadonosor* of the book of *Judith*, since he declares *Manasseb* to have been set at liberty by the said *Assar-baddon*; but this he says not. If this transaction happened in the reign of *Saosduchinus*, it must follow, either that *Manasseb* was not delivered out of prison by *Assar-baddon*, but detained many years a prisoner at *Babylon* by *Saosduchinus*, which he denies (3), or that there was not that great and constant harmony between the kings at *Nineveh* and their homagers at *Jerusalem*, as he asserts (4), down to the day

(99) *Chronol. of Ant. Kingd. amend.* p. 290. (100) *Ubi sup.* (1). *Judith* iv. 3. (2) *Connect. of the Old and New Test.* Book 1. part. 1. p. 35. (3) *Ibid.* (4) *Ibid.*

themselves into a separate state, as may be seen in the history of that nation. In order to subdue this warlike people, he summons, as it were, the whole force of his wide-spreading dominions, calling in "all that dwelt in the hill country, *Calls in all*
 "and all that dwelt by *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, and *Hydaspe*, *the nations.*
 "and the plain of *Arioch*, the king of the *Elymæans*, and
 "very many nations of the sons of *Ghelod*; †" all these easterns rendezvoused under his banner. But issuing out his orders, at the same time, to the *Persians*, and the western people in *Cilicia*, *Damascus*, *Libanus*, *Antilibanus*, and the inhabitants on the sea-coasts, as well as to the nations of *Carmel*, *Galaad*, the *Upper Galilee*, and the great plains of *Esdrelom*; as also to all *Samaria*, *Jerusalem*, *Betane*, *Ghellus*, *Kades*, the borderers on the river of *Egypt*, *Taphnes*, *Rameffe*, and all the land of *Gesem*, beyond *Tanis* and *Memphis*, and in general, to all the inhabitants of *Egypt* to the borders of *Ethiopia*; all these received his ambassadors with contempt, and, fearing him not, refused one and all to obey his orders (R).
 Upon

† Judith c. i.

Josiah was slain in battle by the *Egyptian* king *Necbo* (5). *Josiah* reigned 31 years, which being added to the interval between the first year of his reign and the year of his grandfather's captivity, which is 36, it will make 67 years. Now by *Ptolemy's* canon it appears, that *Josiah* was slain in the fourth year of *Nabocollassar*, or the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, the second king of *Babylon*, and this was after *Nineveh* had been destroyed, and the old race of the proper kings of *Assyria* were no more. In sum, it appears from all this, that *Assar-baddon* must have died much about the time *Manasseh* was carried to *Babylon*, or, at most, two or three years afterwards; for we cannot pretend to be quite exact, and that it is likely he had his liberty from *Saosduchinus* rather than *Assar-baddon*, who could not have had the time either to think much of him, or to settle with him; for it must have been something extraordinary that procured him his freedom and kingdom again, when the kings of *Israel* and *Syria* shared so different a fate. Again, it must appear, that *Assar-baddon* died immediately after he left *Egypt*, and that his death inspired the chiefs of that nation with courage to lift up their heads, and appoint the 12 kings (6); and finally, that *Chyniladan*, and no other, was the *Nabuchadonosor* of the book of *Judith*.

(R) *Herodotus* confirms this very plainly, telling us, that the *Assyrians*, Those I mean, says he (7), who lived at *Nineveh*, who had formerly been the chief of all, but were now deserted by their friends or vassals, though nevertheless in a good state to defend themselves; against these, says he, did *Phraortes* the *Mede* make

(5) See Vol. II. p. 47. (6) See Vol. II. p. 42. (7) l. I. c. 102.
 war.

Upon so general a defection, it may be wondered he should have persisted in his resolution to invade the *Medes*, who had defied some of the most potent of his predecessors ; but having numbers sufficient, and relying on his own strength, he seems to have made as slight of their disobedience as they had of his orders ; vowing in the most solemn manner to take ample vengeance on them, as soon as he had chastised the insolent and rebellious *Medes* *.

Wars with the Medes. IN the twelfth year of his reign then, he moved with his army against *Arphaxad*, king of the *Medes*, and joining battle with him in the great plain of *Ragau*, he overthrew him horse and chariot, put *Arphaxad* to flight, who made the best of his way to the mountains ; got possession of all his cities, and *Ecbatan*, in particular, the capital of *Media*, a sumptuous city, newly erected, and decorated to be the seat of this new kingdom, and demolished it without mercy ; and to crown all, he caught *Arphaxad* in the mountains of *Ragau*, where he thought to have sheltered himself, and coming there to skirmish with him and his followers, he shot *Arphaxad* so often with darts that he killed him, and put an end to his life, and, as it were, to his kingdom. Flushed beyond measure

* Ibid.

war. This *Phraortes* is the *Arphaxad* above, as we shall have occasion to observe in the history of the *Medes*. *Saosduchinus*, it appears then, had led a quiet and peaceable life for the space of 20 years, the whole duration of his reign ; and *Chyniladan* had done the same for the first 12 years of his, till finding the *Medes* had conquered the *Persians*, as *Herodotus* writes, and as appears in the text of *Judith*, which says, that the *Persians* of all the orientals refused to obey his summons ; and that, not contented with that, they were going to attack *Assyria* also ; hearing of this it roused him ; perceiving himself and kingdom in such danger, he takes the alarm, and in haste sends to all the nations who had bowed to the *Assyrian* throne, to come in immediately to his aid. No two historical pieces can, so far as they are concerned together, more illustrate each other than *Herodotus* and this book of *Judith*. And here, by the way we may, in this distress of *Nabuchadonoser*, perceive some likeness of the case of *Sardanapalus*, who, when he was besieged in *Nineveh*, is said to have sent out to all the nations to come to his succour (8) ; though thereupon we have noted, that in his case it must have been quite impracticable, if not impossible, for him to do it (9). He should have done it before he was blocked up in his city ; upon the whole, this must be the story which is there told by the heedless and romantic historian *Ctesias*.

(8) See before, p. 183. (9) In the notes, *ibid*.

With this more than, perhaps, expected success, he returns in triumph to *Nineveh*, he and all his company of nations, a multitude of warriors, and reposing with them after the fatigues of their victorious expedition (S), they feast and revel with him for the space of 120 days †.

AND now being sated with excess and riot, and confident of being invincible (T), he and his servants resume their martial fury, and talk of no less than being avenged on the whole earth; meaning the nations who had so contemptuously refused to attend him in his war intended with *Media*. He therefore calls together his nobles and officers, with whom he conferred, concerning this matter, in private council, and the result was, *to afflict the whole earth out of his own mouth*, and that all flesh should be destroyed that *did not obey the commandment of his mouth*. In consequence of this vain resolution, *Nabuchadonosor* calls for his chief captain *Holofernes*, and gives him in charge, as the lord of the whole earth, to take with him 120,000 of his choicest foot, and 12,000 chosen archers on horseback, and with them to invade all the west, for that they had dared to withstand his will and pleasure, and to command them to prepare water and earth for him, against he should, in his wrath, come against them, and cover the whole earth with the feet of his army, and give them up a prey thereto; threatening, that their slain should fill their vallies and their brooks, and make the river swell over its banks, and that he would lead them away captives to the uttermost parts of the earth: He commanded him to go forth before him and possess himself of all their coasts for him; that if they submitted to him, he should let them alone for him to punish them in person; but that if they presumed to make head against him, he should utterly destroy them without favour or distinction; swearing by his own life and the might of his kingdom, that he would, with his own hand, perform what he had so presumptuously vented

† Ibid.

(S) This successful war of *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonosor*, against the *Medes*, is exactly almost what *Ctesias* writes of *Sardanapalus* (10), it is the same story most carelessly told; and this feast is certainly the same *Sardanapalus* is said to have given his victorious army (11).

(T) This is *Sardanapalus* again, or rather *Sardanapalus* is the shadow of this king; he, as we have seen, imagined his city of *Nineveh* could never be taken (12).

(10) See before, p. 181. (11) Ibid. p. 182. (12) Ibid. p. 183.
VOL. IV. D d forth;

forth ; and warning him, at his peril, not to transgress any of the commands he had enjoined him, but to execute them with rigour and without delay * (V).

*He takes
the field.*

Holofernes, having received his orders to this effect, departed from before *Nabuchadonosor*, and calling together all the governors, captains, and officers of the army of *Assur* [*Assyria*], he selected the numbers, both of horse and foot, the king had commanded ; and, attended with asses and camels in great numbers, for the conveyance of necessaries, and goats, sheep and oxen more than can be said, with plenty of every thing to sustain the army, and gold and silver in great abundance from the kings treasury, he marched off from *Nineveh* ; followed, besides his army, by innumerable multitudes from several nations, who like locusts joined him, or like the sand of the sea ; so that by the help of hyperbole, they may be properly enough said to cover all the face of the earth westward, with their chariots and horsemen, and their chosen footmen ^a.

Holofernes, in this his march westward, destroyed *Phud* and *Lud*, spoiled all the children of *Rasses*, and the children of *Ismael* toward the wilderness, southward of the land of the *Ghel-*

* Ibid. ^a Ibid

(V) It would have been very difficult to account for this great degree of insolent wrath in this prince, were it not for the good assistance of *Herodotus*, who tells us (13), as we have observed before, that the *Medes* were grown to that pitch as to pretend to subdue *Assyria* ; which, considering this king as he was, must have been a most violent provocation and must have highly inflamed him, when he found himself so deserted by his tributaries and homagers, who could unconcernedly look on, while he perhaps was subdued by a rebellious nation, (who must for many years, ever since the days of *Sennacherib*, have been at greatest enmity with *Assyria*,) though at the hazard of their own welfare, seeing they might feel the blow that staggered his kingdom. Upon the consideration therefore that they would not assist him, though to preserve even themselves, he resolves to execute such vengeance, as such ingratitude, as he might call it, and stupidity would well deserve. The vulgate, according to *St. Jerom*, takes off from this, by presenting *Nabuchadonosor* victorious over the *Medes*, before he called in the nations mentioned, but why he should call them in when his work was done, or how they should have disobeyed him, when he had so lately given so extraordinary an instance of his might and power, is more than we can conceive. The *Greek* version and our own is doubtless here to be preferred, though both, in other respects very faulty.

(13) *L. i. c. 102.*

lians.

lions. He then crossed the *Euphrates*, and passed through *Mesopotamia*, and destroyed all the high cities upon the river *Arbonai* quite to the sea: He took the borders of *Cilicia*, killed all that resisted him, and came to the borders of *Japheth*, southward, opposite to *Arabia*; and falling upon the children of *Madian* (W), he burnt their tents, and threw down their sheep-cotes. From hence he went to the plain of *Damascus*, where he arrived at the time of wheat-harvest, burnt up all their fields, destroyed their flocks and herds, ransacked and demolished their cities, quite laid the whole country waste, and slew all their young men with the edge of the sword; which struck such a terror into all the sea-coasts, that *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Azotus*, *Ascalon*, and others, trembled, and sued for mercy; sending, in all haste, ambassadors to him to treat of peace, who, prostrating themselves before him, acknowledged themselves the servants of the mighty *Nebuchadonosor*, his master, and made a most humble tender of all that in the world belonged to them, to be disposed of by him, as to him should seem best ^b.

UPON this, *Holofernes* drew down towards the sea-coast, where he filled the chief cities with garisons of his own, whence he, at the same time, picked out the choicest men to supply the place of such as he thus detached from his army; and all this tyranny he exercised amidst the joyful acclamations of all the people he thus enthralled, who every where received the *Assyrian* general and his army with garlands, and dances, and the sound of timbrels; but this welcome could no where save their frontiers, their groves, or their gods; *Holofernes* having determined to demolish the former, and to destroy all the gods of the land wheresoever he should come, that all nations might worship *Nebuchadonosor* only, and all tongues and tribes call upon him, and upon him only, as god (X). And having, without opposition, wrought his pleasure in these parts, he moved off towards the plain of *Esdraelon*, and

^b Ibid. & c, iii,

(W) We forbear to enquire into the particular site of these nations; such of them as we can fix will be found in the proper maps,

(X) He here seems to have assumed beyond any of his predecessors. This may serve as an instance, that the *Assyrians* abolished the religion of the countries where ever they came, to introduce the worship of their own princes, dead or living; to keep the nations the more in awe, and the more to exalt the majesty of their own kingdom. This may be added to what we have already observed of the same kind on several passages of the history and practice of this people.

advancing towards *Judea*, he encamped between *Geba* and *Scythopolis*, where he halted a whole month for the rendezvous of his baggage and scattered parts of his army ^c.

IN this situation he redoubled the alarm he had before given to the inhabitants of *Judea*, who thereupon took what measures they could to obstruct his passage and defend themselves. *Holofernes* indeed intended to deal by them as he had dealt by others, and, we may be sure, was highly exasperated, when he heard the *Jews* were resolved upon an obstinate resistance. The news and confirmation of this stirred him up to anger: and convening the chiefs of *Ammon*, *Moab*, and the sea-coast, he required them to inform him concerning the people who thus pretended to withstand his progress; and how it was, that they alone, of all the people of the west, should presume to stand out against the *Assyrian* power? to which he was answered, by the chief of the sons of *Ammon*, *Achior* by name, who reciting to him the history of the *Jews* from *Abraham*, upon the whole assured him, that if they were in favour with God, it would be in vain for him to think of subduing them; and that it would, in that case, be dangerous for him to hazard his honour against them; but that if indeed they had sinned, they might be as easily reduced as any other nation. This dissident and ambiguous counsel was not only displeasing to *Holofernes*, but raised a tumult among the chiefs of *Phœnice* and *Moab* who were present, and who would have persuaded him to put *Achior* to death for his insolence, vaunting against the children of *Israel*, and setting them at nought ^d.

WHEN the tumult was ceased *Holofernes* called out to *Achior*, and treated him as a wretch, who had on set purpose prophesied against him, and blaspheming against God, spoke of *Nabuchadonosor* as above him; he then ordered him out of his presence, dooming him to death with the *Jews*, whom he intended shortly to cut off. Hereupon he ordered his servants to guard him to a strong place belonging to the *Jews*, that he might there wait till his appointed hour was come. *Bethulia* was the place named, and thither he was accordingly carried; and being got into the city, he informed them of whatever he knew in relation to *Holofernes* and his designs ^e.

Besieges
Bethulia.

THE next day *Holofernes* ordered, that a motion should in general be made to invest *Bethulia*; the vast multitude obeyed, and encamped upon a wide extent of ground from *Dothaim* to *Belmaim*, and from *Bethulia* to *Cyamon*, over-

^c Ibid.

^d Ibid. c. iv. v.

^e Ibid. c. vi.

against *Esfraelan*. The day after this, *Holofernes*, at the head of all his horsemen, and in the sight of all the people of *Bethulia*, took a view of the passages to the city, and seizing upon and setting a guard over their springs of water, returned again to the grots of his army. Upon his return, the chiefs of the *Edomites* advised him not to think of assaulting the besieged, because of their situation, but rather to keep the waters that supplied the city under a strong guard, and so destroy the people by thirst, while he sat quietly in his camp, and saved himself and army the trouble of putting those to death, who must of necessity die for want of water; and so be sufficiently avenged on them for their rebellious behaviour. *Holofernes* approved the advice, and ordered the necessary dispositions to put it effectually in execution^f.

HAVING continued in this inactive state about 34 days, and waiting the miserable end of the besieged, who, for want of water, were indeed ready to expire; word was brought him of a beautiful and comely woman from *Bethulia*, who Judith. was without his tent. He was then reposing himself under a rich canopy of purple, gold, emeralds, and other precious stones, and hearing of *Judith*, that was the woman's name, he went out to see her in great state, with silver lamps carried before him. *Judith* fell prostrate on her face before him, and being taken up from the ground, he spoke kindly to her, desired her to fear nothing, and assured her he never did harm to those who were willing to serve his great master *Nabuchadonosor*; and more to the same purpose, relating to herself and the people she came from. In the end, she told him an artful story to encourage him in his hopes against the people of *Bethulia*; with her words she deceived him, and with her beauty she ensnared his heart. For four days he left her mistress of herself, unattempted and unconfined, though her actions and behaviour were entirely calculated to deprive him of life. At the end of this term he could refrain no longer, but ordered his chief eunuch, *Bagoas*, to persuade her to his bed; which she dissembling a readiness to comply with, *Holofernes* gave himself up to an excess of wine, and being left alone with her, she took her opportunity in the dead of night, and severed his head from his body, with his own sword, and carried it off with her to the besieged^g (Y).

THE

^f Ibid. c. vi. vii.^g Ibid. c. viii, ix, x, xi, &c,

(Y) This story may meet with very little credit, and indeed we are very apt to think it is not true; and this may derive such a
blomish

THE *Assyrians*, ignorant of what had been transacted in the recesses of their general's tent that night, and perceiving the besieged in motion the next morning, as if they intended an assault, sent notice of it to *Holofernes*, who was found headless in his tent, to the unspeakable surprize of all that beheld or heard it. At this the *Assyrians* lost all courage, and, seized with a panic, betook them to the most precipitate flight, as if in the tragical end of their general they foresaw their own. They left all their treasure and baggage

blemish on the whole book, as to make some doubt of the sincerity of any thing else said in it; nor should we be very ready to add much faith to any part of it, were it not so directly confirmed to us by *Herodotus*, and so sufficiently by *Ctesias* and all his followers, as we have observed in some parallel places. The heroine herself, *Judith*, may be a fictitious character, calculated more for example than any thing else, and visibly meant to inculcate into us an heroic love of our country, and readiness to sacrifice ourselves in its defence; or it may have been meant some how or other as a compliment to the *Jews*, by representing them to have had the honour of a share in pulling down the proud towers of *Nineveh*. Whatever may have been intended by what is told of *Judith* herself, the substance of the book in other respects is undoubtedly true, as may be made to appear, not only by the concurrence of the authors we have mentioned, but also by the time it was wrote in, which it is perfectly consistent with. One of the greatest difficulties to be surmounted in the vindicating of this *Apocryphal* book, is, that throughout the whole, there is no mention made of a king in the land; whereupon *Prideaux* (14) observes, that if we could put this history so far back as the minority of *Manasseh*, it would be a most important point gained; for that then there would be reason enough not to mention the minor king; but only the chief minister and guardian of the kingdom in the transacting of the whole affair. To put this history so far back as he would have it, he confesses impossible; but we have proved, that if the years of the reign of *Manasseh* and his son *Amon* are right, and if *Ptolemy's* canon is to be depended on, this story may stand most naturally in the first years of *Josiah*, who was a minor of but eight years of age; so that, according to him, it is no wonder, there is no mention made of so very young a king throughout this whole book of *Judith*. Those who would know more of this may consult the same learned author, who has professedly treated on this subject (15), which is somewhat foreign to our design, and would besides draw us into too great a length.

(14) *Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book 1. part 1. p. 41.*
 329. (15) *Ibid.*

behind them, and were pursued with a great slaughter to *Chobai* ^b.

THUS ended this insolent expedition; but whether exactly after this manner or any other we have not to say; but that it was unfortunate, and highly so, may appear by what in a few years after followed, meaning no less than the fall of the *Assyrian* empire. What farther relates to this emperor we are at a loss to know, except that we are told he was succeeded by a king called

Sarac (Z), who committing his forces in *Chaldea* to *Nabopallasar* ⁱ, he rebelled against him, and seized on the kingdom of *Babylon* for himself (A), and in that kingdom therefore

^b Ibid. c. xv.

ⁱ POLYHIST. apud Syncell. Chron. p. 210.

(Z) This name may have been contracted from *Sarchedon*, as this was from *Afferbadon*, *Afferbadon-pul*, or *Sardanapalus* (16). Here we seemingly see then, whence we are to derive the two *Sardanapalus*'s in prophane authors (17), and particularly those in *Suidas* (18), distinguished, the one as a warrior, the other as an effeminate creature (19). The great *Afferbadon* (20) was the former, and this king, who according to our supposition must have been the second of the name, was the latter.

(A) This *Nabopallasar* was confessedly an *Assyrian* by his name, which must have been derived from *Nebo-pul-assur*; this sufficiently declares the nation he was of, and it is confirmed by *Polybistor* (21), who calls him, upon what authority we cannot conceive, *Sardanapalus*. So that according to this there must have been two *Sardanapalus*'s existing together, the one rising into prosperity, the other falling into the pit of adversity. From some such notion it must have been, that we read also of another city of *Nineveh*, to which the unfortunate *Sardanapalus* sent in his distress (22). But he was then actually blocked up in his capital, by the united force of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, and this man, according to our historian (23), was the *Babylonian* that actually joined with the *Medes* to destroy *Nineveh*; so that there is no manner of congruity in the two facts as related. The apparent truth of this man's accession to the throne of *Babylon* seems to have been this; as he was confessedly an *Assyrian*, he may have laid claim to the throne of *Babylon* in right of succession, as of the younger branch of the *Assyrians*

(16) Sir Is. Newt. Chron. of Ant. Kingd. amend. p. 293. See before in the notes, p. 201.

(17) See before in the notes, p. 180,

181.

(18) Ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.

(19) See before in the notes,

ibid.

(20) See before, p. 201.

(21) Apud Syncell. Chronogr.

p. 210.

(22) See before in the notes, p. 183.

(23) Alexand.

Polyhist apud Syncell. ubi sup.

descended

fore may be said to have been the immediate successor of *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonosor* (B), as he stands in the canon of *Ptolemy*. The two revolted kingdoms of the *Medes* and *Babylonians* conspired together against the emperor at *Nineveh*, entered into alliances with each other, *Nabopallasar* particularly sending to *Astyages* the *Mede*, to demand his daughter, *Amyite* or *Aroite*, in marriage for his son *Nebuchadnezzar* * (C). The families thus united make war upon *Sarac*, who,

* *Idem*, apud eund. *ibid*:

descended from the great *Nabonassar*, who seems to have had the kingdom of *Babylon* allotted to him by his father, or grandfather, *Pul*, the first *Assyrian* conqueror, while he left *Assyria* to his eldest son. He may, it is likely, have made this claim; and the seemingly unfortunate end of the reign of *Chyniladan* (24) may, upon the death of that emperor, and the unsettled state he must have left things in, have tempted him to seize on *Babylon* immediately for himself, and in his own right; which, it is probable, he had never dared to attempt before. Hence it must seemingly have been, that we have no mention of *Sarac*, or whatever else he may have been called, in *Ptolemy's* canon.

(B) The note above makes this sufficiently appear, and what we have there already said seems to have been really the case. The *Medes* were at open war with the *Assyrians* (25), the rest of the nations were partly ready to shake off the yoke which had been reimposed on them by *Chyniladan* (26), if they did not really shake it off upon the defeat of his army under *Holofernes* (27); and partly in an actual state of independence, having shaken off the yoke even in the days of *Afferbadon*, and perhaps before (28); and this seizure on *Babylon*, must have been such a blow to the *Assyrian* monarchy as it never after could recover; and when the two potent and enterprising kings of the *Medes* and of the *Babylonians* came to unite their forces together, it is no wonder the *Assyrian*, who was deserted on all hands, could not long withstand such a conjunction, and immediately began to dwindle till he became quite extinct, and afterwards obliterated.

(C) Here we see the new prince of *Babylon* making the most effectual court to the king of the *Medes*, and contracting the most intimate of alliances with him for their mutual support. These two are then the *Balefis* and *Arbaces* of *Ctesias* (29) under different names; but more rationally employed towards the subversion of the *Assyrian* empire. We see them here contracting with each other as considerable princes, who could no longer brook subjection, and

(24) See before, p. 215. (25) Herodot. l. i. c. 102. (26) See before, p. 211. (27) *Ibid*. 214. (28) See before, p. 202. (29) See before, p. 180.

who, dreading the calamities ready to befall him, waited not for the event, but burnt his palace, and himself therewith¹, and may, it is likely, have been the *Sardanapalus* talked of by prophane historians (D). Thus fell the empire of *Assyria*, or in

Idem, *ibid.*

not two obscure revolters and conspirators, secretly combining together at *Ninveh*. It is to our purpose, that *Polybistor* (30) calls this *Babylonian Nabopolassar*, the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Nebuchadonazar*, the first *Babylonian* monarch that makes his appearance in scripture, and thereby so quadrates therewith, throughout the whole system of the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* history, as there recorded, as to settle the rise of the *Babylonian* empire, and the fall, nearly, of the *Assyrian*, beyond any possibility of dispute; nor can *Cæsar's* *Babylus* (31) have been any other than this *Nabopolassar*, and the matter as *Polybistor* (32) says, he was no more than governor of *Chaldea* or *Babylon*, while he calls *Astyages* the *Mede*, his friend, the satrapa or lord of *Media*, and thereby makes the distinction of superiority between them, which *Cæsar* asserts; so that, in the main, *Cæsar* may be said to agree with this author, and to have had his accounts imperfectly delivered to him, if he did not indeed make it his choice to embellish this part of his *Assyrian* history, as well as the rest, with the glaring tinsel of romance.

(D) He dreaded perhaps the fury of such implacable enemies as these may have been, and particularly of *Gaxares*, the son of *Phraortes* (33), who was determined to avenge the death of his father (34) *Phraortes*, who must have been the same with the *Astyages* of *Polybistor* (35), and the *Arphaxad* of the *Apocrypha* (36); or perhaps the excess of his pride was such, that he could not bear the thoughts of captivity or deprivation, but chose rather to undergo the most cruel of deaths, even burning itself. It is observed (37) to be very extraordinary, that so many have voluntarily undergone this most exquisite torment, when they had it in their choice to put an end to life so many other ways. In the case of those who have burned themselves merely to put an end to their days, without any sort of constraint, after the manner of the *Indians*, religion or superstition may be urged in their behalf, than which nothing has a more powerful effect upon the minds and tempers of men. But in the case of *Sardanapalus* and others, who may have dreaded a severe constraint of person, or a disastrous loss of life by the hand of a remorseless enemy, it is no such great wonder, that they should take the most effectual way to destroy both themselves and what belonged to them, that the enemy might not quench the

(30) *Apud Syncell. ubi sup.*

(31) See before, *ubi sup.*

(32)

Apud Syncell. ubi sup.

(33) Herodot. l. i. c. 102.

(34) *Idem,*

ibid.

(35) *Apud Syncell. ubi sup.*

(36) Judith. c. 1. ver. 5.

(37) H. Casaub. in not. ad Athen. l. 12. c. 7.

in some such manner, (E) and the *Medes* and *Babylonians*

thirst of his rage with their blood, or enrich himself with their spoils. The motive to this, in those that have suffered it, may be ascribed to the highest sort of revenge; it being the only method they could take to disappoint the enemy, and make him, what he might call, a sufferer even by their destruction.

(E) We have made it our business in several preceding notes in this section, and in some at the latter end of the former, to shew, that there are two *Sardanapulus*'s in the prophane writers, and that these two can have been no other than the great *Afferbadon* and this last king of *Assyria* (38), who may have been the second of the name, as the contraction of his name, which is all we have of it, seems to imply. The prophane accounts, as we have seen, represent the one to have been a great and magnificent prince, and to have built even two cities in one day, as *Tarsus* and *Anchiale*, and to have died peaceably and quietly in his bed (39); the other a sluggard, who perished in the flames that consumed his palace, his servants, and his treasures (40). The former then must have been the great *Afferbadon*, or *Sardon pul*, of scripture, and the latter must have been this obscure prince *Sarac*, *Sarebadon*, or *Sardon-pul*; for that the empire did not fall under the former is most evident, and that it fell under the latter is almost as plain, by the obscurity of what is related concerning him. For by *Herodotus* (41) it is clear, it had dwindled away apace after the death of the great *Afferbadon*, and languished greatly under the inactive reign of *Saosduchimus*, who gave the turbulent *Medes* an opportunity of recollecting that strength, that may have been impaired by the successes of his fortunate predecessor, who was certainly the greatest of all the *Assyrian* monarchs; insomuch that *Chyniladan*, who succeeded *Saosduchimus*, with all his resolution and valour had much ado to curb them (42); but he dying under some misfortunes, as should seem by his history, and his successor *Sarac* perhaps proving to be an effeminate and slothful man, the *Assyrian* throne sunk still deeper than it had ever been, and those who had professed obedience to it hitherto began to desert it, and to conspire against it; and being under this cloud, and just on the verge of disappearing for ever, it is no wonder, we have no certain notice of what particularly befel it at its final dissolution; and the rather, as all these parts were at the same time disturbed by a violent irruption of the *Scythians*, who kept things in suspense, or rather in subjection to them for the space of 28 years, during which time the *Assyrian* at *Nineveh* must have grown less and less considerable, and but gasped till the fatal blow was given. Hence it is, that we know so little of *Sarac*, the last king of *Nineveh*, and the exact time of the fall of this empire.

(38) See before p. 215, note (Z).

12. p. 529. (40) See before, p. 184.

(42) See before, p. 208.

(39) Athen. *Deipnos.* l.

(41) *l. i. c.* 102. (42)

triumphed

triumphed over its ruins (F), pursuant to the prophets (G):
 *Wo to the Assyrian, the rod of mine anger I will*
punish

(F) After this manner it certainly came to destruction; for besides what *Ctesias* (43) writes, and *Polybistor* (44), even *Herodotus* (45) intimates, that it was subverted by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*; by saying, that the *Medes* conquered all *Assyria*, excepting a part of the province of *Babylania*. Whereby he seems to understand, that the *Babylonian* was a dependant on the *Mede*, though he did not deserve the honour of being accounted his ally and confederate, as if the *Mede* would have been powerful enough of himself, without such assistance as the *Babylonian* could afford him. In this he tacitly agrees both with *Ctesias* and *Polybistor*; for the former represents the *Babylonian* rather as a client, than an assistant, to the *Mede* (46); and the latter tell us, the *Babylonians* had no sooner seized on his portion than he applied to the *Mede* for protection, and, to secure himself and descendants in his new possessions, sued to him for a marriage between the families (47); and that there was this difference of rank between them, may be pretty clearly understood by a prophecy in *Isaiab*, which we shall not fail to take notice of presently. Upon the whole, though *Ctesias* is to be condemned for having made a romance of the *Assyrian* affairs, and for the many inconsistencies and falsehoods he has heaped together concerning the same, it appears that he had some sort of information concerning the fall of this monarchy. We have already seen some passages in him parallel with others in the book of *Judith*, as forerunning the subversion of this empire (48); but then he has misapplied his facts to *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonosor*, the last king but one, and not to *Sarac*, or *Sardanapalus*, the last king of all.

(G) The exact time of this great event may perhaps be settled pretty nearly. If *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonosor*, died in the sixth year of *Josiab*, as we have as good as proved (49), it must follow, that the same *Josiab*, being slain by *Pharaoh Necbo*, king of *Egypt*, when there was a king of *Assyria* still in being (50), that kingdom continued many years after the death of *Chyniladan*; for *Josiab* reigned 31 years (51), the last of which may coincide with the fourth year of *Nabocolassar*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, so that his father *Nabopallasarus*, who immediately seized upon the kingdom of *Babylon*, upon the decease of *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchadonosor*, did not live to see the destruction of *Nineveh*, which may have stood some years after his death. Now that it came to pass, that *Nineveh* stood so long after the combination of the *Medes* and *Babylonians* against it, was owing to a stop put to their designs, by an irruption of the

(43) *Ibid.* p. 186. (44) *Apud.* Syncell. *ubi sup.* (45) *Ubi sup.* (46) *See before*, p. 180. (47) *Apud.* Syncell. *Chronogr.* p. 210. (48) *See before in the notes*, p. 208, 209. (49) *Ibid.* p. 206, note (Q). (50) *See Vol. II.* p. 47. (51) *See before*, p. 99.

punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks. For he saith, By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom, for I am prudent: and I have removed the bounds of the people, and robbed their treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man. And my hand hath found as a nest the riches of the people: and as one gathereth eggs that are left, have I gathered all the earth, and there was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped. Shall the ax boast itself against him that heweth therewith? or shall the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it? as if the rod should shake itself against them that lift it up, or as if the staff should lift up itself as if it were no wood. Therefore shall the Lord, the Lord of Hosts, send among his fat ones leanness, and under his glory he shall kindle a burning like the burning of a fire (H). And the light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his holy One for a flame: and it shall burn and devour his thorns and his briers in one day; and shall consume the glory of his forest, and of his fruitful field, both soul and body; and they shall be as when a standard-bearer fainteth. And the rest of the trees of his forest shall be few, that a child may write them^m. . . . I will break the As-

^m ISA. I. X. 5——20.

Scythians (52), who can have been no other than the *Bactrians* mentioned before (53) to have come upon the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, while they were besieging that city. These *Scythians* held dominion over *Asia*, as it is called, (54) for the space of 28 years; during which the confederates were so far from being able to act against the king of *Assyria*, that they must have been under considerable constraint and tribute, as well as the other kings and princes in these parts. The *Scythians* then were lords in these parts about six or seven years after the death of *Nabopallasarus*, and the work of destroying the kingdom of *Assyria* could not be completed till the *Scythians* had been driven out of this part of *Asia*, which happened at the expiration of the term of 28 years above-mentioned. They then proceeded against *Nineveh*, and destroyed it about the beginning of the reign of *Jehoiakim*, king of *Judah*; but whether in the second, third, or fourth year of his reign, we shall leave the reader to determine; but it is certain, to a sufficient demonstration, that in one of those years *Nineveh* submitted to fate.

(H) There may be those who may imagine these words to be predictive of the manner of *Sardanapalus's* death, as related by prophane authors (55).

(52) Herodot. l. i. c. 103. (53) p. 182. (54) Vid. Herodot. ubi sup. (55) See before, p. 184.

syrian in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under foot : then shall his yoke depart from off them, and his burden depart from off their shoulders ^a. . . . Through the voice of the Lord shall the Assyrian be beaten down which smote with a rod ^b. . . . Then shall the Assyrian fall with the sword, not of a mighty man ; and the sword not of a mean man shall devour him (I) : but he shall flee from the sword, and his young men shall be discomfited. And he shall pass over to his strong hold for fear (K), and his princes shall be afraid of the ensign, saith the Lord, whose fire is in Zion, and his furnace in Jerusalem ^c. . . . Behold the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon, with fair branches, and a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature, and his top was among the thick boughs. The waters made him great, the deep set him up on high with her rivers running round about his plants, and sent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field. Therefore his height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long because of the multitude of his waters,

^a Idem, xiv. 25. ^b Idem, xxx. 31. ^c Idem, xxxi. 8, 9.

(I) These two, the one not a mighty man, the other not a mean man, seem plainly to allude to the mighty *Mede*, and the dependent *Babylonian*, as we have distinguished them a note or two above ; so that this prophecy seems very naturally applicable to the two men that destroyed the kingdom of *Assyria*, as they are represented by the bulk of authors.

(K) We cannot help doing *Ctesias* the justice of observing, That this flight from the sword, this discomfiture of the young men, and this retreat to the strong hold for fear, seem exactly to quadrate with the circumstances he relates concerning the latter end of *Sardanapalus* (56). The flight for fear may allude to his flight when surprised in his camp (57) ; the discomfiture of his young men, to the slaughter of his army under *Salemenes* (58) ; and his passing over to his strong hold, to his betaking himself to his city of *Nineveh* (59). We leave this matter to the reader's fancy or determination, and have taken notice of it chiefly to shew, that it is not from any prejudice conceived particularly against *Ctesias*, that we have laboured so much against him, or because we are fond of erecting or sustaining an hypothesis ; and that we should have been as ready to have followed him as any other, could we safely have done it. In a word, he meant no *Assyrian* monarchy but that in scripture, which was either strangely distorted for him, or he must, studiously and most unpardonably, have disguised it himself.

(56) See before, *Ibid.*

(57) See before, p. 182.

(58) *Ibid.*

(59) *Ibid.*

when he shot forth. All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations. Thus was he fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches; for his root was by great waters. The cedars in the garden of God could not hide him: the fir-trees were not like his boughs, and the chefnut-trees were not like his branches; not any tree in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty. I have made him fair by the multitude of his branches: so that the trees of Eden, that were in the garden of God, envied him. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Because thou hast lifted up thyself in height, and he hath shot up his top among the thick boughs, and his heart is lifted up in his height; I have delivered him into the hand of the mighty one of the heathen: he shall surely deal with him, I have driven him out for his wickedness. And strangers, the terrible of the nations, have cut him off, and have left him: upon the Mountains and in all the vallies his branches are fallen, and his boughs are broken by all the rivers of the land, and all the people of the earth are gone down from his shadow, and have left him. Upon his ruin shall all the fowls of the heaven remain, and all the beasts of the field shall be upon his branches. To the end that none of all the trees by the waters exalt themselves for their height, neither shoot up their top among the thick boughs, neither their trees stand up in their height, all that drink water: for they are all delivered up to death, to the nether parts of the earth in the midst of the children of men, with them that go down to the pit. Thus saith the Lord God, in the day when he went down to the grave, I caused a mourning, I covered the deep for him, and I restrained the floods thereof, and the great waters were stayed; and I caused Lebanon to mourn for him, and all the trees of the field fainted for him. I made the nations to shake at the sound of his fall, when I cast him down to hell with them that descend into the pit: and all the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon, all that drink water shall be comforted in the nether parts of the earth. They also went down into hell with him unto them that be slain with the sword, and they that were his arm, that dwelt under his shadow in the midst of the heathen¹. . . . Thy shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria, thy nobles shall dwell in the dust. thy people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them. There is no healing of thy bruise: thy wound is grievous: all that hear the bruit of thee, shall clap

¹ Ezek. xxxi. 3, 17.

the hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness past continually? Such was the great empire of *Affyria*, such her glory, as to be accounted, even by God himself, the first and supreme of nations, and such her fearful fall; nor is all this meant of any other than the monarchy founded by *Pul*, who first began to afflict *Israel*, and *Judah*, and the neighbouring nations; and whose successors were the first that attempted to extinguish the great nations on this side of the *Euphrates*, who extended their dominion over all lands, and who fell to nought in the person of *Sarac*, *Afferbaddon* II. or *Sardanapalus*[†]; so that *Affyria* being expunged from the book of nations, and her records long since no more; falsehood has been invented and propagated to preserve her the honour, which truth was deprived of being able to pay her, and concerning which we should have had next to nothing of genuine to relate, but for the plain assistance of scripture and the most inestimable concurrence of *Ptolemy's Astronomical Canon*.

C H A P. IX.

The History of the BABYLONIANS.

S E C T. I.

The Description of the Country of BABYLON, or CHALDÆA.

WE have already done considerably towards the geography of this kingdom, and particularly with regard to the times immediately successive to the deluge[†]. Its most antient name was *Shinaar*, *Sennaar*, *Senjâr*, *Singara*, and the like[‡], but whether or no it extended to what has been since known more peculiarly for the dominions of *Babylon*, we have already declared we know not[¶], nor is it possible to gather it to any great degree of satisfaction, though there is some reason to think it did, because it is used to de-

[†] Nahum. iii. 18, 19.[‡] See before in the notes, p. 216.[§] See particularly Vol. I. p. 271. note, (P) and p. 314, 315, in the notes.[¶] See Vol. I. p. 313, & seq.[¶] See before, in the

places of the two foregoing citations.

note this whole kingdom, when in the meridian of empire *. *Babylon* is a name universally supposed to have been borrowed from that of the tower and city of *Babel*; and *Chaldaea* from the *Chaldeans*, or *Chasdim* †.

THESE two last names sometimes extend themselves over the whole territory, being indifferently usurped for each other; but are sometimes limited to certain parts of it, *Babylon* being used for the parts between the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and the country more immediately in the neighbourhood of the city itself of *Babylon*; and *Chaldaea* for the parts more immediately contiguous with *Arabia*, and stretching south-eastward to the shore of the *Persian* gulf. These two great names were also used in distinction of each other upon another account, not so much to our present purpose; finally, they were both sometimes swallowed up by that of *Affyria* ‡.

Divisions.

By this means this kingdom came to be divided into two principal parts, together, it is likely, making up a considerable extent, and including a very great portion of *Mesopotamia*, and a good and valuable tract of what may be, properly enough, called *Arabia*; whence it may be distinguished into the *Mesopotamian* and the *Arabian*.

Extent uncertain.

How far this country extended northward is past our determination, but for its limits westward, southward, and eastward, we cannot be very much at a loss, seeing it was to the eastward bounded by the *Tigris*, which divided it from *Affyria*, to the southward by the conflux of the two rivers and the *Persian* gulph, and to the westward by the *Desert Arabia*; to the northward it must have been bounded by some part of *Mesopotamia*, but by what part of it we shall never be able to tell, till we know how far they incroached upon each other, and were considered as distinct countries. Hence it is sometimes a practice with geographers to treat of *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia* at the same time, and once for all †, as being properly one and the same country.

Situation and boundaries.

THIS ample region may very naturally suit with the majesty of the *Babylonian* kings; but the name must certainly have prevailed, in antient days, beyond its proper limits (L); and that

* Dan. i. 2. † See Vol. I. p. 361. ‡ STRABO, l. 16. p. 336. HERODOT. &c. &c. &c. § Vid. CELLAR. Notit. Orb. Antiq. Vol. II. c. 16. p. 451.

(L) The limits of the *Babylonian* empire were much the same with those of the *Affyrian* empire after the revolt of the *Medes*, and hence

that it did not become even more universal, must have been owing to its being second to the *Affyrian*, which had rooted itself firmly over all the kingdoms about, and for which the *Babylonians* must have had too much veneration to attempt to change it, seeing it may have been by them deemed their greatest glory, that they were of *Affyrian* origin themselves, as will be seen hereafter. But it is certain that the proper *Babylon*, in later times, was confined to the very southernmost parts of *Mesopotamia*, which our maps sometimes represent as a peninsula, or rather, as it is, a cluster of islands; this small territory, together with the proper *Chaldæa* already mention-

hence the *Babylonian* name was almost as widely extended as the *Affyrian*, and indeed they are frequently used the one for the other, though this latter seems the most generally to have had the ascendant and pre-eminence, as being prior, and, as it were, superior to the former. "*Berosus* saith, That *Nebuchadnezzar* held *Egypt*, "*Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Arabia*; and *Strabo* adds *Arbela* to the "*territories of Babylon*; and saying, that *Babylon* was antiently "*the metropolis of Affyria*, he thus describes the limits of the *Affyrian* empire, [or more properly the *Babylonian*]. *Contiguous*, "*saith he, [l. 16] to Persia and Sufiana are the Affyrians; for* "*so they call Babylonia, and the greatest part of the region about it;* "*part of which is Aturia, wherein Ninus [or Nineveh] and Ap-* "*polloniatis, and the Elymæans, and the Parætacæ, and Chalonitis by* "*the mountain Zagrus, and the fields near Ninus, and Dolomene, and* "*Chalachene, and Chazene, and Adiabene, and the nations of Meso-* "*potamia near the Gordyæans, and the Mygdones about Nisibis, unto* "*Zeugma upon Euphrates; and a large region on this side the Euphra-* "*tes, inhabited by the Arabians and Syrians, properly so called, as far as* "*Cilicia, and Phœnicia, and Lybia, and the sea of Egypt, and the Sinus* "*Ifficus:"* And a little after, describing the extent of the *Babylonian* region, he "*bounds it on the north with the Armenians and* "*Medes, unto the mountain Zagrus; on the east side with Susa,* "*and Elymais, and Parætacene, inclusively; on the south with the* "*Persian gulf and Chaldæa, and on the west with the Arabes Sce-* "*nitæ as far as Adiabene and Gordyæa:"* Afterwards speaking of *Sufiana* and *Sittacene*, a region between *Babylon* and *Susa*, and of *Parætacene*, and *Cossæa*, and *Elymais*, and of the *Sagapeni* and *Silocieni*, two little adjoining provinces; he concludes, [l. 16. p. 745] "*And these are the nations which inhabit Babylonia eastward: to* "*the north are Media and Armenia, exclusively; and westward are* "*Adiabene and Mesopotamia, inclusively; the greatest part of Adia-* "*bene is plain, the same being part of Babylonia: in some places it* "*borders on Armenia; for the Medes, Armenians, and Babylonians* "*warred frequently on one another (60)." We here see Affyria and* "*Babylonia* most remarkably confounded together, not only as the same empire, but as the same country.

*Climate
and fer-
tility.*

ed, is now described for this country, which, in antient days, obtained as far to the northward, as should seem, as *Senjâr* at least.

THIS country, lying within the fifth north climate, enjoys an air very temperate and wholesome for the most part, though at certain seasons of the year no air can be possibly more dangerous to breathe in. The heats are so extraordinary here, that the richer sort were used to sleep in tubs and cisterns of water *, nor could bear to live without this pernicious practice, which still continues, as every body that has been in these parts very well knows; and at certain seasons they have here the dreadful plague of a pestilential wind, much talked of by modern travellers, and which we shall be more particular about in the geography of *Persia*. It seldom or never rains here for certain months of the year; so that the inhabitants, in the northermost parts of this country, and generally all over it, are at great labour and trouble in watering their lands, when the convenience of waters will allow them to do it; and especially along the banks of the *Euphrates*, where their engines and wheels are so frequent, as sometimes to hurt the navigation of the river †. This drought continues commonly eight months of the year ‡; nay, it has been sometimes known not to have rained here for two years and a half together, and the inhabitants reckon, that if it does but rain twice or thrice in a year, it is enough for their purpose §: this is remarked by *Herodotus* €, who says, that in the land of the *Assyrians* it seldom rained: and that though the country was quite like *Egypt*, its fertility was not caused by the inundations of the river, as in that country, but by the painful labour of the inhabitants, who either actually watered it by hand, or dug trenches, and other conveyances of that kind, for the refreshment and fecundation of this country, though, however, the same sort of labour is necessary even in *Egypt* ¤. The soil being rich, the climate in general excellent, and the industry of the inhabitants what it ought to be, this country for fertility used to vie with any other spot on the face of the earth. We have seen it compared to *Egypt*, as above, and the southermost parts of it between the rivers may be particularly compared with the *Delta* of that country, it being, like that, made up of endless islands, some formed by nature, and some

* PLUTAR. Sympos. l. 3. p. 640. † See LEON. RAUWOLF'S Travels into the Eastern Country, part. 2. c. 6. p. 160. ¤ Vid. PURCH. Pilgr. vol. 1. c. 12. p. 62. § RAUWOLF ubi supr. p. 152. € l. 1. c. 193. Vid. & STRAB. l. 15. p. 692. ¤ See Vol. I. p. 394.

by art, and is besides almost under the same parallel of latitude; nor is the other part of it, *Chaldea* properly so called, between the *Euphrates* and the mountains of *Babylon*, as they are commonly termed, much less watered by rivers and canals conducted from the *Euphrates*, and large reservoirs or lakes seemingly borrowed from the same river. And hence it is, that *Herodotus*^a compares this country with *Egypt*, and hence, together with the excellence of its soil, it was so fruitful, that the same venerable author^f imagines it impossible any one should believe what he could say about it, that had not, like himself, been an eye-witness of the same; though he ventures to assert, that, for the plenty of its productions, it was reckoned to be a third part of *Asia*, that is of the *Persian* empire, and that, when it exceeded even itself, it would yield 300 fold, but 200 most commonly.

BEING a country of such plenty of waters, and being for the most part low and flat, it may chiefly, of trees, have abounded with the willow, whence it came to be called *The Valley of Willows*, as *Prideaux*^g would, after *Bochart*, mend the text^h. The palm also flourished naturally all over this land, and chiefly that of the date kind, as we understand the authorⁱ, which afforded them, as he expresses himself^k, meat, and wine, and honey, though the vine, the olive, and the fig, were what this otherwise happy country could not boast of^l, no more than her sister *Egypt*. But for grain it exceeded every other land; the millet and the sesame shot up here to the size of trees, and the leaves of the barley and wheat were usually four good fingers broad^m. The sesame afforded them oil instead of the olive, and the palm afforded them wine instead of the grapeⁿ. In short, for vegetable productions it may be justly compared with *Egypt*; and to dwell on them would be little better than repeating what we have already said about that country^o.

ALL this fertility must have been greatly owing to the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, which were wont in the months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, to overflow their banks, and lay this country under water; the snow in those months melting away in great quantities from the mountains of *Armenia*. But this being found detrimental and destructive to the inhabitants, these inundations were guarded against by numbers of artificial rivers and canals, whereby the waters were dis-

Productions.

Rivers, canals, &c.

^a Ubi supr. ^f Ibidem. ^g Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test. part 1. book 2. p. 105. in 8vo. ^h ISA I. xv. 7. ⁱ HERODOT. ubi sup. ^k Ibid. ^l Ibid. ^m Ibid. ⁿ Ibid. ^o See Vol. I. p. 400.

tributed and abated, the country in general benefited, and an easy communication effected between the inhabitants. Some of these canals were so large as to be navigable in the winter months ^p, but the chief of them all seems to have been the *Naharmalcha*, or *Royal River* ^q. Concerning this, and the rest of its kind, we must always be a good deal in the dark; for till of late years we have known next to nothing of the face of this country, from the experience of our own travellers, or the assistance of the eastern geographers, without which it is next to impossible to fix any thing certain about it in the antient western geographers. Nor have we as yet, it is to be feared, sufficient instructions with regard to the particulars of this intricate country, which can never be properly delineated but by an actual and accurate survey, which is what we can never so much as hope for. We shall therefore only observe, that the *Naharmalcha*, which, as represented by the antients, must have been a vast work, is not now easily distinguishable from the other branches and canals of this country. There is some difficulty to make the antient geographers, in this particular case, consistent with the best of our present maps, nor are the same geographers in this case very consistent with themselves; so that in a point of this obscurity we shall be as brief as possible, despairing, with all the lights and assistances we have, to be able to fix this *Royal River* quite to the satisfaction either of the reader or of ourselves. The *Naharmalcha* is then by some ^r supposed to have been the same with the river of *Cûtha*, now called *Couti*, or *Cûti*, which seems to have been an artificial branch conducted from the *Euphrates* into the inland of *Arabia*, where it falls into some lakes or waters, called the lake of *Rahama*, or *Al Batayeh*, in *De Lisle's* maps, and must have been, together with some overflowed lands, farther eastward in the proper *Chaldea*, the *Paludes Babylonicae* of the antients. This river is said to have been dug by *Cûtha*, or *Cush*, king of *Babel*, but it is more usually by the oriental writers attributed to his son *Nimrod* ^s. This *Naharmalcha* is called a branch of the *Euphrates*, and is said to have emptied itself into the lakes, and upon the overflowed lands, to have divided the country, and to have washed the towns of *Irâk*, and is said to have been the same called the river *Sûd*, the river of the *Black Country*, or of the *Black Towns* ^t. By this it should have been no more than a branch

^p HERODOT. ubi supr. ^q See Vol. I. p. 115.
^r TABARI in. cap. de Morte Saræ. ^s Idem ibid.
^t HYDE Hist. Relig. Vet. Persar. p. 40.

^r AL
^t Vid.

of the *Euphrates*, by labour and art conducted into the inland of *Arabia*. The river of *Nehardea*, or *River of Knowledge*, supposed to be the same with the *Naarda* of *Ptolemy*, and to have run not above 20 miles above *Sora*, or at least the university itself of *Nehardea*, a famous one belonging to the *Jews*, is said to have been no farther distant from *Sora*, and to have been seated on the eastern banks of the *Euphrates*, and to have been many miles above the place from whence the *Royal River*, or *Naharmalcha*, was derived on the opposite shore, by which it is to be concluded, that it ran westward or southward of the *Euphrates*, and consequently, that it could not possibly have had any communication with the *Tigris*, whereas by all the antients we understand, that it was a very large canal, navigable by ships, between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and that it was cut for that very purpose. By *Ptolemy* we understand, that it did not only communicate with the two rivers, but also discharged itself into the *Paludes*, or standing waters and overflowed grounds; by him we understand, that it was derived more properly from the *Tigris*, that it washed the walls of *Babylon*, or at least ran not very far from that city, and that thence, mixing with the *Euphrates*, the canal was immediately continued away to the *Paludes*. It is not to be doubted, but that this *Naharmalcha* was contrived more particularly for the great city of *Babylon*, that so it might have the immediate advantage of both the great rivers at once; and accordingly we have in *De Lisle's* maps a cut or canal represented from the *Tigris* to the *Euphrates*, just by what are now called the ruins of *Babylon*; and exactly in a line with the river *Cútha*, or *Cúti*, as it is now called and represented, which continues itself to the waters in the inland of *Arabia*; and thus we seem to have the true situation and extent of this river, which must certainly have been the same, and the rather as it is to this day called *Almalec*, the *King*, or *Royal*. It is in the same maps represented as imperfect, and as not reaching quite to the *Euphrates*, and therefore, as much as it may have been formerly considered as a branch of the *Euphrates*, it is now most properly a branch of the *Tigris*. It appears then, that it is partly choaked up, as it was in the days of *Trajan* ^u, who restored it to its pristine state, after it had been for many ages dug by the great *Nebuchadnezzar* ^w. Thus, by comparing *Ptolemy* with the best of our modern geographers, it seems, that we have in general marked out the canal of the *Naharmalcha*, which may at first have included

^u Vid. AMM. MARCELL. p. 498. ^w MEGASTHEN. ex
ABYDEN. apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 41. p. 456.
no

no more than the cut between the two rivers, though it came afterwards to be nominally extended to the inclusion of the river of *Cútha*, which must have been a distinct work. At some distance to the westward of the *Naharmalcha* was another river, corruptedly in *Ptolemy* called the *Maarsares*, for the *Naarsares*, or the *Nabar Sare*, the *Stinking River*; this also he derives from the *Tigris*, and continues to the *Paludes*; but our best maps have no sign of such a river or canal at present in these parts; nor can we thereby fix the place of the *Nehardea*, or *Naarda* of *Ptolemy* above, which, though he mentions it as a town only, must by its name have been a river also, and, as we are told, to the westward of the *Nabar Sare* *. It may be labour in vain to attempt to trace out these and the other numerous branches and canals which watered the antient country of *Babylon*, though by the best helps we have. Many of them, that have been formerly considerable, may be now no more, and others may have been found since, that were not in antient days; for a country so prodigiously watered, so low withal, and so subject to the violence of extraordinary inundations from two such great rivers as the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and so neglected as it must for ages past have been, may be fairly concluded to have changed face considerably, and frequently, since the time *Ptolemy* flourished; and it must be next to impossible to delineate the exact face of this country, when it was the seat of empire, or when it had strength and riches sufficient to take care of its numerous banks, and to keep them in repair.

The Euphrates.

THE *Euphrates*, thus branched out and divided, may now claim to be considered separately. The name of this river we have already spoken to †, and have now to add, that it takes its rise from the mountains of *Armenia*, and that it continues its course southward, washing the eastern skirts of *Syria*, and south eastward dividing *Arabia* from *Mesopotamia*, till, mixing with its fellow traveller the *Tigris*, it falls at length into the *Persian gulf*. This considerable river is slow, for the most part, in its course ‡, and not very well adapted throughout for navigation, because of some parts of it which are shoal, and some parts of it that are rocky. We are told it is not navigable for the larger sort of barks, any lower from *Bir*, or *Beer*, in *Mesopotamia*, than a place called *Raufvaine* §, which must be the *Rasaine* in some of *De Lisle's* maps, but that the smaller craft may go down quite to *Bassora*. Be-

* Vid. HYDE ubi supr. p. 71. † See Vol. I. p. 116. § RAUWOLF ubi supr. part 2. c. 1. p. 126. ‡ THEVENOT. Voy. au Lev. part 1. c. 9. p. 46.

yond this *Rousvaine* it seems there are rocks which are dangerous for the larger vessels ^b, but our author seems here to be quite mistaken, for *Rousvaine*, or *Rasaine*, is an inland place, at a distance from the banks of this river. A traveller ^c who actually went down this river, and seems to have had as great a sense of the dangers of his voyage as any man could well have, makes no mention of rocks in this river till he comes down a great way below, to a place he calls *Deer* ^d, and which is considerably beyond *Racka*, or *Racca*, where they were obliged to use the skill and assistance of pilots ^e. At *Bir* in *Mesopotamia*, which was the common place of embarkation from the western parts, this river is compared to the *Thames* at *London*, but was then observed to have been considerably fallen ^f; and indeed the breadth of this river must be very uncertain, and, as the case usually is, depend upon the seasons and the weather. In many places it divides itself into several shallow branches, and forms several islands ^g; in some parts it is broad and shallow, in others wide and deep like a little sea ^h, and, upon the whole, is not near so convenient as the *Tigris* ⁱ. Though the *Euphrates*, we have observed above, is moderate in its course, its water is so continually foul, that there is no drinking it till it has settled for a time, or been passed through a cloth, or a strainer ^k; but its water, when in proper order, is preferred before any in these parts, and said to be lighter than any other, whence the river is known, with the neighbouring people, by a name which signifies the *water of desire* ^l. The fish of this river is also reported to be excellent in kind, and particular notice is taken of one somewhat like a carp, which sometimes weighs 17 or 18 pounds ^m, which is all that may be necessary to say on this subject.

The antient way of navigating this river has something very singular and extraordinary in it. The vessels they used were round, without distinction of head or stern, and were no better than great wicker baskets coated over with hides, which they guided along with two oars or paddles. These vessels were of different sizes, and would some of them carry a burthen of palm wine, or other merchandise, to the weight of 5000 talents, and, according to their size, had live asses on board

^b THEVENOT. *ibid.* ^c RAUWOLF. ^d *Idem. ibid.* p. 152. ^e *Ibid.* ^f MAUND. *Jour. from Aleppo to the river Euphrat.* p. 3. See also THEVENOT. *ubi sup.* ^g RAUWOLF *ubi sup.* p. 126. ^h *Idem. ibid.* & p. 162. ⁱ *Idem. ibid.* & THEVENOT. *ubi sup.* ^k RAUWOLF *ubi sup.* p. 126. ^l THEVENOT. *ubi sup.* ^m RAUWOLF *ubi sup.*

of them. Having thus fallen down the river to *Babylon*, and unloaded their cargoe, they stripped off their hides, and selling the rest of their vessel, with the straw and whatever else might have served them for the convenience of stowage, and putting their hides upon the backs of their asses, they returned by land to the place whence they came, where they wrought up another frame, or basket, to repeat their voyage; it being impossible for them to stem the stream up again by water ^a.

*Natural
and artif-
cial vari-
ties.*

THIS country is more than ordinarily remarkable for the seat of *Paradise*, which is most rationally supposed to have been partly, if not all, within the limits of it ^o; as also for the great plain of *Shinaar*, now *Senjâr*, where the whole race of mankind were gathered together in one body after the flood, and whence they dispersed themselves over the face of the earth ^p. The bitumen of this country we have already ^q spoken of at large, as well as of the place where it more remarkably abounded ^r. The ruins of *Babylon*, and what remains of the tower, as supposed, of *Babel*, might here claim a place, had not another more proper occurred in the former part of this work ^s.

S E C T. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the Babylonians.

Antiquity.

BABEL is the first kingdom we find erected in scripture, and claims an origin prior to that of *Assur*, though, according to the common course of history, it must appear after it. *Nimrod* was the founder of it ^t, but for many ages it enlarged not its bounds, and evidently appears to have remained a petty royalty, till the *Assyrians* paved the way to the empire it attained to. Or, on the other hand, if it be granted, that even under *Nimrod* himself it attained a height of power, nothing seems more natural than to conclude, that it suddenly fell down to a level with its neighbours, and even below some of them, and particularly the famous and antient kingdom of *Elam*, or *Persia*; for so early as the days of *Abraham* we meet with a king of *Shinaar*, the antient *Babylon*, in the army of *Chedorlaomer*

^a HERODOT. l. i. c. 194.

^o See Vol. I. p. 113, & seq.

^p Ibid. p. 312, 347.

^q Ibid. p. 320 not. (I).

^r Ibid.

^s Ibid. p. 319, & seq.

^t Ibid. p. 365.

king

king of *Elam*^u, as a vassal, seemingly, and a tributary. The arguments we have formerly used to destroy the boasted antiquity of *Assyria*^w, may be exhibited here to destroy that of this empire; but not to repeat what we have so fully urged, and which must of course affect this empire, as it confessedly rose upon the ruins of the former; we would only take notice, that scripture knows nothing of any king of *Babylon* from the king of *Shinaar* above in the army of *Elam*, till the days of *Merodach Baladan*, who was contemporary with *Hezekiah*^z; as also that, by the several histories of the nations that precede in this work, it is plain, that no *Babylonian* sceptre awed any one of them, till many years after the said *Merodach Baladan*. So that, though we confess this to have been the most antient kingdom of the world, we deny it to have reached the imperial dignity till what we may call very lately, in comparison of what has been vainly boasted, and unwarily believed.

THE *Babylonians*, or *Chaldeans*, however, laid claim to a most enormous antiquity, unwilling to be behind-hand with the *Egyptians*, or any nation else, pretending to have registered the transactions of 150,000 years^y, according to some, or 472,000 years, according to others^z, reckoning down to *Alexander*, from the time they first began to observe the stars; a most monstrous fable, which needs no refutation, though it may deserve some animadversion (M).

THE

^u Genes. xiv. 9. ^w See before in the preceding chapter *passim*.
^z 2 King. xx. 12. ^y Vid. SYNCHELL. Chronogr.

^z DIODOR. SICUL. Bibl. Hist. l. 2. p. 81.

(M) This extravagant and senseless desire of several nations to be thought antient, has not only been, in good part, the destruction of history, but has, to all appearance, also been considerably hurtful to religion. Vanity, as we have shewn (61), first introduced the forging of records to supply the want or loss of them: and as antiquity was thought the most honourable distinction of a people, when nations, as the *Babylonians*, *Egyptians*, or others, came to be great and powerful, and to remark how mean a figure their predecessors made, in comparison, but a few years before, if they had any certain tradition about it, and that they had cannot very well be doubted; and to perceive, that perhaps some other nations had a great value for themselves for their antiquity, they were ashamed of their deficiencies, scorned in any degree to be inferior to any other nation under the sun, and so not only ran up their antiquities

(61) See before, p. 134.

Their government. THE government of this nation, if the character which generally prevails concerning its founder *Nimrod*^a may be relied

^a See Vol. I. p. 380.

they knew not whither, but removed some of their eminent princes who had lived as yesterday, into ages far beyond the day of creation, and made gods of them; in their glory exalting themselves above their fellows, and claiming a right of superiority over them, which perhaps could never have been accounted for but by this method. We have in great measure given a glaring instance of this in the latter *Syrians*, who, as *Josephus* observes of them, celebrated the memory of their kings, *Hadad* and *Haxael*, in his time, and carrying their statues about in procession, vaunted their great antiquity, though they had not been dead above 1100 years; but by this they certainly meant no more than to set off the gods of their own country; for though they were strangers in *Syria* at first, and introduced to supply the place of the natives who were carried away captive, they had then been in the country many ages, and reckoned themselves as the original proprietors, just like the *Irish* at this day, who, though chiefly descended from colonies of *English* and *Scotch*, and not very antient ones either, disown both the nations, and glory in what they find peculiar to that kingdom, true or false; and thus these latter *Syrians*, though they had no manner of relation to the antient kings of their country, meant by this vaunting of their gods, *Hadad* and *Haxael*, to reflect a dishonour upon the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians*, whose gods they knew by tradition or history to have been younger; and hence you have *Adad, the first of gods* (62).

If the want of regular history was not in some measure the support of idolatry, which it certainly must have been, it was doubtless what gave birth to the notion of the world's being eternal. Philosophers, at a loss for the origin of things, and destitute of a guide to direct them thereto, presently grounded themselves upon false principles, and thence proceeded to subtilise themselves into errors without end, and fancies infinitely absurd, which were soon propagated among the studious men in all branches of literature; so that historians and antiquaries thinking there was room enough to range in, and some of them being more greedy of it than others, though they were all desirous of it, you have by this means the disorder and disagreement among antient authors never to be reconciled to one another, either with respect to affairs at home or abroad. Upon the whole, hence it is you have the variety of accounts given in by nations, one endeavouring to exceed another, as they have been partly collected (63) to our hands, and as they here follow:

(62) See Vol. II. p. 310, note (K). (63) Ludov. Viv. in not. ad August. de civit. Dei, xii. 10. See the Appendix to Whiston's Essay towards restoring the true text of scripture, p. 233.

lied on, was in its very infancy tyrannical and despotic; but that it continued so is not to be supposed, except at the same time it be conceived that first prince was succeeded by kings exactly of his own sort. After him it certainly became on a foot with the petty kingdoms of these parts, till the *Assyrians*, in process of time, laid the foundation whereon it afterwards exalted itself as the *Queen of the East*. And as from the former it derived its lustre and majesty, nothing is more likely, or indeed more certain, than that it adhered to the maxims and practices of its founder; and the rather, as these *Babylonians* themselves were *Assyrians*, descended from *Pul* the great *Assyrian*, who immediately gave rise to both the empires, as will be amply made to appear in the sequel. The government therefore of *Babylon*, like that of *Assyria*^b, was haughty and despotic, and the sceptre, as should seem, hereditary. The whole centered in the person of the king, all decrees issued from his mouth^{*}; and how could it be less, when he affected even deity and divine worship, as the custom was with these princes? And here by the way, it may be observed, that this political, not to say blasphemous, arrogance, was but natural to men who had such wide and unwarrantable views of lording it over the whole bulk of mankind. It was one of the most effectual means they could think of, to intimidate the nations who had not yet owned their power, and to restrain those who did, from asserting their right to be governed by whom, and in what manner they pleased. For without some such bridle upon the superstitious minds of men, it had been next to impossible to maintain dominion over parts far remote from the seat of the imperial residence; and no doubt, the argument they used of having prevailed against all the gods of the nations, and of being mightier far

^b See before, p. 131.^{*} See Dan. iii. 29. iv. 6.

	Years.
<i>Zoroaster</i> lived before <i>Plato</i> 's death	6000
Before the <i>Trojan</i> war	5000
<i>Chaldees</i> had accounts of	470000
From the first <i>Chaldean</i> astronomer to <i>Alexander</i>	472,000
<i>Sais</i> in <i>Egypt</i> had chronicles of	8000
<i>Athens</i> built before <i>Sais</i>	1000
From <i>Vulcan</i> to <i>Alexander</i>	48863
Kings of <i>Egypt</i> before <i>Amasis</i> reigned	13000
From <i>Osiris</i> to <i>Alexander</i>	10000
Or	13000
Men reigned in <i>Egypt</i> after the gods	15000

than they ^c, carried a conviction with it, which not only served all purposes for the present but for the future also. And hence it must have been, or upon principles of the same sort, that the great conquerors of the east have always affected retirement from the immediate commerce of others, as too glorious to be beheld by vulgar eyes; a kind of arrogance which implies a superiority not much inferior to what was claimed by these first monarchs of the *Affyrian* race, as well on the throne of *Nineveh*, as on that of *Babylon*; and is, as we have said, one of the most politic methods of keeping in subjection a number of nations of different languages, complexions, and manners, to a man who must be a stranger to almost all of them. These proud potentates, however, administered their government by officers of several sorts, civil and military, and accordingly we find them divided into three classes, and supposed to be chosen from among the gravest and most noble personages in all the empire ^d; the first had the charge of virgins, and their disposal in marriage, and were to judge in matters of adultery, and the like; the second took cognizance of thefts, and the third of the rest ^e. We find the subordinate powers under this mighty emperor divided into princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, counsellors, and sheriffs ^f, so that it is plain, nothing was wanting to keep peace and good order in the empire, and that the civil and military oeconomy was under severe regulation: as for what relates to religion and superstitious matters, that will fall under another head.

His officers
civil and
military.

His house-
hold.

THIS great *King of Kings* ^g had a household equal to the sublimity of his station, the chief officers of which seem to have been the captain of his guard ^h, the prince of his eunuchs ⁱ, and the prime minister ^k, in the nature of the *Turkish* vizier, who more immediately represented the person of his great master. The first of these had the execution of the arbitrary and sanguinary commands ^l; the second had charge of the education and subsistence of the youth of the palace ^m, and the latter sat in the king's gate, as it is called ⁿ, to hear complaints and to pass judgments. Besides these, there seems to have been a master of the magicians always at hand ^o, to satisfy the king upon any thing he might want to know, with regard to futurity and prognostication.

^c See before, p. 196. ^d STRAB. l. 16. p. 745. ^e Vid. eund. ibid. ^f DAN. iii. 2, 3. ^g DAN. ii. 37. ^h Idem, ibid. ver. 14. ⁱ Idem, i. 10. ^k Idem, ii. 48, 49. ^l Idem, ibid. 14. ^m Idem, i. 7, 8, 9, 10, &c. ⁿ Idem, ii. 49. ^o Idem, iv. 9.

None were allowed the honour of serving in his presence that were not remarkable for beauty of person ^p, and excellence of parts (N); and his wives and concubines, which were, doubtless, the most exquisite of their sex, seem to have been in very great numbers ^q.

BUT though these kings seem to have claimed such high honour, and to have placed themselves at such a distance from the greatest even of their officers and subjects, and in short to have considered the whole world as created for their use and service, and to have consulted nothing but their own glory and majesty; yet we understand, that they would sometimes deign to banquet and revel with their lords and chief men of their dominions, of whom we read, that a thousand of them were at one time entertained by *Belshazzar* ^r. The common stile of accosting this mighty sovereign was, *O king live for ever* ^t; and the man, who was so happy as in a particular manner to gain his favour, was cloathed in purple or scarlet, adorned with a chain of gold about his neck, and invested with some government ^u.

THE laws of this empire, as we have hinted above, must *Laws.* have been quite vague and uncertain; yet there was one which seems to have been irrevocably fixed, and to have been

^p Idem, i. 4—10—20 ^q Idem, v. 2, 3. ^r DAN. V. 1.
^t Idem, ii. 4. v. 10. ^u Idem, v. 7.

(N) This has always been the custom in the eastern countries, and at this day, “ The youths, that are designed for the great offices of the empire, [in *Turkey*—must be of admirable features
 “ and pleasing looks, well shaped in their bodies, and without any
 “ defect of nature; for it is conceived, that a corrupt and sordid
 “ soul can scarce inhabit a serene and ingenuous aspect; and I have
 “ observed, not only in the seraglio, but also in the courts of great
 “ men, their personal attendants have been of comely lusty youths,
 “ well habited, deporting themselves with singular modesty and respect in the presence of their master. So that when a *basha*, *aga*,
 “ or *spahse*, travels, he is always attended with a comely equipage, followed by flourishing youths, well cloathed and mounted, in great numbers, that one may guess at the greatness
 “ of this empire, by the retinue, pomp, and number of
 “ servants which accompany persons of quality in their journeys;
 “ whereas in the parts of *Christendom* where I have travelled, I
 “ have not observed, (no not in attendance of princes) such ostentation in servants as is amongst the *Turks*, which is the life and
 “ ornament of a court (64).

(64) *Sir Paul Ricaut's Pref. State of the Ottoman Empire, c. 5. p. 46.*

very politically contrived to keep up and increase the number of the inhabitants, it being calculated in such manner, that it was almost impossible for any man to live single, and designed particularly to encourage the poorer sort to engage themselves in wedlock, which is generally a great burthen to them the world over. By this law no man had it in his power to bestow his own daughters in marriage^u, but they were to be disposed of by the king, or his officers, in the manner we shall relate hereafter.

Punish-
ments.

As the laws were vague and changeable, the punishments seem also to have been unfixed, and to have been arbitrary and rigorous to the utmost, and such as might best suit with the degree of rage, which for the time happened to agitate the tyrant's breast. Beheading^w, and cutting to pieces^x, and turning the criminal's house into a dunghill^y, and burning in a fiery furnace^z, are punishments we understand to have been executed by order of the kings of *Babylon*.

Their re-
ligion.
Chaldees
their
priests,

THE religion and boasted learning of the *Babylonians* are so blended together, that we hardly know how to separate them into distinct heads; for the *Chaldees*, properly so called, were not only their priests, but also their learned men; whose whole science seems to have been subservient to the purposes of superstition and infatuation. The *Chaldeans*, as distinguished from the *Babylonians*, were in some sort distinct from these people, and rather more so than the clergy were from the laity with us. These *Chaldeans* were as much revered in their country, as the *Egyptian* priests were in theirs; and are said to have enjoyed the same rank and degree in the kingdom^a. They were wholly devoted to the business of their superstitious religion, and pretended to prophecy, and the gift of prediction by the rules of augury, the flight of birds, and the inspection of victims; and professed the interpretation of dreams, and to explain all the extraordinary accidents and phenomena of nature, as portending good or evil to men or nations, and were thought by their enchantments and invocations to affect mankind either with happiness or with misery^b. Having by their situation been early addicted to celestial observations, they, instead of conceiving as they ought to have done concerning the omnipotence of the creator and mover of the heavenly bodies, and of being confirmed in a due belief and practice of what had been handed by tradition down to men by *Noah* and his sons, fell into the impious error of

^u Vid. HERODOT. l. i. c. 196. & STRAB. l. 16. p. 745.

^w Dan. i. 10. ^x Idem, ii. 5. ^y Idem, Ibid. ^z Idem, iii.

19. ^a DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. Hist. l. 2. ^b Idem, ibid.

esteem-

esteeming them as gods, and the immediate governors of the world, in subordination, however, to the deity, who was invisible but by his works and the effects of his power ^c. They concluded then, that God had created the stars and great luminaries for the governance of the world, that he had accordingly placed them on high, and made them partakers with him, and substituted them his ministers; and that it was but just and natural they should be praised, and honoured, and extolled; and that it was even the will of God they should be magnified, and feared, and worshipped; just as a king desires his servants should be respected in honour of himself ^d.

PERSUADED of this they began to build temples, or *Sacella*, to the stars, to sacrifice to them, to praise them, and to bow down before them, that through their means they might obtain the favour and good-will of God ^e, so that they esteemed them as mediators between God and them. For that there was a necessity for a mediatory office between God and man, is observed ^f to have been a notion that generally obtained among mankind from the beginning; “ Conscious of
“ their own meanness, vileness, and impurity, and unable to
“ conceive how it was possible for them of themselves alone
“ to have any access to the all-holy, all-glorious and supreme
“ governor of all things. They considered him as too high,
“ and too pure, and themselves as too low, and too polluted
“ for such a converse; and therefore concluded that there
“ must be a mediator, by whose means only they could
“ make any address unto him, and by whose intercession
“ alone any of their petitions could be accepted of. But no
“ clear revelation being then made of the mediator, whom
“ God had appointed, because as yet he had not been manifested unto the world, they took upon them to address
“ themselves unto him by mediators of their own chusing;
“ and their notion of the sun, moon, and stars being, that
“ they were the tabernacles or habitations of intelligences,
“ which animated those orbs in the same manner as the soul
“ of man animates his body, and were the causes of all their
“ motions, and that those intelligences were of a middle nature between God and them, they thought these the properest beings to become the mediators between God and them;
“ and therefore the planets being the nearest to them of all the heavenly bodies, and generally looked on to have the greatest influence on this world, they made choice of them
“ in the first place for their *Gods Mediators*, who were to

^c Vid. eund. ibid. ^d RAB. MOS. MAIM. in More Nevoch.

^e Idem, ibid. ^f See PRIDEAUX, and the authors he cites, POCOCK, GOLIUS, HOTTING. HYDE.

“ mediate

Second
stage of
idolatry.

“mediate for them with the supreme God, and procure
“from him the mercies and favours which they prayed for,
“and accordingly they directed divine worship to them as
“such; and here began all the idolatry that has been prac-
“tised in the world^{*}.” For persuading themselves of this
doctrine, they became anxious about the most effectual means
of making their worship acceptable to the several deities,
whence they first began to build temples or tabernacles to them,
as we have seen, dedicated to their service, and to be as places
of abode for them, but as in matters of this kind there can
be no stable form, where there is no immediate revelation,
and men actuated either by fear or avarice, or ambition, or
ought else, had liberty to pretend to what they knew nothing
of; in process of time impostors arose, and gave out, that they
had had it enjoined and commanded them from God himself,
That this star, or that, or all of them should be worshipped
in this, or that manner, and represented under this, or that
form, and that none of any age or degree should be exempt
from the worship thereof; and this they impudently gave out,
in a solemn manner, for revelation. Upon this it was, that
men began to furnish the *Sacella*, tabernacles or temples,
with images, and to erect the same under trees, and upon
the tops of hills or mountains; and from henceforward they
assembled themselves together to pay them worship, and be-
gan to hope for all good, and to dread all evil, as proceeding
from them, and to honour them with deepest reverence, and
to fear them^{*}; and their priests, sensible of the sweets of the
trade, began to think of forms of duty and practice to be
observed by the credulous and deluded multitude[†]. Other
impostors there were who improved upon the first, and pre-
tended to have been honoured with particular instructions
from particular stars, concerning the exact mode of the wor-
ship due or peculiar to them, and what ought, and what ought
not, to be done to please them; so that, in process of time,
the name of God became obliterated among them; and the
most stupid idolatry possessed the whole place of the true re-
ligion[‡].

SUCH was the rise of idolatry and the first steps of its
progress, than which nothing can be more natural to con-
ceive, and such were the original *Sabian* doctrines, which,
taking root first among the *Chaldeans*, did afterwards spread

^{*} PRIDEAUX's Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New
Test. Part. I. Book III. p. 177. in 8vo. ^{*} Rab. Mos. MAIMONID.
ubi sup. [†] Vid. eund. ibid. [‡] Rab. Mos. MAIMONID.
ubi sup.

their branches so far as to over-shadow, at one time, all the nations of the east with their prophane obscurity. For it must be difficult to conceive, how men could have been deceived into so gross an absurdity, as to worship wood, stone, or metal, formed and fashioned by their own hands, if it be not at the same time allowed, that they must have imagined their images to have been, some how or other, animated or informed with a supernatural power, by some supernatural means. A late author¹ thinks it more natural to suppose, that their loss to know how to address themselves to the planets, when they were beneath the horizon, was what first suggested to them the use of images; for that, whenever they paid their devotions to any of them in their tabernacles, or *Sacella*, they directed their worship towards the planet, which they have thought of none effect, when he was absent and hidden from sight; and that therefore they thought to supply his absence by a representation: Thus it may have been, though it may be as natural to suppose, that, as their priests observed the stars as their gods, and made them the chief subject of their study, and persuaded themselves that each star or planet was actuated by an intelligence, they gave out to the people, from time to time, that those superior beings had revealed their will to them, just as their crazy imaginations, or designing craft, may have suggested to them.

LET this have been either this way or that way, it is certain, that the first image-worshippers did not pretend to pay adoration to uninformed wood, stone, or metal, and that the *Sabians*, in their transition from planet-worship to image-worship, pretended to have infused the virtues of the planet into the image that was meant to represent it; which they thought to effect by forms of consecration, and by various incantations, whereby to draw down from the stars their several intelligences into their respective idols; and hence came all the foolery of *Telefms* ^k, or *Talismans*, and upon these pretended principles of communicative operation, all the branches of magic and sorcery must have had their foundation.

THAT this was the first origin of image-worship is evident, and that the same was first derived from the heavenly bodies, the most conspicuous, and glorious to sight, is evident by the primary gods of the heathen in general, which are *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Venus*, and *Diana*; by which we can understand no other than the sun, and moon, and the five greatest luminaries next to them ^l.

¹ PRIDEAUX, ubi sup.
fund. ibid.

^k See PRIDEAUX, ubi sup.

^l Vid.

THIS was the religion of the *Babylonians*, *Affyrians*, and *Mesopotamians*, even before the days of *Abraham*; nay in the days of *Enos*, the son of *Seth*^m, whose descendants are said to have been the first that cultivated astronomy and astrologyⁿ; the *Sabians* themselves boasting the origin of their religion from *Seth*, and pretending to have been denominated from a son of his called *Sabius*, as also to have among them what they call the book of *Seth*, written by that same patriarch^o.

Third stage
of idolatry

THIS was the state of the old *Babylonian* religion, till they came to deify mortal men as well as the celestial bodies. In this we are apt to think they were not the first, and that the *Syrians*, whose empire was confessedly older than either the *Affyrian* or *Babylonian*^p, shewed them the way, by deifying their great kings, *Benhadad* the second and *Hazael*^q. A late learned author^r is inclined to think, that the first *Sabians*, or idolaters, desirous to have all the mediation possible with the supreme God, took it into their heads, that good men had a power with him to intercede for them, and that they deified many of those they thought to be such, and that thus they added to their polytheism: This is allowing much in favour of them, and is reflecting not a little upon the purity of the *Roman* church, which teaches the same doctrine, and allows of the same practice; and calls to our mind, how frequently *Rome* is supposed to be signified under the type of *Babylon*; and, perhaps, there may not be so wide a difference between some parts of the two religions, as may be generally imagined. But to wave this, as foreign to our purpose, we should rather choose to think, that they deified their greatest and most powerful men, and that however they may have paid the same honour to men of virtue, their most conspicuous gods of this class were their greatest warriors and most potent kings.

ACCORDING to this we are told^t, That by the vain-glory of men idols entered into the world . . . That, in process of time, an ungodly custom grown strong, was kept as a law, and graven images were worshipped by the commandment of kings, or [as it is in the margin] tyrants. That whom men could not honour in presence, because they dwelt far off, they took the counterfeits of his visage from far, and made an express image of a king, whom they honoured, to the end that, by this their forwardness, they might flatter him that was absent, as

^m Rab. Mos. MAIMONID. ubi sup.

ⁿ See Vol. I. p. 163.

^o See PRIDEAUX, ubi sup. ^p See before, p. 145, & seq.

^q See

Vol. II. p. 255, & note (E).

^r PRIDEAUX, ubi sup.

^t Wil.

of SOLOMON XIV. 14, 16, 17.

if he were present. This was most certainly the case with regard to the deification of kings, who could not be contented with being less than gods. The same author[†] assigns two other reasons for this practice, which must strongly cooperate with the former; first, "The grief of a parent for his child untimely snatched away, whose image he may have been tempted to honour as God when dead, and to deliver to those beneath, or in subjection to him, ceremonies and sacrifices of duty and commemoration;" and secondly, "The skill of the workman, who by his art, might contribute greatly to the deception of the ignorant; for that, ambitious to flatter some great man, he may have exerted all in his power to represent him beyond what he truly was, and so, by the beauty of his work, captivate and delude the unwary multitude, who took him now for a god, whom a little before they honoured but as man; and that thus men, subject either to calamity or tyranny, did ascribe unto stones and stocks the incommunicable name of God."

SUCH were the causes of idolizing dead men, tyranny to compel to it, immoderate affection to consent to it, and the exquisite skill of the workman to allure to it. That the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians* were, in a particular manner, obnoxious to the first of these, must appear by the histories of their several kings, who seem, at least, to have been as absolute tyrants as were ever suffered to live; and that they did give into this error is plain, both by sacred authors and prophane writers; these last, for the most part, asserting, That the *Affyrians* were the people that first shewed the example of it to others; though that this was false, we have seen in the history of the *Syrians*, who before them deified their great kings[‡].

HOWEVER, it was an opinion, that *Ninus* was the first that set up images to be worshipped, and particularly one to his father *Belus*[¶], and granted privileges and pardons to those who resorted to it. Who this *Ninus* should have been but *Tiglath-pileser*, the son of *Pul*, or *Belus*, in scripture, we know not, and therefore we must conclude, that *Pul*, and none other, was the first that was worshipped in these parts as a god^{*}, and that consequently he, who was the undoubted founder of the empires both of the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians*, and none other, was the boasted *Belus* of the latter *Babyloni-*

Pul meant by Belus.

[†] Ibid. ver. 15, 18, 19, 20, 21.

[‡] See Vol. II. p. 255.

[¶] AMBR. in Epist. ad Roman. c. 1.

^{*} See before p. 186, (W).

ans, *Phœnicians* and others, where the descendants of his family extended the dominion he had founded.

His temple.

Partly erected to him, and partly to the true god.

THIS *Belus* had a temple erected to him in the city of *Babylon*, and was revered as their primary god, he being the first founder of all the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* grandeur, and source of all the reverence and adoration claimed by his successors, both at *Babylon* and *Nineveh*. To him they erected the tower we have formerly described so famous in all ages since; though it should seem, that the honour of this tower or temple was meant to be divided between him and the true God. This building, as we have observed before, consisted of eight towers raised upon one another, and in the uppermost was a bed magnificently set forth, and a golden table near it, but no image was here^y; nor was any body suffered to be here in the night but a particular woman, who, as the priests gave out, was in an especial manner preferred by the god before all others (O). In this place they taught, that he was wont to come and repose himself^z; so that, according to this, they must have held him to have been the supreme over all, the living and self-subsisting, who either could not be represented, or would not bear such presumption in them as to offer at it. But beneath this there was another temple, where there was a gigantic image of *Jupiter*, [*Belus*] all of gold, with a table before him of the same metal; his throne was gold also, as was all the furniture about him; insomuch that the whole work was valued at 800 talents of gold^a. This, it seems, was not the only statue in this temple; for, we think, we read of another all of solid gold, and twelve cubits in height^b; but whether our author really designs to describe two distinct idols, by giving the weight of the one, and the dimensions of the other, or whether he gives the weight and dimensions above as belonging to one and the same, is not quite clear.

HOWEVER, this great *Jupiter*, who, we think, cannot possibly be any other than the great *Pul*, or *Belus*, by being thus placed in subordination, as should seem, to the great and supreme God, was exalted to the utmost height they could raise him; for by this they must, to all appearance, have

^y HERODOT. l. i. c. 180. ^a Idem ibid. c. 182. ^z Idem ibid. c. 183.

^b Idem ibid.

(O) The *Babylonians*, it is plain, must have taught of this invisible God, and attributed to him what the *Egyptians* did to their god *Cneph* (65).

(65) See Vol. I. p. 445.

implied

implied, that *Belus*, or *Pul*, divided the empire of the universe with him, and that as he was Lord above, the other was lord below ; that as the former was the God of heaven, the other was at least delegated god on earth, and invested with all power here, by the immediate appointment of the invisible ruler of all things. Thus the thing seems to have been by this account of the temple at *Babylon* (P), and as it is perfectly of a piece with their superstitious persuasions, and agreeable to what we may safely conceive concerning this their first warrior, we know not how to think otherwise; and wonder not at what has been since exaggerated, concerning the age and pre-eminence of this great *Belus*.

As there were two gods in this temple and tower, there *The two* belonged to it also two altars; they stood without, one of *altars, and* gold of a moderate size, and the other much larger; upon *the diffe-* the golden altar none but sucking victims might be sacrificed^c, *rent sacri-* and on the great one none that were not full-grown^d; *fices upon* concerning which we leave the reader to make his own con- *them.* jectures, only observing, that as it was evidently two distinct gods they sacrificed to, the golden altar seems to have been devoted to the supreme God, and the other to his subordinate *Jupiter*; for by the sucking victims they seem to have meant, that they peculiarly belonged to him as the nourisher of all things, and that the full-grown ones, being brought to the perfection he designed them, he committed them to the care and government of his vice-gerent below, who therefore had none but full-grown creatures sacrificed to him. But as here

^c Idem ibid.

^d Idem ibid.

(P) It may be disputed, whether or no the *Babylonians* did not actually mean the sun, rather than God himself. We are told, they never represented the sun, or, at least, that the *Syrians* never did (66), who derived their religion from these people, concluding it ridiculous to represent what was so gloriously conspicuous (67), and we have supposed, that they sometimes paid adoration to the sun and moon immediately (68); but it does not seem likely, that these *Babylonians* should ever give it out, that the sun himself was wont to come and repose himself upon the top of this tower, as we have seen; they never could have persuaded the people to that absurdity; so that if they had not an immediate view to the great God, in thus leaving his temple free from images, they must have designed it for the intelligence of the sun, and that may with them have amounted pretty much to the same thing.

(66) *Ses Vol. II. p. 258.*
& seq.

(67) *Ibid.*

(68) *Ibid. p. 314.*

they

they plainly sacrificed to them in distinction of each, they at other times seem to have sacrificed to them in common; for the priests reckoned, that they, every year, upon the great altar, burnt 100,000 talents of fragrant libanotus^e; this may seem to have been intended for them both, but that it may as likely have been intended as an acknowledgment from *Belus* to the God above him, might be insisted on, so far as it is possible to be certain in things of such an ambiguous nature, were we a little fonder than we are of building upon conjecture.

SUCH was the god *Belus* among the *Babylonians*, and such his temple and the rank he held in it; but that he was the inventor of the sideroal science, or of astrology, as some would have it, must not be wondered at, after what has been attributed to his daughter-in-law *Semiramis*, as we have partly seen already^g, and as we shall see farther in a more proper place. Nor must this same *Belus*, or *Baal*, be confounded with the others we read of in scripture, before the rise of the *Assyrian* empire, as the *Baal-peor* of the *Moabites*^h, the *Baal*, or *Moloch*, of the *Ammonites*ⁱ; the title signifies lord with all these people, who, and particularly all such as are said to have passed their seed through fire, meant thereby the sun, whose heat being, as it were, the life of all things, they accounted the heat of fire to be sacred; which must have been one of the first doctrines of the *Sabians* in *Chaldæa* (Q), who, as we have said, first broached this error, and communicated the same, by degrees, to the nations round about. This appears by what we read of *Abraham*, who left his country, on the other side of the *Euphrates*, for the idolatries of the land^k, and, to avoid them, came into the land of *Canaan*, where he found the sentiments and practices of men more conformable to religion and the duties we owe to God; for *Melchisedec* was then alive in *Canaan*, and stiled the priest of the most high God^l, and the people there were, for the most part, in a state of purity in matters of religion, as all the nations about must also have been^m; nay, in these days we do not find, that even *Egypt* was much, if at all, infected

^e Idem ibid. ^f PLIN. Hist. Natur. l. 6. c. 26. ^g See before p. 174. note (I). ^h See Vol. II. p. 82. ⁱ Ibid. p. 99. ^k Ibid. p. 356. & Vol. I. p. 291. not. (Y). ^l See Vol. II. p. 168. ^m See the religions of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Edomites*, &c. in Vol. II. Chap. 4.

(Q) The religion of the *Magians*, who worshipped fire, was derived from the *Sabians*, as we shall observe a little farther on in this section.

with idolatry; so that whatever the *Greeks* may pretend of the *Egyptians*, that they brought idols and false gods into fashion^p, the contrary appears by the book of *Genesis*, which sufficiently informs us, that while the country on the other side of the *Euphrates* was thoroughly polluted with all abominations, the countries on this side were as yet strangers to them. Nothing then is plainer, than that all we have said concerning the religion of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Edomites*, *Amalekites*, *Canaanites*, and *Philistines*, is only the old *Sabian* religion of the *Chaldees*; so that we shall not here need to repeat what we have so fully exhibited in the histories of those several nations.

BUT upon the building of *Babylon* by the *Assyrians*, the old religion, it seems, fell into some discredit, and especially the more inferior branches of it; nor can it well be doubted, but that if ever they had, before the days of *Pul*, deified any heroes, he must have soared above them all, who could not properly be called the gods of the *Babylonians* before the city itself was built; for as much is granted by all authors, who suppose *Belus* to have been the immediate founder of the *Assyrian* greatness, and therefore deified; but who this *Belus* was we may read in scripture^o, and be confirmed in a certainty thereof by *Ptolemy's* canon, and therefore we are not to look so far back as *Nimrod*, or any man else that lived a thousand years or more after him. Hence it may appear, that by *Bel*, or *Baal*, the *Babylonians* understood either the sun, or their founder *Pul*; but whether or no they translated him into the sun, or whether they kept their planet-worship and their hero-worship, so distinct as never to confound them with each other, may be past our solution, and a point which might draw us into a needless length.

THE deity next in order to this seems to have been the *Succoth Venus* of latter days in the west, and that she was no other *Benoth*, than the goddess *Astarte* of the *Phœnicians*, may be gathered most evidently from what is to follow. *Succoth Benoth* an *Venus*. is mentioned as an idol of the *Babylonians*^p, though it was apparently rather the shrine, or shrines of an idol belonging to some deity we have since translated into the lascivious goddess *Venus*, for the import of the word is, the tabernacles of *Benoth*, or, the tabernacles of the daughters^q, though there are those who render them, a tabernacle of wings^r, and suppose the idol itself to have been represented as a hen brooding

ⁿ See Vol. I. p. 443.

^o See before p. 186, not. (W)

^p 2 Kings xvii. 30. ^q Vid. SELDEN de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 7. ^r KIMCHI & JARCHI, apud eund. ibid.

The derivation of the name of Venus.

over her chickens, and that she was designed in honour of the constellation, called vulgarly, *the hen and chickens*, but more learnedly the *Pleiades*; but this a dream seemingly. It is more likely, that these tabernacles of the daughters were for *Venus*, whom the *Babylonians* called *Myllitta*, signifying *Genetrix*, or *Mother*, or *Urania*, as the *Greeks* will have it, and to this goddess, the daughters of the country, or the women, were, once in their life-time, bound to make a sacrifice of their modesty and virtue, a practice which will be found among the customs of this people. And hence it is, that a very learned author gathers her not only to have been our *Venus*, but hence it is also, that he derives the very name itself from *Benoth*, by changing the *B* for a *V*, and the *Theta* for a *Sigma*, whence you will have *Venos* (R). This seems partly confirmed by an author, who seems to call her *Binos* ^a; but particularly by what we are told of a city in *Africa*, called *Siaca Venerea* ^w, a name which seems to have been transported from *Phœnice*, and evidently formed from this *Siccoth*, or *Succoth*, *Benoth*; and where there was a temple, where women were obliged to purchase their marriage-money by the prostitution of their bodies ^x. Her temples seem to have been fixed at this place, and at *Aphas* ^y, and at *Babylon* ^z, and may likewise have been erected at other places; but for the convenience of such as had not such a building dedicated among them, the priests seem to have taken them into their consideration, and to have carried small tabernacles, or models of the several temples, upon their shoulders, for the public emolument and their own gain for their labour.

Both masculine and feminine.

THIS god, or goddess, for she is understood to have been both *Mars* and *Venus*, though here placed second to *Belus*, is generally understood to have been of much greater antiquity than the times we are sure he lived in; but this is upon a supposition, that the prophane historians, poets, and mythologists are not out in the length of their computations, and hence you have an argument of her antiquity deduced from

^f HERODOT. l. 1. c. 131. ⁱ SELDEN de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 7. ^u SUIDAS, ad vocem. ^w VALER. MAXIM. l. 2. c. 6. ^x Idem ibid. ^y See Vol. II. p. 311. not. (N). ^z HERODOT. l. 1. c. 199.

(R) *Vossius* (69) subscribes to this. *Beyer*, in his additamenta to *Selden*, disputes it, though with no great strength of argument.

(69) *De Idololat.*

the words of *Æschylus*^a, who calls *Phœnicia* the land of *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*, to which the scholiast subjoins, that so it was called, because it was sacred to her on the account of *Byblus* and *Libanus*, where stood her temple at *Aphac*^b; but this may be no very great argument to prove it; for if the *Assyrians*, whence the *Phœnicians* had her, are not so very antient as pretended, this deity must be deprived of the veneration conceived for it on account of its years. Though the date of this idol will not much depend upon the rise of the *Assyrian*, or *Babylonian* empire, if it was a star they meant by this *Venus*; for we have already observed, that the *Chaldees*, as they are called, worshipped the stars by images before they consecrated the *Assyrian Belus*, or perhaps any other mortal man; so that it may be worth the while just to enquire, whether or no this idol was really designed to represent some star from among the host of heaven, or some woman who may have been preferred to deification, for reasons, in those days, thought meritorious? or whether, as in the case of *Baal*, both a planet and a person may have been intended, and reciprocally translated into each other?

WE have seen, by some parallel circumstances, that she was, to all appearance, the same with the *Phœnician Astarte*, and we shall produce several others, to confirm the same, in the course of this subject. In the mean time, to begin with this *Benoth*, from whom the whole tribe of great goddesses seem to be derived; She is called the celestial *Venus*, and said to have been first of all worshipped by the *Assyrians*^c, whereby, though our author, it is more likely, means the *Syrians*, properly so called, we shall plainly discover, that the former were the first authors of this worship, and transmitted it to the latter. This goddess was of both sexes, and accordingly it was the custom to worship her sometimes in the habit of a man, and sometimes in the habit of a woman^d, the men and women mutually changing dresses with each other^e, whence it is supposed, that *Moses* forbids *the woman to wear what pertaineth to the man, or a man to put on a woman's garment*. According to this, the worship of this planet, or idol, must have been of very antient date; and that the words of the text before us, are meant of this mode of worshipping, is understood by *Maimonides*^f who observes that in the book of magic, composed by one *Centir*, as he is

A rite in the worship of the Assyrian or Babylonian Venus.

^a In Supplicib. SAN. in Attic.
^c Vid. eund. ibid. part III. c. 38.

^b See Vol. II. p. 311, note, (N).

^c PAU-

^d Vid. SEIDEN de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 4.

^e Deuteron. xxii. 5.

^f In More Nevoch.

corruptly ^h called, it is written, that a man should put on the flowered garments of a woman, when he stood before the star called *Venus*, and that a woman should put on the arms and armour of a man, when she stood before the star called *Mars* ⁱ; and hence the *Assyrian* priests are said ^k to have been unfit to wait on the goddess *Venus*, except they effeminated their countenance, and assumed all the softness and dress of a woman. And hence a *Greek* author ^l, who calls her the moon, says, that the men sacrificed to her in the habit of a woman, and the women in the habit of a man, and the reason, because she was both masculine and feminine; whereby it is plain, that it is this *Assyrian Venus* he means, though, being translated into *Greece*, he may not exactly have meant the same. That this *Uranian* or celestial *Venus* of the *Assyrians* was the moon, cannot be doubted, by the rank she holds next to *Bel*, or the sun; and that she was so, will be immediately seen by what we certainly know of her, under other names; and that she was of both sexes, will appear as plain by the same evidence. For to bring her nearer to us, we shall find she was the same with the *Syrian* goddess.

She is the
same with
the great
Syrian goddess.

THIS *Syrian* goddess, as we have her described to us, and by her rites, was no other than the celestial *Venus* of the *Assyrians*. She was called *Juno*, and the statue of her was contrived so as to partake of *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Luna*, *Rhea*, *Diana*, *Nemesis*, and the *Destinies*, as if she included them all, and that so she did has been sufficiently proved by very great men ^m. She was drawn, or supported, by lions, she had rays on her head, and a tower, and was girt with the cestus, or girdle of the celestial *Venus* ⁿ, and as she was contrived to be the source of all idolatry, in honour of the female sex; so we find her to have been equally honoured by *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Ethiopians*, *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Babylonians* ^o, who all came in pilgrimage to this mighty goddess of *Hierapolis*, or the *Holy City*, which, in this respect, seems to have succeeded the city of *Babylon*, whence she had been chased by the *Persians*. Her eunuch priests, who took on them the habit and offices of women ^p, declare her to have been one and the same with the *Assyrian Mylitta*; and the *Babylonians*, who, among others, are said to have paid liberal contributions to her, abundantly confirm it.

^h Vid. SELDEN, ubi sup. ⁱ MAIMONID. ubi sup. ^k JUL. FIRMIC. C. 4. ^l PHILOCHOR. apud MAGROB. Saturnal. l. 3. c. 8. ^m Vid. LIL. GYRALD. de Diis Gent. SELDEN, de Diis Syr. Voss. de Idololat. ⁿ See Vol. II. p. 258. ^o Ibid. p. 260. ^p Ibid.

IF then it appears, that this great Syrian goddess was no *She is the* other than the celestial *Venus* of the *Affyrians*, the same will *same with* as evidently appear of the *Phœnician Astarte*. We have *the Astarte* seen her the *Queen of heaven*^a, the *Moon, Lucifer, Juno, of the Phœ-* *Venus, Minerva, and Io*^r, and married to an *Affyrian*^r. *Phœ-* *nicians*. We have seen her the lustful goddess^r, and the warlike deity^a, and accordingly adressed to under both sexes; nor need we cite the monstrous effeminacies of the men at *Aphac*^w, or the impudent and mercenary prostitution of the women at *Byblus*^z, to prove, that the one is in general a very faithful copy of the other; for as to the prostitution of the women in particular, it must be confessed to owe its origin to an infamous custom, among the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians*, to be mentioned hereafter.

NOR shall we find, that the *Atargatis*, or *Der.ceto*^r of *She is the* the proper *Palestine* in general, or of *Ascalon* in particular, was *same with* any other than the *Babylonian* or *Affyrian Venus*. For al- *Derceto of* though she is made distinct from the great *Venus*, and is said *Ascalon*. to have undergone her displeasure, and in consequence of that to have suffered a metamorphosis into a fish^z; the worship that was paid to that animal, under the eye of the great goddess at *Hierapolis*, declares her to have been the same; and this is not conjecture only, for *Atargatis* is said to have been worshipped at *Hierapolis*, by a very judicious author^z, who, in so saying, most evidently confounds her with the *Syrian* goddess, and makes them one and the same. Nor is he single in this, for others^b do the same, and particularly one^c, who calls her the mother of the gods, and *Astarte*, and the *Hierapolitan*, or *Affyrian* goddess. In short, *Atargatis* was also *Venus*, and *Juno*, and *Minerva*, and the *Syrian* goddess^d, and consequently the celestial *Venus* of the *Affyrians*. That she must, at the same time, have been *Astarte*, we need not say; but that we may depend as little upon probability as we can, we have an author^e who says, that the *Syrians* abstained from fish, in regard to the rites of *Astarte*; so that we see her the same goddess transported from the banks of the *Euphrates*, into which she is said first to have plunged herself, to

^a Ibid. p. 309. ^r Ibid. p. 310, (L). ^r Ibid. p. 309, note (K). ^r Ibid. p. 316. ^z Ibid. p. 310, not. (M). ^w Ibid. p. 316. ^z Ibid. p. 315. ^r Ibid. p. 158. ^z Ibid. ^a STRABO, l. 16. p. 748. ^b PLIN. Hist. Natur. l. 5. c. 23. ^c MACROB. in Saturn. l. 1. c. 23. ^d Vid. SELDEN, ubi supr. ^e ARTEMIDOR. apud eund. ibid.

escape the fury of the inexorable *Typhon*^f (S); and but just varied so as to give each particular country the honour of having an original of its own. So the *Syrians*, who seem to have received her first, and were nearest to the place of her native abode, preserved her, it is likely, in the most genuine form; the *Phœnicians*, who were next, altered her no farther than to make her a *Phœnician*; and the *Philistines*, or *Ascalonites*, who were a little farther off, that they might make her their own also, turn her into a monster, woman upwards and fish downwards^g, and rather than not have her their own, are willing to allow her to have been in subordination to some other goddess, who had power over her to the degree of chastising her by a change from her first shape^h.

It appears then, that all this adoration to this various goddess came from *Affyria* and *Babylonia*, and that it was established in these countries by the prevailing might of those two potent empires, who successively subjugated all these parts; and while they flourished, it is likely, they maintained a strict uniformity of worship and tradition among them; but these empires being abolished by the *Persians*, who had an aversion to all this *Sabianism*, each of them forgetful of the source whence they derived their superstitions, claimed them as peculiar to themselves, and new modelled them accordingly.

Is worship-
ped as Se-
miramis.

AND now it may not be amiss to inquire, how far the tradition of *Semiramis* quadrates with what we are told of this goddess; as also, whether or no we cannot from thence make it out, that she, as well as the moon, the earth, or any other subject, may have been adored as the celestial *Venus*, or *Syrian* goddess. Her presence in the temple at *Hierapolis*ⁱ is as strong an argument as any, that the superstition there migrated from *Babylon*; and her inferior degree^k there, will argue nothing against her original superiority, if it be remembred, that this temple was rebuilt by *Stratonice*^l the wife of *Antiochus Soter*, who may have had some pique to the memory of *Semiramis*, whom she may have remembred with envy, and therefore resolved to degrade her; if it may not rather be attributed to the senseless caprice, or some strange

^f MANIL. Astronom. iv. ^g See before, p. 158. and in the notes, *ibid.* ^h See before, *ibid.* ⁱ See Vol. II. p. 258.
^k *Ibid.* p. 260. ^l See Vol. II. p. 310, note (M).

(S) We see here *Typhon* introduced into the *Babylonian* mythology, though he was an *Egyptian*; but we may perceive by some parallel circumstances, that there was no very wide difference between the religions of the two nations.

inconsistence

inconsistence with relation to this *Affyrian* heroine, whom they might some how or other, and in some cases, make inferior to herself. These are points not for us to dive into.

THUS much is certain, we shall in the tradition of *Semiramis* find so many circumstances to make us believe she was worshipped as the supreme goddess of the *Babylonians*, that few will hesitate, perhaps a moment to be of this opinion. We have seen her born of a goddess at *Ascalon*^m, who, for the shame of conceiving her, plunged herself into a lake, and became a fishⁿ; and hence fish are said to have been worshipped, though indeed not so much upon her own account, as should seem, as on account of her mother *Derceto*, or *Atargatis*, who underwent this transformation. We have seen her miraculously fed by doves or pigeons in a desert^o, and hence that bird became sacred; hence it should seem, and from other fabulous circumstances it is, that you have the *dove from the land of Affyria*^p. We have seen it predicted, that she should not die, but vanish from the sight of men, and obtain divine honours from the *Asiatic* nations^q. We have seen it was pretended, that she made her exit in the form of a dove, and that she went off attended by a flight of them^r; and hence another reason is given why the dove became sacred. We have seen her the abandoned prostitute^s, and the martial heroine^t; and hence she may have been the celestial *Venus* adored under both sexes, and the *Phœnician Astarte*, now painted in arms^u, and now represented as the patroness of lewdness and effeminacy^w. In short, we have seen her the first that made eunuchs^x; and hence we may have the origin of the eunuch priests, or *Galli*, who attended upon the *Syrian* goddess^y; which was certainly more the case than what is pretended in the idle story of *Combabus* and *Stratonice*^z, who, being wife to one of the *Seleucidæ*, lived some hundreds of years after *Semiramis*, and who, as we have suggested above, may have affected to raise herself upon the depression of this great *Babylonian* queen, who is said even to have first built the temple at *Hierapolis*^a, which though it is certainly false, may yet argue the tradition to have been, that she was meant by the celestial *Venus*, or the *Syrian* goddess, and that so she was must appear still further, by her be-

^m See before, p. 158.

ⁿ Ibid.

^o See before, p. 158, 159.

^p See before in the notes, p. 159. ^q See before, p. 169.

See before, p. 174.

^r See before, p. 168.

^s See before, p. 162.

^t See Vol. II. p. 315, 316.

^u Ibid.

^x See before,

p. 174, at the end of note (H).

^y See Vol. II. p. 260.

^z Ibid.

^a Vid. Voss. de idololatr. l. 2. p. 308.

ing directly called *Rhea*^b, *Nemesis*^c, and the like, if there could be any necessity further to inculcate this opinion, after such variety of corroborating evidence.

UPON the whole, we think it self-evident to conclude, that the celestial *Venus* of the *Affyrians*, the *Astarte* of the *Phœnicians*, and the *Derceto*, or *Atargatis* of the latter *Philistines* were all derived from *Semiramis*, or whatever else her true name was, the first *Babylonian* foundress; who seems to have been translated into the bright and various *Queen of Heaven*, the moon; as *Belus*, or *Pul*, the first *Affyrian* monarch, was into the sun; and that whatever the mythologists and allegoricians may pretend by explaining all this worship into an adoration of the universe, or nature, or the earth, or any other element, which is what we are very ready to grant them, and what we may professedly treat of in the mythology of the *Greeks*, as we have partly already in the theology of the *Egyptians*^d; yet nothing is more certain, than that all the *Jupiters* and *Juno's*, and the rest who are supposed to have been once mortal, or conversant here on earth, are all derived from this source, and that on this *Affyrian* or *Babylonian* foundation the whole superstructure of the *Greek* polytheism and idolatry was raised. For the *Greeks* had their religion from the *Phœnicians* partly, and partly from the *Egyptians*, who had theirs originally from the banks of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, as may be pretty clearly gathered from the apparent religious state of the countries on this and that side of the *Euphrates* in the days of *Abraham*, as we have hinted before. The *Egyptians* seem in time, indeed, to have erected a system of their own, though not very widely different from the *Babylonian*, as any body that will compare them together will at the first glance perceive. The *Phœnicians*, who had equally communication with the two nations, seem to have mixed the variations in each together, and we have plainly seen, that they worshipped what the *Babylonians* worshipped, what had been imposed on them by the tyranny of that empire; in short, *Astarte*, who, as we have proved as plain as things of this nature can be proved, was the celestial *Venus* of the *Babylonians*, was also as plain the *Egyptian* goddess *Isis*^e. And indeed there was hardly any difference as to the main points between the religion of those two great and antient nations, who being in constant rivalry with each other,

^b See before in the notes, p. 175.
animadvers.
note (H).

^d See Vol. I. p. 445, & seq.

^c Vid. Jos. SCALIG. in
^e Vol. II. p. 309,

and emulous of surpassing each other, you thence have the seeming differences between them in religious matters, the *Egyptians* particularly contending the honour of antiquity * and sanctity with the *Babylonians*, though by the *Mosaic* history they must yield to these last ; nor is there any discrepancy between their great and favourite gods, but barely in the names they have conferred on them, to evince them reciprocally their own. Nor is there any thing plainer than that there was, in the main, a perfect uniformity between all the nations on both sides of the *Euphrates*, as to the fundamentals of their religion ; and consequently, if we fix the place whence they were branched, which we think we have done, we have, at the same time, a clue at hand to guide us through the immense labyrinth of heathenism and idolatry : But for want of this certain stand to take the survey from ; for want of a due attention to the natural progress of idolatry, but especially by not accommodating the fabulous writings of prophane writers to the tenor of scripture, which plainly points out to us, who were the first great *Affyrians* or *Babylonians* that were deified and translated ; our mythologists have rambled backwards to *Noah*, and *Nimrod*, and the whole tribe of the postdiluvian patriarchs, to discover in them what is designed more particularly for mortal men, who lived many and many ages after them ; whereby they have most strangely perplexed this part of learning, which would be full intricate enough without this help towards making it the more so, and, what is worse, have cast an impenetrable mist upon the first days of prophane history, which most certainly is fabulous, and quite so, if we make a very few exceptions, till about the first rise of the *Babylonian* empire, in the reign of *Josiah* king of *Judah*. For not only the art or method of writing a regular history was not discovered, or at least practised, as should seem, till the days of *Herodotus*, who lived in about the middle of the *Persian* empire ; but the gods of all these nations being supposed to have been once mere men, and no more, the priests and others had no way to derive a depth of veneration for them, but by making them antient and fabulous, and by that means removing them as far as possible from the then race of mankind. If we had no other instance of this than *Sancho-niatho's* *Phœnician* history †, it would be abundantly sufficient to justify us in what we say ; and if we had no other example of this affectation than that of the *Syrians* in the days of *Josephus*, who, in those days boasted of the antiquity of their

* See Vol. I. p. 187, & seq. † Ibid. p. 174.

Adad not
properly a
Babylonian deity.

great god *Adad*, who was one of their deified kings⁸, who, at most did not live above 901 years before Christ⁹; it might be deemed enough, for our purpose. And here we cannot but note a common inaccuracy, even in the most learned, who, inattentive to the history of the antient empire of *Syria*, suppose this *Adad* to have been an *Affyrian* or *Babylonian* deity¹, and only, as should seem, because he is in prophane authors called an *Affyrian*, forgetting, that the name of *Affyria* extended itself over all *Syria* and the adjacent parts². He was then, to all appearance, no *Babylonian* deity, but one who had been translated into the heavens by the antient *Syrians*, and, as should seem, revived again after the destruction of the *Babylonian* empire, whose new gods must have brought him into discredit³, not only as having proved too weak for the gods of the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians*, but also as being a stranger to the people transplanted into these parts⁴, in the room of the first inhabitants, by the successors of *Pul*; though some how or other received again into veneration, as we have observed before⁵. However, *Adad* was also the sun as well as *Bel*, or *Baal*, *Osiris* and others. And this is what we have thought necessary to premise preparatorily to what we shall hereafter have to say of the *Greek* mythology, and which we have on purpose deferred, till we came to this place, as the most proper for a research of this nature.

Fishes and
doves wor-
shipped,
and
whence.

To return to our celestial *Venus*, or *Syrian* goddess, or *Astarte*, or *Derceto*, or *Semiramis*, we find, that fishes⁶ and doves⁷ were peculiarly sacred to her; and whence this superstition took birth we have partly seen in the metamorphosis of *Derceto*⁸, and the birth, education, and apotheosis of *Semiramis*⁹, and we have seen, that both at *Ascalon*¹⁰ and *Hierapolis*¹¹ they were equally revered; so that they may well deserve to be considered as deities with this people, and are seemingly so allied to this great and multiplied goddess, that though we have some other deities of this nation, who may deserve to take place of them, we have not been able to separate them from their great mistress. As for fishes in particu-

⁸ See Vol. II. p. 285 (X), & p. 310 (K). ⁹ Ibid. p. 275 in the margin. ¹ Vid. LYL. GYRALD. Hist. Deor. SELDEN, de Diis. Syris. VOETIUS, de Idololatr. ² See before, p. 123, (B). ³ See Vol. II. p. 255. & seq. ⁴ See before, p. 191, note (D). ⁵ See before in the notes, p. 234, (M). ⁶ See before, p. 133. ⁷ See before, ibid. ⁸ See before, p. 158. ⁹ See before, p. 174. ¹⁰ See before, p. 158. ¹¹ See Vol. II. p. 257, & seq.

lar, they are said to have been revered by the *Syrians*, or the *Affyrians* rather, not only on account of the metamorphosis above ^w, but also because they were said to have saved one *Derce*, [*Derceto*] a daughter to *Venus*, who happened to fall into the sea ^w, or because she took refuge among the fish when she fled from *Typhon* ^z. It is said, that *Venus* and *Cupid* being in *Syria* on the banks of the *Euphrates*, the giant *Typhon* came suddenly upon them, and made them jump into the river, and take on them the form of fishes to save themselves ^y; in short, *Venus* and *Cupid* are said to have been translated into the zodiacal sign called *Pisces* ^z; such were the reasons given why they not only abstained from fish, but worshipped them likewise. As for doves, they seem to have been worshipped as symbols only of lust and fondness, which made up part of their goddess's character (T); but of these we have said enough in this place ^a.

Salambo, as she is called ^b, was also a goddess of the *Affyrians* or *Babylonians*, and is plainly *Astarte*, or any other of the goddesses whom we have shewn to have been the same with her; but we particularly mention *Astarte*, because this *Salambo*, or *Salambas*, is said to have been a demon, or goddess, who was eternally roaming up and down, and mourning her lost *Adonis* ^c, so that we need add nothing farther concerning her. Salambo:

Shach, *Saca*, or *Seshach*, is another god, or goddess, of the *Babylonians*, as usually reckoned ^d, and supposed to have been the earth, and to have been the same the *Romans* after- Sheshach.

^w See before, p. 158. ^w THEON. apud GYRALD. Hist. Deor. Syntagm. 1. p. 85. ^x MANIL. ubi sup. ^y DIOGENET. apud HYGIN. in Astronom. ^z Vid. VOSS. de Idolol. 1. 2. p. 254. ^a See before, p. 133, 159, note (P), & p. 174, note (I). ^b HESYCH. apud SELDEN, & Alios, Etymol. Magn. ad vocem. ^c Etymol. Magn. ibid. ^d Vid. VOSS. SELDEN, &c.

(T) This goddess is said to have been produced from a vast egg, which being rolled out of the water by the fish of the *Euphrates*, was hatched by a dove who sat thereon (70). This must be the primigenial egg, mentioned by *Helladius* (71); and according to this, our great goddess must have been the fabulous *Oannes* (72), concerning which we have nothing to repeat. To animadvert upon so strange an inconsistency, as this seems to have been, or to attempt to reconcile the *Affyrian* goddess into the same with *Oannes*, may be a fruitless task.

(70) Nigid. apud VOSS. de Idolol. 1. 2. p. 254. (71) See Vol. I. p. 184. (72) Ibid.

wards worshipped under the names of *Tellus* and *Ops* ^e, and it so, she was partly the same with *Mylitta*, or the *Syrian* goddess, whom we have already seen under the title of *Rhea*, and the mother of the gods ^f, in whom all these titles and imaginary deities are said plainly to have centered. However, there is some doubt, whether or no she may not be more properly a *Persian* goddess than a *Babylonian*; though that she was the latter, may appear to satisfaction from the prophet ^h; who calls *Babylon* the land of *Sheshach*, before the *Persians* arose to any thing like the height they afterwards did; and at a time when *Babylon*, to all appearance, had disdained to have received any thing of this nature from them. In commemoration of this goddess, the *Babylonians* were wont to celebrate a festival for several days together, which we shall take notice of among the customs of this people, and which confessedly gave birth to the *Saturnalia* at *Rome*.

Nebo.

Nebo, or *Nabo*, was also an *Affyrian* or *Babylonian* deity ⁱ, and his name is often compounded in those of the *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* kings ^k: he therefore may be concluded to have once been in high account with them, and bids fair to have been one of their most antient gods. He is thought to have been the *Chemosh*, or the *Baal-peor*, of the *Moabites*, and accordingly we have formerly mentioned him in the religion of *Moab* ^l, and said almost as much of him as we know. However, we have to add, that by the prophet he is joined with *Bel* ^m, and supposed generally to have been the sun; and therefore may have been prior to this latter, whom we have asserted to have been the deified *Pul*, the first *Affyrian* ⁿ, who may, by the vicissitude of things, have taken place of him; though there are others who are of another mind, and conceive, that by their being joined together, we are rather to understand him to have been designed for the moon ^o, *Bel* being, for certain, known to have stood for the sun, concluding it to be a senseless tautology to mention the same deity, at the same time under different names; so that, instead of supposing him to have been one with *Bel*, we are rather to conclude him to have been the same with *Mylitta* the great goddess; but this may appear a weak argument to those who perceive how apt these people, and all that followed them, were to multiply

^e WILLET upon Dan. i. 16. ^f See before p. 284, & seq. ^g Vid. SELDEN, de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. ^h Jerem. xxv. 26. to 41. ⁱ Isai. xlv. 1. ^k See before, p. 143. ^l See Vol. II. p. 84. ^m Isai. ubi sup. ⁿ See before, p. 186, note (W). ^o Vid. Voss. de Idololat.

one and the same god into many; and especially if it be recollected, by what steps sabianism or idolatry advanced among these apparently first founders of it, and how, by degrees, it began from the host of heaven till it degenerated, if we may use the expression, into the adoration of men; till a full stop seems to have been put to this practice, in honour of the great *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* family, who must, for very strong reasons suggested formerly ^p, have eclipsed all that went before them; so that nothing need prevent our supposing *Nebo* to have been worshipped as the sun before the rise of *Pul*, to whom he may, according to the fantastic theology of this people, have been accounted inferior afterwards. This *Nebo* seems to have been famous as an oracle, his name being interpreted as signifying prophecy or divination ^q; but all this, and whatever else may be advanced concerning him, is too palpably obscure for us to dilate on; all we know for certain, is that he was some god of the *Babylonians*.

HOWEVER, if true it be that he was the same with *Che- mosb*, or *Baal-peor*, or *Phegor*, and if what is said of the ob- scene rites of this god ^r be just, we have a seeming reason to assert, that the famous, or, as the common tradition goes, infamous *Sardanapalus* took the place of this shameless idol, in the latter days of the *Affyrian* family; and that, to all appearance, the *Babylonians* converted him into this god, when they destroyed the city of *Nineveh*, and extirpated the kings there. For that he was a god of theirs is evident enough, by the place given him in the same temple with the *Babylonian Venus* at *Hierapolis*, the *Holy City* ^s. We find him there in a particular habit and attitude ^t, but whether or no this attitude was the same we have formerly mentioned ^u, it is certain, that by the traditionary character of him ^w, and as it is likely, that all the kings of *Affyria* to a man were deified after their death, he may very well have served for a god of beastliness and sensuality. And this is plainly understood by the common way of spelling his name, for the most part in antient manuscripts, which write him *Sardanapallus* with a double L ^x, and seemingly with an obscene intention, for *Phallus*, or *Pallus*, signifies the privities of a man; and hence *Cicero* pronounces ^y, he was not more odious for his character than this name; and the *Priap* which stood near him ^z, in

Sardana-
palus.

^p See before in the preceding chapter, *passim*. ^q *HIERONYM.*
in *Esai.* in loc. *supr.* citat. ^r See Vol. II. p. 82. ^s *Ibid.* p.
259. ^t *Ibid.* ^u See before, p. 179, note (O). ^w See be-
fore p. 178, 179. ^x *Vid. Jos. SCALIG. Animadvers. ad Græc.*
EUSEB. p. 64. ^y *De Repub.* l. iii. ^z See Vol. II. p. 257.

the temple of *Hierapolis*, may have been intended for him ; for as there were confessedly two statues of *Semiramis* in this temple ^a, the same may have been with regard to *Sardanapallus*, as we will for this once write him.

Rach. OTHER gods the *Babylonians* and *Affyrians* had, as *Rach* ^b, who is generally thought to have been intended for the sun, and therefore we may class him under the great *Pul*, or *Belus*, who, as we have seen, was substituted for the same. But a dispute may take place, whether or no he was a deified man or some intelligence, as for example, that of the sun ; and if this latter be the case, he must be removed higher up, as he must have been much more antient than *Belus*. This we leave to the reader, for there is nothing particular besides related of him.

Nego, and Nergal. *Nego* ^c and *Nergal* ^d were also gods of this people, if they were not one and the same ; but as they are generally agreed to have been worshipped as fire, we forbear further mention of them, till we come to the religion of the *Magians*.

Merodach *Merodach* ^e also was a god at *Babylon* ; but who or what he was, is quite in the dark to us,

IN a word, we may call in the gods of the several nations, whose histories precede in this work, to complete the list of the *Babylonian* idols ; for they are confessedly sprung from the city of *Babylon* ; and hence it is, that *Maimonides*, in speaking of the death of *Thammuz*, who was slain a martyr to the *Sabian* religion, relates, That all the idols of the world flew to the great temple of the sun at *Babylon*, and there mourned the death of *Thammuz* ^f ; so that we shall not here need to repeat what we have spoken so largely to already.

THUS we have seen, that the great *Jupiters*, and other gods and goddesses of mortal origin, are to be derived from the banks of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, and that instead of being so antient as mythologists and historians make them, they began not above 771 years before the birth of Christ among the *Affyrians*, who first erected themselves into what we call a monarchy ; as is by all confessed, though falsely, for the most part, related.

THE *Sabians*, as well as the *Magians*, had a veneration for fire, and therefore we might here consider them in that light, did we not reserve that subject for the section where we shall speak of the *Magian* religion, in the history of the *Persians*.

Fire wor-
ship.

^a Ibid. p. 258. ^b Vid. WILLET ubi sup. SELD. de Diis Syr. Syntagm. II. c. 17. ^c Vid. Eosd. ibid. ^d See before, p. 132. ^e Ibid. p. 143. ^f See Vol. II. p. 318.

THE story of *Bel* and the *Dragon* ^g might here claim to be considered, were we not assured that the whole is spurious. We have therefore only to add, that by the *Dragon* here we should understand a *Serpent*, or *Asp* ^h, which the *Babylonians* used as the symbol of God, for which they had several reasons to give, as that this creature without the assistance of limbs, and by a kind of vertue or power latent within himself, could not only move ⁱ at a considerable rate, but also wind and turn himself into various forms; that he lived to a great age, and, as it were, renewed his life with his coat every year; and that the acuteness of his sight might aptly enough qualifie him to represent divine providence, or God ^k. Other reasons were given for this serpent-worship both by the *Babylonians* and the *Egyptians*, but we waive them, and shall only observe, that these same people revered the same reptile as the symbol of health and of prudence, not forgetting also, that they made him the emblem of fraud ^l.

As the *Babylonians* were hardly at all different in religion from the *Egyptians*, but in many articles concurred with them, and particularly in the adoration they paid to fishes ^m, so in other points of worship they were the same with each other. The goat they worshipped as well as the *Mendesians* ⁿ in *Egypt*, and for the same reasons; and the onion, as mean an object as it may seem, was considered with a religious esteem by both the nations ^o, and for a reason, it is most likely, we have already given ^p.

Worship a goat.

THEIR god *Thurra*s, *Thourias*, or *Mars*, we have spoken to already ^q; and now refer the reader for the religious rites and ceremonies of this people, besides what we have observed here, and shall relate hereafter, to what we have said of the kind in the religion of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Canaanites*, *Syrians*, *Phœnicians* and *Assyrians*.

WE have a general view given us of their temples, their idols, and their priests, in the epistle of *Jeremy* ^r. Their idols were of gold, and silver, and wood, and carried about in procession, with multitudes attending them before and behind, and worshipping them. They were crowned, and cloathed in purple, and besmeared with the smoke of incense, though they were carefully wiped and cloathed as they wanted it. Their temples were full of smoke and dust,

Their temples, idols, & priests.

^g In the Apocrypha. ^h See Vol. I. p. 457. ⁱ Ibid. ^k Vid. Voss. de Idololatr. l. 9. p. 233. ^l Vid. eund. ibid. ^m See Vol. I. p. 446. ⁿ Ibid. p. 453. ^o ALEXAND. ab ALEXAND. l. 6. ^p See Vol. I. p. 460. ^q See before, p. 175, note (K). ^r BARUCH vi. *passim*.

raised and caused by the numerous resort of votaries ; and their priests took care of themselves. They would sometimes make free with the gold and silver presented to their gods, and either keep it for themselves, or bestow it upon lewd prostitutes, who were accounted sacred. Whatever was offered a sacrifice to their gods, they were wont to embezzle, and appropriate to themselves, and cloath their wives and children with the garments that had been given to adorn their idols. In return for this, they were sure to light up numbers of tapers and candles to their images, and to sit in the temples with their beards and their heads close shaven, and uncovered, and with garments rent and torn, and roaring and crying out before their gods, as for the lamentation of some person deceased ; and finally, that their gods and temples might be in no danger of the spoiler, they were sure to lock and bar them up with great care. Such was the corruption and degeneracy of this people, and such their practice, which must have had a very bad effect on their morals, as will appear in the sequel. In the mean time,

*Human
victims.*

THE *Babylonians* having given rise to all the idolatries and superstitions in vogue among the neighbouring nations, we must charge them with the horrible custom of sacrificing human victims to appease or conciliate their god or gods. That this must have been an antient custom with all these people, we have sometimes as good as asserted, in what we have said of them in their religious capacity ; and that it took birth among the *Babylonians*, must be as readily granted, as that they communicated the rest of their superstitions to all their neighbours about. That this was a practice, in early days, in *Mesopotamia* and *Babylonia*, may appear by the attempt *Abraham* made to sacrifice *Isaac*[†], for he came from those parts ; and though he is abundantly to be justified in that attempt, it is seemingly plain that the thing was familiar to him ; But if we had no other proof of it than in *Jephthah*, who, as the story is commonly taken, actually made a victim of his only daughter[‡], that would be sufficient to charge the deed upon the nations of those early times. This custom, however, grew so shocking to human nature, that the priests seem to have been unable to maintain it long in credit, and by degrees it came to be disused, and seems, in the latter days, at least, of the *Babylonians*, to have been confined to a particular sect or tribe. For the *Sepharvites* are said by way of distinction from the other *Babylonians*, to have burnt their

[†] See Vol. II. p. 375.

[‡] See Vol. III. p. 468.

children

children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim^u. Who these two gods were, we have seen already^w, and that these *Sepharvites* were *Babylonians*, properly so called, appears very plainly, if we can, with the most learned geographers, agree, that their city was that of *Sippara* in *Ptolemy*. However, there are traces of this ancient cruelty to be discerned in the worship and rites of the *Syrian*, or rather *Assyrian* goddess, at *Hierapolis*, to whom they without remorse made away with their children, by precipitating them down a steep at her temple^x; which is all we need say about it.

To enter into the allegory of all this worship and deification, is what we have above professed to avoid; for the present, and indeed for the future, we shall have no great matter to add to the subject, which we have in general treated already. In the history of the *Egyptians*^y we have already declared almost as much as is known, as to the intent and meaning of all this idolatry in a physical or natural view; nor could we expatiate thereon here without a direct repetition of what goes before. We need only observe, that if the *Babylonians*, and others after them, made gods of the sun, the moon, or any other luminary; that if they extended their view to the whole system of nature in the worship they paid to their great deities, or if by them they meant the earth itself, the air, or any other element or created being of any sort or degree, the whole must be attributed to a kind of mistaken gratitude at first for benefits received (V), which at length degenerated into

^u 2 Kings xvii. 31. ^w See before, p. 132, & Vol. I. p. 99. ^x See Vol. II. p. 262. ^y See Vol. I. p. 443, & seq.

(V) Sir *John Maundeville* (73) has so judiciously summed up the history and progress of idolatry, that, for the curiosity of it, we cannot, though somewhat long, but present it to the reader, in his own words: speaking of a people in *India*, he says, "Summe of hem worships the sonne, summe the mone, summe the fuyr, summe trees, summe serpentes, or the first thing that thei meten at morwen; and summe worshipen symulacres, and summe ydoles. But betwene symulacres and ydoles is a gret difference. For symulacres ben ymages made afre lyknesse of men, or of wommen, or of the sonne, or of the mone, or of ony best, or of ony kyndely thing: and ydoles is an ymage made of the lewed wille of man, that a man may not finden among kyndely things; as an ymage, that hathe four hedes, on of a

(73) *Voyage and Travels*, c. 15. p. 198.

that

into every thing that was bad and stupid ; and this shall suffice for the present to have said concerning idolatry, and less than this

“ man, another of an hors; or of an ox, or of sum other best,
 “ that no man hathe seyn afre kyndely disposicioun. And thei
 “ that worschipen symulacres, thei worschipen hem for sum worthi
 “ man, that was sum tyme, as *Hercules* and many othere, that diden
 “ many marvayles in here tyme. For thei seyn wel, that this be not
 “ goddes : for thei knowen wel, that there is a god of kynde, that
 “ made all thinges ; the whiche is in hevене. But thei knowen wel,
 “ that this may not do the marvayles that he made, but zif it had
 “ ben be the specyalle zifte of God : and therfore thei seyn that he
 “ was wel with God. And for be cause that he was so wel with
 “ God, therfore thei worschipe him. And so seyn thei of the sonne ;
 “ be cause that he chaungethe the tyme, and zevethe hete and no-
 “ risschethe alle thinges upon erthe ; and for it is of so gret profite,
 “ thei knowe wel, that that myghte not be, but that God loveth
 “ it more than any other thing. And for that skylle, God hath
 “ zeven it more gret vertue in the world : therefore it is gode re-
 “ soun, as thei seyn, to don it worschipe and reverence. And so
 “ seyn thei, that maken here resounes, of othere planetes ; and of
 “ the fuyr also, be cause it is so profitable. And of ydoles, thei
 “ seyn also, that the ox is the most holy best, that is in erthe, and
 “ most pac. ent and more profitable than any other. For he dothe
 “ good ynow, and he dothe not evylle. And thei knowen wel,
 “ that it may not be with outen specyalle grace of God : and ther-
 “ fore maken thei here god of an ox, the on part, and the other
 “ halfondelle of a man ; be cause that man is the most noble crea-
 “ ture in erthe ; and also for he hathe lordschipe aboven alle bestes ;
 “ therfore make thei the halfendel of ydole, of a man upwardes,
 “ and the tother half of an ox downwardes : And of serpentes, and
 “ of other bestes, and dyverse thinges, that thei worschipen, that
 “ thei meten first at morwe. And thei worschipen also specially alle
 “ tho that thei han gode meetynge of ; and whan thei speden wel in
 “ here jorneye, afre here meetynge ; and namely suche as thei han
 “ preved and assayed be experience of long tyme. For thei seyn,
 “ that thilke gode meetynge ei may not come, but of the grace of
 “ God. And therfore thei maken ymages lyche to tho thinges, that
 “ thei han beleeve inne, for to beholden hem and worschipen hem
 “ first at morwe, or thei meeten ony contrarious thinges. And
 “ there ben also summe cristene men, that seyn, that summe bestes
 “ han gode meetynge, that is to seyn, for to meete with hem first
 “ at morwe ; and summe bestes wykked meetynge : and that thei
 “ han preved ofte tyme, that the hare hath fulle evylle meetynge,
 “ and swyn, and many othere bestes. And the spharhawk, and
 “ other foules of raveyne, whan thei fleen afre here praye, and
 “ take it before men of armes, it is a gode signe : and zif he fayle
 “ of takynge his praye, it is an evylle signe. And also to suche
 “ folk,

this we could not have said in this place, where the whole seems to center, and where the whole, or at least a great part of it, may be fixed to a chronological æra, which may be of use to us hereafter, in speaking of these deities, or some borrowed from them in climes far remote from this.

It may be now time to speak of the customs of the *Assyrians and Babylonians*; and of these one of the chief seems to have been their method of disposing of all their young women in marriage. No man seems to have had a right to dispose of his own daughters, but as soon as they were of age fit to marry, they, with others, were exposed in some public place appointed for the purpose, where, in the midst of a crowd of men who attended upon these occasions, they were sold one by one. The most beautiful of them were first put up, and delivered to the highest bidder, and so on. When all that were valuable for their charms were thus disposed of, the money that was raised by this sale, was applied in behalf of some of them, to whom nature had not been so lavish of her exterior gifts. The homely ones were then offered to such as would take the least money with them; and the poorer sort, to whom the use of a little money was more precious than all the beauty of a wife, were as eager in underbidding each other, as the wealthy men had before been in vying for the fair ones. The consequence of this was, that their young women were all disposed of in marriage; the poorer sort of the men only labouring under this particular restriction, that they should give security to take the girls they had consented to, before they were in proper possession of the money they had agreed to take with them².

WHEN a *Babylonian* had lain with his wife, they both sat by hot perfumes, and took care to wash themselves about

Their customs.

Sale of virgins.

Purification.

² HERODOT. l. 1. c. 196. STRAB. l. 16. p. 745.

"folk, it is evylle meetynge of ravenes. In theise thinges, and
 "in such othere, ther ben many folk, that beleeven, be cause it
 "happenethe so often tyme to falle, astre here fantassyes. And
 "also there ben men ynow that han no beleve in hem. And sithe,
 "that cristene men han such beleve, that ben informed and
 "taughte alle day, be holy doctryne where inne thei schold be-
 "leeve, it is no marvaylle thanne, that the *Paynemes*, that han no
 "gode doctryne, but only of here nature, beleeven more largely,
 "for here symplenesse (74)."

twilight, accounting themselves unclean till they had performed this ceremonious office, and unfit to touch any thing ^a.

Prostitution to Venus.

EVERY Babylonian woman was once in her life-time bound to prostitute herself to strange men, at the temple of *Venus*. A number of them sat crowned with knots and garlands at the door of the temple, while some were continually going and others coming. They were so ranged between lengths of line, and parted by the same in such manner, that the men had passage among them, and the convenience of getting at those they best liked. The women having once sat down before the temple, it was unlawful for any one of them to return home, till some stranger had thrown money into her lap, or bosom, and taken her aside; the man, as he threw the money to her, saying, *I implore the goddess Mylitta for thee*. The money, how little soever it might have been, was by no means to be rejected, being accounted sacred; nor had the woman the power of rejecting any man that accosted her in the form prescribed, but she was absolutely to retire with him without delay; and having suffered his embraces, and performed the accustomed rites to the goddess, she returned home; after which no temptation, though ever so great, could procure the enjoyment of her. Those who were handsome were soon dispatched, but those who were not so happy, lingered a long time before they could fulfil the law; so that they sometimes waited two or three years in a wretched expectation (W). Those who were rich, and scorned to sit with the meaner sort, were conveyed thither in some covered vehicle, and seated therein ^b, while their servants waited their return at some distance.

Festival of Saccæ.

FOR five days in one month of every year they celebrated a festival they called *Saccæ*, or *Sacca*, during which the servants commanded their masters, one of them being, for the

^a HERODOT. l. i. c. 198. STRAB. *ibid.*
ibid. c. 199. STRABO, *ibid.*

^b HERODOT.

(W) We have this custom, with some additional circumstances, in *Baruch*, (75); The women, says he, also, with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume; but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken. From this particular of their cords being broken, it has been supposed they were cords of rushes (76), which might be easily broken.

(75) *vi.* 43.

(76) See *Purch. Pilgr. l. i. c. 12. p. 65.*

time,

time, constituted chief over the house, and wearing a kind of royal garment they called *Zogana* ^c.

THEIR manner of treating their sick was very extraordinary. Having no physicians among them, it was their custom to expose them publicly in the most frequented places, that so every body might see them, and offer their advice, if they had any knowledge of the case, either from their own experience, or from the experience of others; nor was it lawful for any that passed by to omit this office. Their dead they buried in honey and wax, and mourned for them much after the manner of the *Egyptians* ^d.

THE *Babylonians* were excessively credulous, superstitious to the utmost, and as lewd and as debauched as a nation well could be. Their credulity must appear by the esteem their priests, or jugglers were in among them, and their superstition must appear by the same, and what we have said of their religion; and so excessively were they prone to idolatry, that we even find an instance of their great *Nebuchadnezzar* falling down before *Daniel* to worship him ^e. Debauchery ran high among them, in which they were justified by the example of their princes, who lived beyond all the bounds of decency and moderation; as we may gather by the banquet *Belsazzar* was giving when he saw the fatal inscription on the wall ^f. Nor was the king's example all, their religion as inculcated by their priests, as we have seen in the rites of their great goddess and others, together with the reverence paid to prostitutes ^g, completed them the most sensual and abandoned race that can be imagined. Parents and husbands would, for money, expose their wives and children to the embraces of their guests. Drunkards they are particularly said to have been, and their women were admitted to their debaucheries. The women, upon these occasions, first appeared modest and reserved, till putting off their cloaths by degrees, they at length appeared quite naked; and this was the practice even with the married women and the maids, who thought it good breeding thus to reveal whatever belonged to them ^h. Such is the character given of the *Babylonians*, and it seems exactly to agree with their religion, which encouraged such monstrous impudence in the women, and shamelessness in the men; though it cannot be supposed, that in the beginning

^c *BEROS.* apud *ATHEN.* *Deipnosoph.* l. 14. p. 639. ^d *HERODOT.* *ibid.* c. 109. *STRABO* l. 16. *ibid.*

^e *Dan.* ii. 46. ^f *Ibid.* c. v. ^g See before, p. 262. ^h *QUINT. CURT.* l. 5. c. 1.

of their empire they were quite so dissolute as here represented.

Their habit.

THEY seem to have indulged themselves in dress as well as in other respects, and to have affected some pride and effeminacy therein; their under garment was a linen vest, down to their heels, over which they had another of woollen, and over all a white mantle, or cloak. They wore their own hair; their heads were adorned with a tiara or mitre, and their bodies were anointed all over¹ with oil of sesame². They each of them wore a seal-ring on the finger, and in their hand a wrought staff or sceptre, adorned at the head with some particular ensign, or figure, as an apple, or rose, or lilly, or an eagle, or some such badge, without which it was unlawful to appear with one of these sticks or staves. On their feet they wore a kind of slippers³. Traces of which may be picked out of the figures remaining at *Persepolis*, as we may observe hereafter.

Learning of the Chaldees.

THIS people was famed for learning, and particularly those of them that were peculiarly called *Chaldeans*, who were, as is said, their priests, their philosophers, astronomers, astrologers, soothsayers, and the like. And in respect of this pretended claim to learning and supernatural knowledge, the *Chaldees* are distinguished quite from the *Babylonians*, and are said to have inhabited a region peculiar to themselves next to the *Arabians* and the *Persian gulf*⁴, just where we have placed them. They were divided into several sects, as the *Orcheni*, the *Borsippeni*, and known by other names of distinction, borrowed either from particular places⁵, where different doctrines on the same points were held, or from particular persons, who had doctrines peculiar to themselves. Many of their learned men were famous, and known by name among the *Greeks*, as *Adena*, *Naburian*, *Sudin*, and many others⁶.

WE have already considered this tribe as set apart for devotion and superstitious concerns, when just now we spoke of the religion of this people; we are now to speak of them as philosophers only, and of what they taught as such, as well as of their manner of institution.

Had not their learning from the Egyptians.

WE have already seen how they pretended to have first come by their learning⁷, and their strange fable concerning their first instructor *Oannes*, who, long before the deluge, came out of the sea, and formed them in the several branches of policy, religion and learning, and particularly explained to

¹ HERODOT. ubi sup. c. 195.

² STRABO ubi sup. p. 745.

³ HERODOT. STRAB. ibid.

⁴ STRABO Geogr. l. 16. p. 739.

⁵ Idem ibid.

⁶ Idem ibid.

⁷ See Vol. I. p. 183.

them

them geometry and astrology; and have observed, that, as the tradition went, he was a monster, partly man and partly fish, and that by his coming out of the sea he must have been some stranger, that his name might be, with no great violence, derived from a word, which in *Syriac* signifies a *Traveller*, or a *Foreigner*¹; as also that by some circumstances he must have been the same they meant by their *Mylitta*, or great *Venus*²; and would now add, that by what is said of his inventions and useful communications to men, he may have been considered as the *Egyptian Isis*, or *Osiris*, or both. However this may have been, the report of *Oannes's* appearance in *Chaldæa* from out of the sea, has given birth to an opinion, that *Osiris* and *Oannes* were at least contemporaries, and that the *Babylonians* had all their learning from the *Egyptians*, and that not much earlier than the days of *Ammon* and *Sefac*, or *Shishak*, whom our author^c will have to have been the same with *Sesostris*, or not long before the days of *David* and *Solomon*. To prove this, he exhibits the authority of several ancient authors, the one^d writing, That the *Egyptian Belus*, the son of *Neptune* and *Libya*, carried colonies from *Egypt* into *Babylonia*, and that, settling upon the banks of the *Euphrates*, he instituted priests with the same privileges as in *Egypt*, and that these were called *Chaldæans*, and were to observe the stars after the manner of *Egypt*; another^e declaring the *Babylonian Belus* had his name from the *Egyptian* of that name, the son of *Libya*. In a word, our author^w concludes, that when *Sabbaco*, the *Ethiopian*, invaded *Egypt*, multitudes of that country fled from him into *Chaldæa*, and carried with them their astronomy, astrology, architecture, and the form of their year, which they preserved in the æra of *Nabonassar*; and as a farther proof of this, he produces the form of the tower or temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*, which was built pretty nearly after the manner of the *Egyptian* pyramids. All this, according to our author's hypothesis, seems plausible enough, but must be confessed to be quite destructive of what we read in scripture, by which the reverse should appear.

BOTH the nations, their very countries, and situations, *Arguments to prove it.* have certainly in all respects a very near resemblance of each other, and an exact parallel might be deduced between them to make it self-evidently appear. We have seen, that they

¹ See Vol. I. p. 183, note, (A).

² See before p. 257,

T). ^c Sir Is. NEWT. Chron. of Ant. Kingd. amend. p.

210, 211, & seq. ^d DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. p. 17. ^e PAUSAN.

l. 4. c. 23. ^w Sir Is. NEWT. ubi sup.

were constant rivals with each other for antiquity*, in which the *Babylonians* must have had the preference, according to scripture, where we read, that they kept possession of what we may call the original seat of mankind after the flood; and must have been therefore settled before any of the other nations, who left them behind in *Shinar*, a country which must have been a good deal improved before the dispersion, when all the rest went out in quest of new seats. This historical circumstance may be sufficient to rank them the first of nations, though the *Egyptians* would never allow them that honour; and if these unjustly arrogated the point over them in this respect, why may they not have done the same with regard to others?

THE truth is both these nations have been strangely addicted to fable, and both of them may be fairly questioned in most we know of their pretences to superiority; and are doubtless to be equally disbelieved. But if the *Egyptians* are preferred to the *Babylonians* in any respect by the *Greeks*, it must be attributed to partiality and prejudice, in favour of such near neighbours as they were in comparison; and if not to this, at least, it may be owing to their better acquaintance with the former than with the latter, and to their hearing of the story but on one side. We have at least as good authority to argue in behalf of the *Babylonians*, as can be produced in favour of the *Egyptians*.

THE early transaction of attempting to raise the tower of *Babel*, in the very country of this people, must imply them to have been informed of architecture in those days, and some of the concomitant arts; and as for the learning of either of the nations, it does not seem to have been such as to deserve the contending for; it appearing to have been rather the corruption of human knowledge, than the refinement of it, or, at least, it seems to have been built upon such principles, as were a reproach to sound reason, rather than an honour to the human understanding, and rather calculated to deceive, than to inform; to spread the mists of ignorance, than to clear up the lights of knowledge.

HOWEVER, to turn the tables, we have as good an authority as to the contrary, that the *Egyptians* were instructed in all their knowledge by the *Chaldees*, and namely by *Abraham*†, who was one of this country. This is the tradition of the *Jews*, the *Arabians*, and the *Indians*, which deserves at least as much credit, and even more, with regard to this people, as the pretences of the *Egyptians*, who were

* See before, p. 255. † See Vol. II. p. 383, (Q).

immediately

immediately parties concerned, or of the *Greeks*, who were particularly biassed in their favour. Nor are these orientals unsupported by the traditions of the westerns, according to whom the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian Belus* was the inventor of the sidereal science ^a, and the nation he belonged to the foremost in antiquity for empire and power, and consequently for the arts and learning; and as they derived their instructor *Oannes* from times preceding the deluge ^a, as should seem, and suppose him to have sprung from the primigenial egg; it is seemingly plain, that whatever constructions may have been put upon his appearance from out of the sea, or the derivation of his name, they acknowledged themselves beholden to no nation under the sun for what they pretended to know; and indeed it must be confessed, that by the bulk of what we understand, both by sacred and prophane writers, our author, has here strained things too violently to accommodate them to his hypothesis; but to insist no longer on this doubt, let us take a survey of what the learning was that is so contested.

THEY acquired not their learning in the manner of the *Greeks*, but possessed what they knew by tradition from father to son, and being exempt from all offices or impositions to divert their studies, they had nothing to do but to apply themselves to the instruction they received, which came not from the mouth of a mercenary pedagogue or master. They never departed from what they imbibed, fully satisfied of what they received from their ancestors; and by a tenacious adherence to their point, they became perfectly knowing in what they professed ^b.

Their manner of institution.

SUCH was the manner of their institution, and the tenaciousness of their adherence to what they had received from their fore-fathers, which if true, we need no other proof to assure us, that they made little or no progress, even in the learning they particularly professed, and that so it really was, may be discovered in the sequel.

THEY taught, that the world was eternal; that it never had beginning, and never shall have end; though they acknowledged a divine providence; that the motions of the heavens were not directed by blind chance, or performed spontaneously, but by the guidance and direction of superior agents, or gods. They are universally said to have been the first that cultivated astronomy, and are pretended to have made such progress therein, as to have not only discovered the exact mo-

Their doctrine about the world.

^a See Vol. I. p. 184. Histor. l. 2. p. 82.

^a Ibid.

^b DIONOR. SICUL. Bibl.

tions of the heavenly bodies, but also to have found out certain influences they have over things below, and to have thence been able to foretel what was hidden in the womb of futurity.

They were more astrologers than astronomers. By this it appears, that whatever advances they made as astronomers, they were more particularly valuable, if we may so express ourselves, as astrologers. From this delusive amusement, they boasted a knowledge of what was to come, to a power of averting of evil, and the procuring of good; hence chiefly they were considered as magicians, and, as we call them, fortune-tellers.

THE planets they called *Interpreters*, and made the greatest account of their influence, and particularly, as we are told, of that we call *Saturn*; the next in degree of eminence with them was *Sol*, or the sun, *Mars*, *Venus*, *Mercury*, and *Jupiter*; six in all, which were all the planets they reckoned; These they called *Interpreters*, as by their motions and aspects they, in a more evident manner, portended the will and pleasure of the gods. They sometimes judged by their rising, and sometimes by their setting, and sometimes by the colour or degree of their light; whence they foretold storms of wind, or of rain, or exceeding droughts; as also the appearance of comets, eclipses of the sun and moon, earthquakes, and the whole train of pretended fore-runners of the good or bad fortune of nations in general, and of kings and private persons in particular.

The system of their astrology. UNDER these six planets they ranged 30 stars, which they called *Counselling Gods*; and half of these they allotted to take notice of what was done under the earth; and the other half to take cognizance of what was done by men, or transacted in the heavens. And they gave out, that once in ten days one of the superior of these stars descended to the inferior, as it were a messenger from those above; and that in return one of the inferior ascended to the superior in the same nature; and that this their mutual correspondence was natural to them, and to continue for ever. They reported, that the chief of these *Counselling Gods* were 12 in number, and assigned to each of them a month of the year, and a whole sign of the zodiac.

ALL these stars they gave out to have influences over the nativities of men, and to forbode whatever is to befall them of evil, or happen to them of good, in the course of their lives. Again, out of the zodiac they selected 24 stars, and

Idem ibid.

Idem ibid.

Idem ibid.

Idem ibid.

placed 12 of them towards the north pole, and 12 towards the south. Those of them within our sight they assigned to the living, and those not within it they called the stars or *Constellations of the Dead*; and these stars they termed the judges of all things: In short, the *Chaldeans* were complete astrologers, and pretended to excell all other nations therein ^g.

THEIR astronomy, which ought to have taken place of *Deficient* the former, in respect of its dignity above it, must yield its *in astrono-* rank here, it being seemingly what they cultivated as a science *my*. secondary to the other; and accordingly we find it to have been quite coarse and plain. They had notions, that the earth was like a vessel or boat, and that it was hollow within; and had a way of supporting this doctrine by various arguments ^k.

WE have seen their division of the zodiac into 12 signs, throughout which they taught that the several planets performed their revolutions: But they seem to have had no notion of the immense distance of some of the planets from the sun, and accounted for the time they took up in their revolutions, purely by the tardiness of their motion; though, by their theory of the moon, the contrary should appear, for they taught, that she compleated her course the soonest of any, not because of her extraordinary velocity, but because her orbit, as we now speak, was less than the orbit of any other body that circumsolved in the heavens. They taught, that she shone with a light not her own, and that when she was eclipsed she was immersed in the shadow of the earth. But for eclipses of the sun they were quite out and extravagant, nor could fix the time when they would happen ^l. In short, the whole of their philosophy and learning seems to have been chiefly what we now call judicial astrology; a science, falsely so called, as much contemned with us, as it was prized by the antients.

NOR has this boasted knowledge and learning of the *Chaldees* been arraigned by the moderns only; it has also been condemned by the antients, as inconsistent with the nature of things, and as implying a fatal necessity, and destroying the freedom of our will ^k. And this was the mighty learning for which the *Chaldeans* were so famed, as to be denominated, as it were, a distinct nation from the *Babylonians* for the sake of it; and indeed from scripture we gather they were no better; for *Danial*, speaking of them, divides them into four sorts or kinds, as magicians, astrologers, forcerers, and *Chaldæ-*

Their boasted learning condemned.

^g Idem ibid. ^h Idem ibid. ⁱ Idem ibid. ^k Vid. BARDE-
SAN. apud EUSEB. Præpar. Evangel. l. 6. c. 10. p. 273. & ALIOS
apud eund ibid.

ans¹, adding afterwards to these wise-men, or such as divined by lots, and soothsayers or such as foretold events by the inspection of entrails^m. And though there are those who suppose the *Chaldeans*, as here distinguished from the five other sorts, to have been a sect peculiar to themselves, and to have been of deeper and more solid learningⁿ; we may easily perceive, that they, as well as the rest, pretended to divination, and that they were called upon, as well as the rest, to discover what was hidden to other men. Whence we may safely conclude, that they all in their several ways were so many oracles, and that they were all devoted to the same end, however they may have been divided as to the means and methods of attaining thereto; so that seemingly these *Babylonians* had their science branched out amongst them, much after the manner the *Egyptian* physicians had theirs^o. Their learning must have been made up entirely of superstitious practices, and delusive arts, and if any better they had, they must have concealed it under such ænigmas, and far-fetched resemblances and allegories, as must have rendered it quite a secret even to themselves, who, considering that they are said from father to son to have received implicitly whatever was taught them, may have been as little able to explain what was really intended by their doctrines, as others were to conceive them to any solid purpose; and it seems not to have been without good reason, that many^p of latter times have made slight of them as philosophers, and concluded, that the *Greeks* were in this respect little, if at all, beholden either to them or the *Egyptians*.

Babyloni-
ans in dis-
tinction
from Chal-
dees; their
arts.

As the *Chaldees* were peculiarly the men of learning among this nation, so the *Babylonians*, properly so-called, were the men of art; though perhaps we shall have more reason to call these the men of learning among them than the former, if true it be that they were wholly addicted to, and set apart for, the sidereal consultations, and the propagation of the extravagancies, which must, as should seem, have made up the system of their philosophy. For in this case the *Babylonians*, as distinguished from the *Chaldeans*, must have been good mathematicians and mechanics, as must appear by the immense buildings they reared, and which could not be effected without great skill in the several branches of the mathematics and in geometry. This we may say in general; but to say how far, or how far not, they excelled in perspective and the true

¹ Dan. ii. 2.
12. p. 63.

^m Ibid. ver. 27.
^o See Vol. I. p. 473.

JOSEPH. SCALIG. PEUCER. &c. &c.

ⁿ PURCH. Pilgr. l. i. c.
^p CÆL. RHODOG.

harmony of proportion, may not be quite so easy a matter, though that their ornaments and decorations fell short of what was afterwards seen in *Greece*, can never be doubted.

This may be plain to any body that has seen the representations of the ruins of *Persepolis*, which must certainly have been built in the *Babylonian* manner, which, how far it was beneath the *Grecian* for elegance and proportion, may be more properly considered, when we come to speak of the *Grecian* architecture, and to compare it with that of the *Egyptians* and this people, who, it is certain, were more ambitious of being vast in their performances of this nature than exquisite. And hence we may pronounce, that their paintings and statues, however gaudy, rich, and colossean, were nothing to compare with the same that took birth with the *Grecian* artists.

MUSIC they had, but in what perfection we must never *Music.* hope to know; nor would it be worth our while to labour in so unfruitful a field. But that they had a variety of instruments among them, we are well assured; for we read, that they had flutes, cornets, harps, sackbuts, psalteries, dulcimers, and *all kinds of music*¹. What these instruments exactly were, no body will ever know; but if we may judge of their skill in harmony, by what we can discover of their painting and statuary, we must not equal them with the *Grecians* in the harmonic science.

THEIR poetry we have nothing to say to; but must leave *Poetry.* the reader to form his judgment of it, by that of the other eastern nations their neighbours, both antient and modern. Nor do we pretend to say by whom it was particularly cultivated, whether by the *Chaldeans* or the *Babylonians*; but as it has at all times been sacred to religion and superstition, we may suppose the former, as priests, laid claim thereto as a part of their province.

PHYSIC we have declared to have been no regular science *Physic.* among this people, in what we have said of their manner and custom of treating the sick; though that the same as a science grew into vast repute with the *Persians* their successors, will be observed when it comes properly in turn.

WE have already declared, there is no more difference between the *Syriac* and the *Chaldee*, the language of this people, than between the *English* and the *Scotch*². Their common alphabet we have already given³; and as for the *Mendeian* character, which is also peculiar to them, it is not only what we may call modern, but also so nearly like the

¹ Dan. iii. ver. 5.—15. ² See Vol. II. p. 266. ³ See Vol. III p. 406.

Estrangelo of the *Syriac*^t, that we have thought it unnecessary to insert it. *Bochart*^u supposes they had a sacred character as well as the *Egyptians*, but upon a very unsatisfactory foundation.

Architec-
ture.

THE *Babylonians*, properly so called, were great architects, and ingenious in the casting of metals, and great workmen and contrivers, as will be particularly remarked when we come to speak of their great city of *Babylon*; and therefore it may be needless to expatiate thereon in this place, when we have reserved another, where we intend to do them sufficient honour for their great labour and industry in these respects, wherein they will be observed to have fallen short of no one nation under the sun; and in which they, perhaps in great measure, shewed the way to every nation besides.

Manufac-
tures and
fine linen.

NOR were they less famous for their manufactures, and particularly for their rich embroideries, sumptuous vestments, and magnificent carpets, and fine linen; insomuch that we read of *Cato*, that he immediately sold a *Babylonian* cloak or mantle, which was left to him by inheritance, as being what he was ashamed to wear^w; and elsewhere, that at *Rome* there had been paid for a suit of *Babylonian* hangings for a dining-room six thousand four hundred and fifty eight pounds six shillings and eight pence^x. It were to no purpose to quote authors for further instances of this magnificence, which is known to a proverb; or to aim at a detail of the several products of their industry: we would only add, that the *Babylonians*, as well as the *Tyrians*, had their purple, which they sent into the eastern parts by way of traffic^y. This purple they had from a port called *Apologus* near the *Euphrates*^z; but as it is disputed, whether or no this was what may be called a discovery among them, and whether they were not before used to supply themselves therewith from *Tyre*^a, we shall not insist thereon, any further than to take notice, that their country afforded the best material of its sort for dying, meaning alom, both natural and artificial^b.

Particular
tribes.

THIS people was not only divided into two great tribes, the *Babylonians* and *Chaldeans* properly so called; there seems to have been other subordinate tribes or sects of them. Three

^t See Vol. II. p. 267. ^u Canaan c. 17. col. 773. ^w PLUTARCH. in vita Catonis. ^x PLIN. Hist. Natur. l. 8. c. 48. See ARBUTH. of anc. coins, weights, and measures, p. 142. ^y ARRIAN. Periplus Mar. Erythr. in minor. HUDSON, Vol. II. p. 20, 21. ^z Idem ibid. ^a Vid. BOCHART. PHALEG. c. 7. col. 28. ^b Vid. eund. ibid.

of these are said to have fed upon nothing but fish^c, and thereby seem to have infringed a sacred law among them, in reverence of their great goddess, for whose sake the *Babylonians* seem to have abstained therefrom. Thus we have seen, that some of the *Egyptians* worshipped the fish which others of them fed upon. However it may not have been upon a religious principle that this people departed from the rest of their countrymen; and the rather as it seems to be imputed to necessity^d, these tribes living among the fens, and being destitute of corn; to supply the want of which, it was their custom to dry their fish in the sun, which they afterwards made into paste, and having baked it ate it by way of bread^e. Something yet more extraordinary than this we are told of the inhabitants of *Barsippa*, where the bats being much larger than usual in other places, they were used to salt them for food^f; and this, whether it proceeded from any superstition or want, which last seems a little hard to believe in so plentiful a country as this must have been, we leave undecided.

THE trade of this antient people is no where, that we know *Commerce.* of, professedly treated of; but that it must have been very considerable, is not in the least to be doubted, and especially when *Babylon* was in the meridian of her glory; whosoever contemplates the splendor of this monarchy, and the commodious situation of this country in general, and its capital in particular, cannot doubt, but commerce must here have flourished to a very eminent degree. *Babylon* was situated, as it were, in the very midst of the old world, and by means of the two great rivers, the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, had very easy communication with the western and northern parts, as also with the eastern by the means of the *Persian* gulf. In a word, it may, either by land or by water, have had easy commerce with all the points of the compass; and as it was not only the seat of a potent monarchy, but also afforded many productions and manufactures of its own to exchange with its neighbours round about, and lay so within the reach of them all, it is not to be doubted, but that trade was as extensive here as ever it was any where. Whether the *Babylonians* were famous for shipping of their own is pretty much in the dark; though it cannot well be disputed, but they must have been considerable as navigators; the same is hinted at (X),
and

^c HERODOT. l. i. c. 200. ^d STRAB. l. 16. p. 746. ^e HERODOT. ubi. sup. ^f STRAB. ubi sup. p. 739.

(X) Besides what might be gathered to prove this point in the
Prophets,

and as *Babylon* was so much a city of waters, as the prophet expresses himself, it is but natural to conclude, that they very much abounded in shipping of their own.

S E C T. III.

The Chronology of the BABYLONIANS, from the first Rise of the Monarchy, to its Dissolution.

WE are here to consider the *Babylonians* in two very different views ; first, as composing a small, though perhaps a formidable, kingdom, immediately after the deluge; the chronology of which we have already settled as exactly as the nature of the thing will bear^e ; and secondly, as constituting a potent and wide-spreading empire, founded by and at last rising upon the ruins of the *Assyrians*, their brethren^h ; so that in effect we are here only to look back to the early times of the *Assyrian* monarchy, of which this was a collateral branch, and possessed, as should seem, by princes of the same blood with those who filled the throne of *Nineveh*. We may refer the reader back to what we have said, in the

^e See Vol. I. p. 278.

^h See before, p. 217, & seq.

Prophets, the book of *Revelations* (77), describing the fall of *Babylon*, has these words, which at once display the mighty riches of this city as an emporium, and convince they must have abounded in shipping ; *Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen — The merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth her merchandise any more : The merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine, or sweet-wood, and all manner of vessels of ivory, and all manner of vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men. — The merchants of these things which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping, and wailing, and saying, Alas ! alas ! that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls. — And every ship-master, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, and cried — Alas ! alas ! that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea, by reason of her costliness — is — made desolate (78).*

(77) xviii. 2. — 19.

(78) Ibid.

chronology of the *Assyrians*, to satisfy himself concerning the chronology of this people; for they properly took rise in one and the same person, meaning *Pul* king of *Assyria*, and nearly at one and the same time. But not to anticipate what may be more properly insisted on hereafter in the course of this section, we shall proceed to distinguish the kingdom of *Babylon* from the kingdom of *Assyria*, and to exhibit, according to our custom, a series of the kings of *Babylon*, according to several authors.

A TABLE of the Successions of the Babylonian Kings, according to Ptolemy's Astronomical Canon and the Ecclesiastical Account.

According to the most correct
copies of *Ptolemy's* canon.

According to the ecclesiastical
account in *Syncellus*.

	Years.		Years.
1 <i>Nabonassar</i> reigned	14	1 <i>Nabonassar</i> or <i>Sal-</i>	} 25
		<i>manassar</i> reigned	
2 <i>Nadius</i> - - -	2	2 <i>Nabius</i> - - -	8
3 <i>Chinzirus</i> and <i>Porus</i>	5	3 <i>Chinzerus</i> and <i>Porus</i>	5
4 <i>Jugæus</i> - - -	5	4 <i>Illulæus</i> - - -	5
5 <i>Mardoc-Empadus</i> -	12	5 <i>Mardocempadocus</i>	12
6 <i>Arkianus</i> - - -	5	6 <i>Arceanus</i> - - -	5
7 Inter-reign I. - -	2	7 Inter-reign I. - -	2
8 <i>Belibus</i> - - -	3	8 <i>Belithus</i> - - -	3
9 <i>Apronadius</i> - - -	6	9 <i>Aporanadisus</i> - -	6
10 <i>Rigébelus</i> - - -	1	10 <i>Iregiballus</i> - - -	1
11 <i>Meseffimordacus</i> -	4	11 <i>Messifimordacus</i> -	4
12 Inter-reign II. - -	8	12 Inter-reign II. - -	8
13 <i>Affar-Addinus</i> - -	13	13 <i>Ifarindinus</i> - - -	13
14 <i>Saosduchéus</i> - - -	20	14 <i>Saosduchius</i> - - -	9
15 <i>Chyniladanus</i> - -	22	15 <i>Cineladanus</i> - - -	14
16 <i>Nabopallasarus</i> - -	21	16 <i>Napobalasar</i> - - -	21
17 <i>Nabcolassar</i> - - -	43	17 <i>Nabuchadonosor</i> his son	43
18 <i>Ilvarodamus</i> - - -	2	18 <i>Ebidan Merodach</i> -	5
11 <i>Niricassolassar</i> - -	4	19 <i>Nireglesarus</i> or <i>Baltasar</i>	3
20 <i>Nabonadius</i> - - -	17	20 <i>Nabonadius</i> , or <i>Asty-</i>	} 17
		<i>ages</i> , or <i>Darius</i> , or	
		<i>Assuerus</i> , or <i>Artax-</i>	
		<i>erxes</i> - - -	

The æra of
Nabonaf-
sar.

THIS table contains on the one side a genuine and most correct copy of *Ptolemy's* astronomical canon (Y), and on the other a corruption of it. We shall not here enquire into the differences between these two lists, or the liberty the author of this ecclesiastical account has taken with his original, which we may occasionally consider under the reigns of these kings. *Syncellus*, whence we have taken this ecclesiastical computation, has under the same head another, the authors of them being *Africanus* and *Eusebius*¹. We shall therefore have little to do here; few arguments can be wanting, and indeed none can be necessary, to prove the first rise and duration of the *Babylonian* empire, which is so happily ascertained to our hands by *Ptolemy*, whose canon is so exactly agreeable to scripture history, that if this latter could possibly stand in need of confirmation as to the historical parts of it, so far as it relates to the history of the great empires of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, nothing could be so effectual towards it as this canon, which has given birth to one of the most famous prophane æra's, that of *Nabonassar* the first king in it, and without which there would be the most palpable darkness over the affairs of these people. Nothing is more surprizing, than that this most noble monument should have been so little examined, by the light naturally reflected on it from the sacred pen-men, as not to have extricated the whole body of chronologers and historians from out of the labyrinth they have almost all bewildered themselves in, misled by the extravagancies of one fabulous *Greek* writer, who has been blindly followed by the antients, and unnaturally by the christian moderns. This canon takes date from about the 23d year of *Pul's* first appearance on this side of the *Euphrates*, about the year 2252 after the flood, according to our computation, and 747 years before Christ; which shews the kingdom of *Babylon* to have been immediately of *Assyrian* origin, according to the prophet *; *Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness; they set up the towers*

¹ Vid. Can. Chron. SÆCUL. xvii.

* Mai. xxiii. 13.

(Y) This canon was particularly rectified from a manuscript in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*, and sent by Dr. *Overal*, dean of *St. Paul's*, to *Seth Calvisius*, and first published, with *Ptolemy's Hypothesis*, by Dr. *Bambridge* (79), professor of the mathematics at *Oxford* (80).

(79) Vid. Gregor. Posthum. de æra & Epoch. c. 7. p. 149.

(80) Vid. Marla. Can. Chron. Sæcul. 17.

thereof,

thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof. The kingdom of *Babylon* was then founded by the *Assyrians*. This is so plain, that it may be needless to multiply words in proof of it, especially after what we have said in the chronology of *Assyria*, which tends directly to make it appear.

Ptolemy, we may perceive, could discover no king of *Babylon* older than *Nabonassar*, and therefore begins with him; and scripture mentions no king of *Assyria* before *Pul*, who appeared on this side of the *Euphrates* about 23 years before the first year of the canon; and as *Nabonassar* is an *Assyrian* name, most evidently compounded of *Nebo-aidan-assur*, we may be certain, that he was the son or grandson of *Pul*, who upon his death divided his monarchy between his children. This is a most evident point, and abundantly helps us to understand what the prophet means in the text above; and without which it is impossible to understand how the *Assyrians* should have founded the land of the *Chaldees*. This kingdom of *Babylon* being then of *Assyrian* extraction, and considered as a sister kingdom with *Assyria*, and being a natural branch of it, we have nothing here to add to what we have already urged, except that we can fix the date of it with somewhat more certainty than that of the *Assyrian* empire, which we could have no notice of till the first appearance of *Pul* in the west. It may begin then with us in the 24th year of *Pul's* appearance to the westward of the *Euphrates*, 2252 years after the flood, and 747 years before Christ: It ends 2462 years after the flood, and 537 years before Christ. So that its whole duration was no more than 210 years complete; to which if we add the 23 or 24 years of *Pul* before the date of this canon, we shall have a number not exceeding 234 for the years of the duration of the great *Assyrian* family; whether at *Nineveh* or at *Babylon*, with respect to what we know of the rise of these kingdoms; and that *Nineveh*, which is confessedly the oldest, did not much exceed this number, must appear to any one that gives himself the trouble to recollect what we have so amply observed in the third, fourth, and fifth sections of the preceding chapter.

THE *Chaldees*, we are told, were founded by the *Assyrian*; and, by the undoubted authorities of scripture and *Ptolemy's* astronomical canon, this *Assyrian* can have been no other than *Pul*. If any one can prove the existence of another *Assyrian* conqueror or founder before him, we shall be very ready to congratulate him upon the discovery. The canon itself directs us when to date the fall of the *Babylonian* empire, meaning the 18th year of *Nabonadius*; though according to the canon he reigned but 17 years; for every king's

reign there begins with the last Thoth of his predecessor's reign.

S E C T. IV.

The History of the Babylonians.

BEFORE we enter upon the history of this people, as constituting a wide and most famous monarchy, we must just take a retrospect of their first establishment as a kingdom, which is vainly given out to have existed before the deluge. In doing of this, we have little more than to remind the reader, that we have already exhibited the antediluvian princes of this part, according to the several authors, and that we have already said as much of its first founder *Nimrod* as we have been able to collect. We have therefore now nothing that remains, but to declare who are said to have been his immediate successors in this infant kingdom, a list of which we have transcribed.

A T A B L E of the Kings of Babylon, that immediately succeeded Nimrod.

According to *Eusebius*.

According to *Syncellus*.

	Years.		Years.
1 <i>Evechoos</i> or <i>Nimrod</i>		1 <i>Euachoüs</i> or <i>Nimrod</i>	
reigned	6	reigned	6
2 <i>Chomasbolus</i>	7	2 <i>Chosmabolus</i>	7
3 <i>Porus</i>	35	3 <i>Porus</i>	35
4 <i>Nechobes</i>	43	4 <i>Nechubes</i>	43
5 <i>Abias</i>	48	5 <i>Abius</i>	48
6 <i>Oniballus</i>	40	6 <i>Oniballes</i>	40
7 <i>Zinzirus</i>	45	7 <i>Zinzirus</i>	45
	224		224

OUR authors, we see, perfectly agree as to these kings who are called the dynasty of the *Chaldees*, and indeed, in this case, *Syncellus* has faithfully copied *Eusebius*. This dynasty, which lasted no more than 224 years, was no sooner expired, than the *Arabians* became uppermost, and produced a race of six kings at *Babylon*. This *Arabian* dynasty lasted 216 years, and the two dynasties together 440 years.

The

The whole interval, as we have stated it, between the first of the reign of *Nimrod* and the call of *Abraham*, is 646 years. This *Arabian* dynasty then expired 206 years before the call of *Abraham*, and was succeeded by the *Assyrian* dynasty, beginning with *Belus* and ending with *Sardanapalus*, as we have given it in the chronology of the *Assyrians*^k. The *Assyrians* must then have erected their monarchy long before the call of *Abraham*, and the same must have continued at least a thousand years after him, without any intermission, according to the most common accounts, which may be sufficiently disproved by this one argument. Besides there can be well no doubt, but these *Arabian* kings were, according to scripture, of the country of *Elam* or *Persia*; for under *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, we find *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, the undoubted *Babylonia*, warring upon the kings of the *Canaanites*; we may then as good as satisfy ourselves, that this *Arabian* dynasty, as it is called, subsisted after the call, when *Abraham* rescued his brother *Lot* from them; so that hence it may appear, that if any people can claim to have been properly the first monarchy, the *Elamites* or *Persians* are the people, as we shall observe in its proper place.

FROM the year of the flood 431, or from its foundation, *First king-* we have no certain notice of any thing relating to this king-*dom of Ba-* dom, except that, about 600 years afterwards, there was a bylon, king of it called *Amraphel*, who warred under the king of *when* *Elam*^l. This is all we have to say concerning these early *founded* times of this antient kingdom, except we adopt the *Ctesian* *Amraphel* accounts of *Semiramis*, who, according to him, must be called the foundress of *Babylon*; and that is what we need not repeat.

HOWEVER, we cannot but take notice, that the series we have given of the *Assyrian* kings, as they stand in *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*, is reckoned as the third dynasty of the *Chaldeans* or *Babylonians*, and called the *Assyrian*; but concerning this we must refer the reader to our chronology of the *Assyrians*, where we hope he will meet with what may satisfy him of the little weight this succession of dynasties ought to have with him.

ACCORDING to this method of arrangement, the kings in *Ptolemy's* canon should be called the fourth dynasty of the orientals, and distinguished by the title of the *Babylonian*; but this we must reject as built upon no tolerable foundation, and especially with us, who distinguish, so widely as we do,

^k See before, p. 138, & seq:

N n 2

^l See Vol. II. p. 361.

between

between the antient kingdom of *Babylon* and the monarchy or empire of the same.

We have now brought all the history we know of this people down to the æra of *Nabonassar*; but before we begin with that genuine race of princes, who are the only kings of *Babylon* we can possibly acknowledge, from the days of *Amraphel* above to the said *Nabonassar*, we must relate what is fabulously reported of the man, who, according to some prophane authors, must be accounted the first king of *Babylon*.

The story of HE is by some called *Belefsis* ^m, and by others *Nanybrus* ⁿ, and both affect to give us an extraordinary story of him, which *Belefsis, or* will be almost all we shall be able, in these authors, to find *Nanybrus* concerning the *Babylonian* empire, till it was put to an end.

UNDER the name of *Belefsis*, this first prince is represented as a crafty and a mean-spirited knave, and as nothing less than a hero. It is said he was base enough to circumvent *Arbaces*, his colleague and friend, in the most shameful manner, by pretending a vow he had, in the midst of the war, made to his god *Belus*, That if success was the event of it, and the palace of *Sardanapalus* was consumed, as it was, he would be at the charge and trouble of removing the ashes that were left to *Babylon*, and there heap them up into a mount near the temple of his god; there to stand as a monument, to all who should navigate the *Euphrates*, of the subversion of the *Assyrian* empire. He, it seems, had been privately informed, by an eunuch he kept close up to himself, of the immense treasure which had been consumed in the conflagration of the palace at *Nineveh*, and knowing it to be a secret to *Arbaces*, he was tempted to forge this pretence. His request was granted him, the ashes were given to him, to do with them as he would; and not only so, but *Arbaces* constituted him king of *Babylon*, with an exemption from all tribute. *Belefsis*, by this artifice, carried a prodigious treasure with him to *Babylon*; but when the secret was discovered, he was called to an account for it, and tried by the other chiefs who had been assistant in the war, and who, upon his confession of the crime, condemned him to the loss of his head. But *Arbaces*, a magnificent and generous prince, freely forgave him, left him in possession of the treasure, and also in the independent government of *Babylon*, saying, The good he had done ought to serve as a vail to his crime; and thus he became at once a prince of great wealth and dominion ^o.

^m See before, p. 181. ⁿ NICOL. DAMASC. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 424. ^o CTES. apud DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 78.

IN process of time, and under the successor of *Arbaces*, he became a man of dress and shew, and effeminacy, unworthy of the kingdom or province he held. *Nanybrus*, for so we must now call *Belesis*, understanding a certain robust *Mede*, called *Parsondas*, held him in the utmost contempt, and had solicited the emperor of the *Medes* to divest him of his dominions, and to confer them upon himself, offered a very great reward to the man who should take *Parsondas* and bring him to him. *Parsondas*, hunting somewhere near *Babylon* with the king of the *Medes*, and straggling from the company, happened at length to fall in with some of the servants of the *Babylonian Nanybrus*, who had been tempted with the promised reward. He had been all the day at his exercise, and being very thirsty, and these servants being purveyors to the king of *Babylon*, he asked them for a draught of wine, and they, knowing him, very readily plyed him therewith, and not only so, but prevailed upon him to stay and eat a meal with them. *Parsondas*, who was thoroughly fatigued, thankfully accepted the offer, and sending the prey he had taken to his king, he indulged himself in what was laid before him, and especially in some rich wines, which were plentifully poured out on purpose to inebriate him. *Parsondas* quite flustered called for his horse, that he might go to the king of the *Medes* where he was encamped, but instead of his horse they brought him some beautiful women, and desired he would pass the night with them, and defer his departure till the light of the next morning. He consented, and being fated with his pleasures, and fallen into a profound sleep, they rushed upon him in the midst of the night, bound him, and carried him off to *Nanybrus*; who no sooner saw him, than he began to expostulate with him for his subdolous attempts to displace him in *Babylon*, without any the least offence given on his part, that should make him an enemy. In the end, *Parsondas* resolutely declared, That he thought himself to be more worthy of the dominion, than so indolent and effeminate a prince as he was; which the other taking into high disdain, and reflecting on him for the manner in which he had suffered himself to be surprised by his servants, vowed he would make him as soft, and as tender, and as delicate as any body^p.

HAVING thus sworn by the gods *Belus* and *Molis*, [or *My-litta* as it should be] he called for the eunuch who had charge of his music girls, and ordered him to shave him, and smooth, and paint him, and dress him just after the manner of those girls, and to see that he learned their art, and by all the means and methods possible to transform him into one of

^p NICOL. Damasc. ubi sup.

them ;

them; so that in a very short time *Parfondas* was quite effeminated, and became more delicate than the fairest female of them all, and exceeded them all in singing, and playing, and the other arts of allurements; and whoever saw him at the entertainments the king gave, not only pronounced him a woman, but the most beautiful of the train in waiting⁴.

THE king of the *Medes*, *Artæus* it seems by name, had in vain sought after his favourite companion *Parfondas*, and in vain offered rewards to whoever should produce him alive or dead, and hearing no news of him gave himself up to grief for his faithful servant, concluding, he had been destroyed by some wild beast in the chase when he lost him. At length, after seven years, it happened, that an eunuch having been most cruelly scourged and beaten by *Nanybrus's* order, *Parfondas* took the opportunity of the man's discontent, and with great promises, prevailed on him to fly to the king of the *Medes*, and to make known to him his metamorphosis. The eunuch went and told what he was ordered, and the king of the *Medes* no sooner heard it, than he was moved with the highest indignation. Immediately he dispatched an officer to *Nanybrus* to demand *Parfondas*; but when the officer arrived at *Babylon*, he denied, that he had ever known any thing of any such person. This answer being carried back to the *Mede*, he sent a more resolute and robust officer, than the former, with letters commanding *Nanybrus*, without delay or reserve, to send him the man whom he had shamefully debased and confined among his eunuchs and music girls, or to expect the sudden loss of his head; and ordered the officer, if he persisted in the denial to bind him with his sash or girdle, and to lead him to immediate execution. *Nanybrus*, scared at this, and consulting his own safety, promised to deliver up the man, though he could abundantly justify himself with the king of the *Medes* for what he had done in this respect. He then entertained the officer at table, and the dishes were no sooner placed before them, than 150 women, among whom *Parfondas* was, made their appearance, singing and playing upon various instruments; but *Parfondas* was more charming to the eye and to the ear by far than any of the rest; and accordingly *Nanybrus* inquiring of the *Mede* which he liked best? he immediately pointed at *Parfondas*. The *Babylonian* at this clapt his hands; and fell into an immoderate fit of laughter; and asking his guest, whether or no he should be willing to pass his night with his favourite? and he declaring his desire that the thing might be so; *Nanybrus* told

⁴ Idem, ibid.

him he could not possibly grant it: Why then did you ask me the question, said the *Mede*? *Nanybrus* paused a while, at last, This, says he, is the *Parfondas* you want. The officer was astonished, and incredulous of what he heard, till at last the *Babylonian*, convincing him that what he told him was fact, alledged, that what he had done with *Parfondas* he could answer for before the king of the *Medes*. *Artaus*, wondering at the prodigious alteration he saw in *Parfondas*, asked him, how it had been possible for him to live so long under such a load of infamy? *Parfondas* pleaded necessity, and the desire he had to see his face again, as also to live to see himself revenged; and begged of all things that he would take revenge for him accordingly. *Artaus* promised him fair, and *Parfondas* recovered himself to his former masculine habit and appearance ^r.

Artaus came to *Babylon* attended by *Parfondas*, who was continually calling upon him for justice; but when *Nanybrus* appeared before the king, he pleaded his cause with great resolution, urging that *Parfondas*, towards whom he never was guilty of the least offence, would subdoulously and barbarously have procured his death, that so he might succeed him in the kingdom of *Babylon*. The king of the *Medes* observed, that this was but a weak argument in him, who had presumed to act as judge in his own cause, and inflict punishments in his own right, instead of appealing to him, and submitting to what he should have seen to have been most proper to be done in the case; and in short, declared, that in ten days time he would pass the sentence on him he had deserved ^r.

Nanybrus, terrified at this, repairs to an eunuch called *Mitraphernes*, who was in greatest favour with the king of the *Medes*, and promised him 10 talents of gold, 100 talents of silver, 10 golden cups, 200 of silver, and a great quantity of fine cloathing, if he would but stand his friend. As for the king of the *Medes* himself, he made him by this eunuch, at the same time, an offer of 100 talents of gold, 1000 talents of silver, 100 golden goblets, 300 of the same in silver, innumerable vestments, and other rich gifts, if he might but have his life spared, and the kingdom of *Babylon* secured to him ^r.

THE eunuch, thus tempted, repaired to the king's bed-chamber, and pressed him very much in the behalf of his client, representing, that he had done nothing worthy of death, that he had not even taken a cruel revenge on *Parfondas*; that he had abstained from his blood, and served him only in kind.

^r Idem, ibid.^r Idem ibid.^r Idem, ibid.

He then urged, that, if after this it should be thought right to deprive him of life, he might be spared for his sake, and promised, that if the favour was granted him, the *Babylonian* should present him with vast gifts, and give *Parsondas* 100 talents of silver. The king, at length, gave ear to the insinuations and arguments of this his favourite eunuch, and sentenced *Nanybrus* to a fine accordingly; which, as it gave great joy to *Nanybrus*, affected *Parsondas* equally with indignation and disdain, who bestowed his maledictions upon the man that first found out gold, seeing for the sake of that he was to live the sport and derision of an effeminate *Babylonian*. The eunuch, who had thus interposed with his good offices, understanding, that *Parsondas* still glowed with rage, and even more than ever, not only exhorted him to be reconciled to *Nanybrus*, but told him, it was the king's will and pleasure he should be so. But *Parsondas*, deaf to all that could be said to him on that subject, continued to meditate revenge both on *Nanybrus* and his friend the eunuch; and in the end had the satisfaction of being revenged on both^u.

BUT we have been too particular in these stories about this first king of *Babylon*, so self-evidently fabulous, and to dilate thereon would only lead us into a repetition of what is gone before in disproof of all of it.

FROM this fictitious relation then, to proceed to the genuine history of the *Babylonians*, in which there is a vast chasm of many hundreds of years, between the times of *Nimrod* and *Amraphel* to the times we are now reached down to; the first *Babylonian* king after these, and those we have mentioned to have succeeded between them, that we meet with in history sacred or prophane, is *Nabonassar*, the first in *Ptolemy's* canon. Concerning this king, so well known for the æra that passes under his name, we have nothing particular recorded; but as it may be of great use to know in what manner he came to be king of *Babylon*, and how it comes to pass, that *Ptolemy* could be assured of no *Babylonian* king who lived before his time, so late in comparison of what has most generally, and till very lately, been pretended, we will venture to supply the deficiency by some probabilities and conjectures, which may carry so much weight with them, after what we have said of the first rise, progress, and apparent obscurity of the antient kingdom of this people, as may satisfy every reader, that no point of history has been so perfectly mistaken, as that which relates to the first rise of the *Babylonian* kingdom, so much talked of by prophane writers.

The genuine history of the Babylonians.

Nabonassar.

^u Idem, *ibid.*

TOWARDS this attempt we have done much already; but this must be here premised, or rather repeated, that however, we distinguish the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians* from each other, they were but two branches of one and the same family. By scripture this most evidently appears, where the *Babylonian* names are pure *Affyrian*; and by prophane authors as much is explicitly confessed, who own and declare the city of *Babylon* was built by the *Affyrians*; and hence we are to conclude, that the antient people that were in immediate subjection to *Nimrod*, have properly nothing to do with the great *Babylonian* kingdom, which arose in after-times, but that the whole must be attributed to the people who migrated with *Asbur*, or *Assur*, and ever after retained his name. If any proof of this could be wanting, after what we have so often attempted in favour of it, we might not only recur to *Ctesias* himself and to *Herodotus*, but to the whole tribe of *Greek* and *Latin* writers; we therefore shall insist no farther on it here, supposing it to be what must be universally granted, and shall only observe, that in *Ptolemy's* canon the Kings of *Babylon* are called *Affyrians*, and that in the same the kings of *Persia* are called the kings of the *Medes*, as it were in honour to the two nations of which they were natural branches; for, in strictness, the history of the empire of *Babylon* is no other than a continuation of the history of the *Affyrian* empire; just as the empire of the *Persians* is of the empire of the *Medes*, and hence in the title of the canon above, you have mention only of the *Affyrians* and the *Medes*, though none but the kings of *Babylon* and *Persia* are to be found therein, excepting the princes which follow *Alexander* the great.

HAVING settled this point, as we think, beyond the possibility of dispute, we shall next endeavour at the proof of what we suggest, by the very situation of the countries in respect of each other, and the nature of things; by which it must be plain, that the kingdom of *Babylon* took birth with the kingdom of *Affyria*, and that they were twin sisters, or at least produced within a few years of each other. Previous to this we must just repeat, that *Pul*, the first *Affyrian* with us, does not appear as a conqueror westward above 24 years before the first of the reign of *Nabonassar*, and we would venture to assert, that *Pul* must then have been in the middle of life, and that after this he may have lived at least 24 years. And this being supposed, as it very naturally may, we shall have as good a proof as we can almost require, that he divided his empire between two of his sons; for, according to *Ptolemy*, *Nabonassar* had *Babylon* for his portion, and, according to

scripture, *Tiglath-pileser* had *Affyria* for his ; for in scripture we find him as the immediate successor of *Pul*, in about seven years after whose death, as we have here stated it, he appears on this side of the *Euphrates*, and leads off with him a number of captives of different tribes and nations ; so that no chronologies can more exactly concur together than the scripture and the canon in this particular ; and what is more, they will, at the same time, help us to some lights to guide us to the truth of what *Ctesias* and his followers have so seemingly disguised, as we shall not fail to observe. In the mean time to return to our point : The very situation of these countries may convince us, that the thing was as we contend ; for they so mutually extend against each other on the banks of the *Tigris*, which was the common boundary of both, and the only partition between them, and *Babylonia* was so throughout a barrier between *Affyria* and the western parts, that the *Affyrian* could not have reached any of them, but by crossing some part or other of the country of *Babylon* ^w ; and but to imagine he attempted to cross the *Euphrates*, before he had made a conquest of this rich and fertile land, were an absurdity of the most glaring kind. And accordingly we find, that *Ctesias*, how inconsistent soever he may have been in other points, was so sensible of this, that he makes this the first conquest the *Affyrians* attempted, even though he as good as confesses his *Ninus* never to have crossed the *Euphrates*, concluding, it would appear ridiculous, that a man who had taken it into his head to become a conqueror, and to extend his dominion over all other countries, should not first make sure of so near a neighbour, which must have been more tempting to him than any other he could possibly have in view.

The kingdom of Babylon in subjection to that of Affyria.

Now, as we have plainly seen, that the two kingdoms took birth together in one man, it is inconsistent to suppose, they were not in subordination to one another ; and accordingly it appears, that *Nabonassar* was the younger son, and consequently in subjection to his brother *Tiglath-pileser*, who is stiled the king of *Affyria*, and held his residence at the original seat of the empire, *Nineveh*, which, that it was older than the city called by us *Babylon*, is not only to be gathered from the prophet * and other passages in scripture, but from the bulk of prophane authors, who concur, that *Nineveh* was finished before the foundations of *Babylon* were laid.

THIS being settled, we shall have no more reason to wonder, that these two kingdoms were in perfect harmony, than that two brothers should agree together ; the ambition of the one

^w See the map of these countries.

* See before, p. 281.
must

must have contributed to the grandeur and prosperity of the other reciprocally ; and that a right of superiority was acknowledged by the younger branch at *Babylon*, towards the elder at *Nineveh*, may be easily conceived. If this was not exactly the case, we shall have such difficulties start up against us, both in the history of *Babylon* and that of *Assyria*, as are quite insurmountable. We know they existed as collateral kingdoms ; for while the great *Sennacherib* was in his full glory, and warring in the west, we read of an embassy from *Merodach-baladan*, king of *Babylon*, to *Hezekiah* ; not to mention the other kings before him and after him in the canon. Now if there had not been the strictest union, and a most natural subordination, between the two kingdoms on the other side of the *Euphrates*, is it to be imagined, that any king of *Assyria* would have crossed that river to war in the west, while he was disjoined from his own country by so formidable and powerful a kingdom as *Babylon* must have been, and who might have taken the advantage in his absence, when he had, as it is likely, drained his country of the choicest of his soldiery, to spoil and destroy it ? Or might they not have joined the *Ciseuphratensians* against him, and have surrounded him on all sides, and, by the additional numbers they must have brought into the field, have routed and utterly destroyed him ? And must not this or the other have really been the case some time or other, if the kings of the two countries had not been bound together by the most solemn ties of obligation every way ? Could the *Babylonians*, who were confessedly a kingdom all the time, have been so supine as supposed, with such a neighbour at their very door ; and when, at the same time, they must have known, that all the western nations would most readily have joined them to destroy these ambitious princes, who, by so frequently crossing the *Euphrates*, exposed themselves, as powerful as their armies may have been, as often in great measure to their mercy ? Other irresistible arguments may be urged to maintain us in what we would here advance ; but, apprehending, we have said rather more than enough to convince the reader already, we shall pass them over as needless.

FROM all this we may gather, that *Nabonassar*, this first Nabonassar king of *Babylon*, bids as fair to have been the *Ninus* of *Ctesif* far likely to as as *Tiglath-pileser*, and rather more so ; and particularly as have been he was, as is most likely, the husband of *Semiramis*, who, if the *Ninus* she had any right to be denominated from any city of these of prophane parts, was confessedly, according to the common notion, a authors. *Babylonian*, as we shall observe immediately. For notwithstanding the *Ninus* of *Ctesifas* is said to have raised the city of

Nineveh, in which he differs from what we think very evident, he agrees in so many other points with the person of *Nabonassar*, that he makes full amends for it. We have seen him the visible son of *Pul*, whom we have asserted to have been the *Belus* of that author; and that he was a warrior, cannot be doubted, when it is considered, that the family he was a branch of had just begun to establish a power, by conquest, over all the nations they could reach. But that he may have been magnified a little beyond the truth, or indeed a great deal, must not astonish us, when we remember, that this younger family, rising upon the ruins of the elder, may have arrogated more to themselves than was really their due, and that even what they did arrogate may have been enlarged by tradition, which always spreads as it goes.

THUS far again we see a resemblance between *Ninus* and *Nabonassar*; the conquests of the former are confined wholly to the *Trans euphraten sian* regions, he never once makes his appearance on this side of the river [†], except in the romantic lists of his conquests. And so it is most likely to have been with *Nabonassar*, who may have warred upon the *Medes*, the *Bactrians*, and neighbouring people, while the emperor, his eldest brother, was prosecuting a war, and grasping at conquests of far greater importance; whereby he hoped to become master of the great and wealthy kingdoms of *Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Palestine*, and thereby to pave his way to *Egypt* itself, states who, for their great opulence, must above all others, have allured a race of princes possessed with an unnatural lust to live upon the spoil.

As we have seen that he may possibly have been the *Ninus* of prophane writers, we are next to declare, that he can never have been either the *Shalmaneser* of scripture, or the *Belesis* of *Ctesias*, according to the generality of christians. *Shalmaneser* he cannot possibly have been; for he had, according to the canon, been dead five years before *Shalmaneser* seems to have begun his reign; nor can he have been *Belesis*, for if he be a prince any where in the canon, he must have been *Nabopallasar*, and indeed can have been no other. Now *Nabopallasar* did not begin to reign at *Babylon* till full 118 years after *Nabonassar* had been departed this life. Nor consequently can he have been *Nanybrus*, who was confessedly the same with *Belesis*.

Semiramis
most likely
to have
been the
wife of
Nabonassar.

To dwell no longer on the mistakes that have been committed with regard to this first king of *Babylon*, we would next observe, that the *Semiramis* of the *Greeks* must have

[†] See before, p. 150, 151, & seq.

been his wife, if ever there was such a queen of *Babylon*; whereby we shall still more amply evince that he may have been *Ninus*. We have been told she was born at *Ascalon* in *Syria*, that she was brought from that country by a certain officer belonging to the king of *Assyria*, and that *Ninus* fell in love with her, though married to that officer, and made her his queen^a. Now as we have stated the chronology of *Assyria* and *Babylonia*, it was about the middle of *Nabonassar*'s reign at *Babylon*, that his seeming brother, *Tiglath-pileser*, crossed the *Euphrates*, and captivated some of the tribes and nations to the westward. Among these captives, it is very likely, *Semiramis* may have been, according to the story of *Ctesias*; and, as she must have been a woman of very superior wit and beauty, it is not strange, that some great *Assyrian* lord should take her to his bed, and even make her his most favourite wife. It is possible also, that she may have attended him to the war with the *Bactrians* as related^a, where we have made it probable, that *Nabonassar* may have commanded. And that this was something of the case appears by this, that *Ninus* lived not very long with her, and left her behind him with a young child^b. Now *Nabonassar* reigned but 14 years in all^c; and it was in the seventh year of his reign that *Tiglath-pileser* first made any captives from this side of the river. If then we suppose, as according to the story we may, that she lived with her first husband five years, she must have fallen to the lot of *Nabonassar*, if she was his wife, in the latter end of his 12th, or the beginning of his 13th year, and so he can have lived with her but barely two years; and this agrees seemingly with *Ctesias*, who, as we apprehend, makes the duration of their marriage to be very short^d.

IF we build upon any foundation, as possibly we may, we *Whence it* shall hereby be able to discover, how it came to pass that she *came to* had the sovereign sway over *Babylon*, as also that her reign was *pass, that* but very short. For, considering her own personal excellencies, that she must have been the idol of her deceased husband, *Semira-* and the mother and nurse of a tender infant he had left to *mis ruled* succeed him, nothing is more natural, than that she should *over Ba-* assume the reins of the government, and in consequence thereof *bylon.* attempt to make herself an everlasting name, for her exploits abroad, and her works at home. Accordingly it is possible she may have headed armies to some of the people mentioned in her story; and though she did not build the city of *Babylon*, which by all circumstances we may assure ourselves she did not,

^a See before, p. 163.^a See before, p. 160.^b Ibid. p. 163.^c See before in the canon, p. 279.^d See before, p. 163.

she may so have added to it, or embellished it, as to have intitled her as much, in proportion, to the honour of being reckoned the foundress of *Babylon*, as *Nebuchadnezzar* had to be esteemed the founder. A woman of the sort she must have been, could never slip so favourable an opportunity of making herself conspicuous to all ages; and by her example she is said to have stirred an emulation in a queen, who succeeded almost 200 years after her, and who, it seems, vied with her to the degree of eclipsing her ^e. The name of this queen is *Nitocris*, and between her and *Semiramis* there is said to have been five generations ^f; which, according to the common way of computing, being equal to 150 years, and the sum of the years of the *Babylonian* kings amounting to 210, if from thence we deduct the 14 years of *Nabonassar*'s reign, and as many from that of *Nabonadius*, who was the last king, and the son of this *Nitocris* ^g, we shall have a remainder of 182 years. This will be an argument against us, with regard to what we are attempting to prove of *Semiramis*, and we confess it; for after this rate *Semiramis* must have lived above six generations before *Nitocris*; we would therefore, since we have so many concurrent circumstances in our behalf, conclude, that *Herodotus* is mistaken in this matter, which he well may be, in so traditionary a piece of history as this must have been in his time. If no historian had made greater mistakes than this, we should not have been involved in such labyrinths, as we have often been throughout the course of this work.

*Her reign
but short.*

Now if things were as we suspect them to have been, this great and deified *Semiramis* reigned but two years ^h, for her son, according to this, lived no longer, and must have died at two or three years old; and indeed we have formerly made it an objection ⁱ, that she should have reigned so great a length of time after her son was arrived at years of discretion. Nor can she have been any other than the wife of *Nabonassar*, by the tradition which makes her the foundress of *Babylon*, of which she is reported to have laid the very foundations; this is supposing her to have been the first queen there, and if so, as at the bottom of the prophane accounts there may be something of truth, as we have observed ^k before, she can have been queen to no *Ninus* but *Nabonassar*, and can have reigned no longer than her infant son, who was king but two years.

HAVING thus picked some seeming truth out of *Ctesias*'s fiction, we may from the several particulars reflect a light on

^e HERODOT. l. i. c. 185.

^f Idem ibid.

^g Idem ibid.

^h See before in the canon, ubi sup.

ⁱ See before p. 174, note

(H).

^k See before, p. 149.

the worship that was paid to her, particularly in *Palestine*, *Syria*, and *Babylon*¹. For she may have really been born in the first, transported from the second, and deified in the third; so that, each having a sort of natural claim to her, it is no wonder they so eagerly contended to do her honour. All this may stand with the times we here suppose her to have lived in; but can possibly suit with no other that we know of. And that she was of mean extraction at *Ascalon*, that she was in the state of a servant in *Syria* or the parts adjacent; and that thence she was carried to *Nineveh* or *Babylon*, does not only appear by the *Ctesian* account of her, and by what is positively asserted of her, that she was originally a servant or slave^m, but also by the fable invented to cover the obscurity of her birth. In a word, the circumstances, as related of her by prophane authors, may very naturally be deduced from the circumstances of the first rise of the *Assyrian* monarchy in scripture; and it is plain, they are put backwards a number of ages, only to reflect the greater degree of reverence on her; nor must we wonder, that she had forty years added to the length of her reign, by the priests, or others, who may have had a greater interest in magnifying her, than in an adherence to the naked truth, any more, than that she should be said to have done infinitely more than it is certain she did; or that in the end she should have been deified; for whatever could contribute to derive the greater honour on her, contributed the more to confirm her in the superstitious awe that in time came to be contracted for her.

HAVING thus seen that *Semiramis* must, in all probability, have been the wife of *Nabonassar*, the first *Babylonian* king, and son to the great *Pul*, or *Belus*, we shall next take notice of some circumstances concerning her, which we purposely omitted when we gave her history as queen of *Assyria*. *Particulars concerning her.* She is equally famed as the foundress of the city of *Babylon*, and as a fortunate heroine, who aimed at no less than the conquest of the whole known world, as we have seen: That she may have embellished or added greatly to that city we have granted, nor can we refuse some sort of credit to so general a tradition; nor will we deny, but she may have warred against the *Bactrians*, and other nations in those partsⁿ; and this her masculine turn of mind may, by the way, confirm us in a belief, that she was from her youth bred up to the toil and labour of a servant, as reported, which must nat-

¹ See before, p. 251. ^m See before p. 164, note, (Y), & *PLIN.* *Hist. Natur.* l. 35. c. 18 p. 694. ⁿ See before, p. 169, 170.

turally,

turally have formed her to such exploits. As for what she did at *Babylon*, it must have been but little in comparison to what was done to it afterwards, when it came to be improved by the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, as we shall hereafter observe; only for the present taking notice, that, as the city must in her time have been in its infancy, and she at most reigned but two years without the participation of her husband, and not above four years in all, and in the midst of the wars then waging by the *Assyrians* with all the nations round about, it is not conceivable, but she must have left that city in no very extraordinary state for magnificence or grandeur.

AGAIN, as her reign must have been very short, we would urge, that she did not any thing like what is reported of her as an heroine; and that it is almost clear, that she did no more than finish the war with the *Medes*, or with the *Bactrians*, or perhaps with both, as tradition informs us; and that thus she completed what her husband *Nabonassar*, according to our supposition, had begun and conducted towards an end. More she certainly cannot have done in the short space of her administration, whether in the days of her husband or of her son; and this must have intitled her to immortal fame, if, at the same time, as it seems, we must grant, she did any thing notable towards the improvement or embellishment of the city of *Babylon*; nor is it strange, that after this we should be shewn her through the magnifying glass of prophane authors, who had their accounts from the *Babylonians*, who may have thought, they could not possibly do themselves too much honour in reporting wonders of this their first and most fortunate queen. And all their tales being greedily swallowed even by the most judicious, we have her thence compared with *Sesostris* ° a fabulous hero; and hence we see her building fleets, arming legions, raising *Babylon*, and, in short, circumnavigating the *red-sea*, or *Indian* ocean, and reducing the *Arabians* and *Ethiopians* †; and hence her altars, together with those of *Hercules*, the *Liber Pater*, and others towards the confines of *India* ‡. Hence she is represented to have been a tyranness of the most rigid and inexorable sort †; and hence she is fabled to have been so active in keeping the people in subjection and awe, that hearing of a tumult and an insurrection of the *Babylonians*, as she was dressing her

° PLUTARCH, *Γυναικων ἀρισταί*, p. 243.

† Idem, *Περὶ τῆς*

Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης ἢ ἀρετῆς λόγος, β. p. 336.

‡ PLIN. *Hist. Nat.*

l. 6. c. 16. p. 314.

† Excerpt. Chronol. ex AFRICAN.

EUSEB. & aliis, p. 74.

head, she would not give herself time to finish what she was about, but rushed forth from her chamber, with her hair half about her ears, to reduce the revolvers, and would never so much as set her hair in order before she had done as she had resolved^r; and that thenceforward she was represented, by a statue at *Babylon*, in an undress, and with her hair half dishevelled^t. Hence it is she is represented as a monster of lust^u; and hence she is celebrated for the many mighty deeds and exploits we have formerly related of her^w, and others equally fabulous, which we shall not here insist on. In fine, she is said to have been the first *Assyrian* queen and lady, to have first surrounded *Nineveh* with walls, and to have changed its name into *Babylon*^x, a strange absurdity we need not animadvert on. But after all that is boasted of her by the same author^y he acquaints us, that she died in her bed^z.

THE second king of the *Babylonians* is called *Nadius*^a, who reigned but two years; and if what we have ventured to conjecture in the foregoing reign was at all the case, as, by comparing things together as we have there done, it seems to have been, this *Nadius* must have been the *Ninyas* of *Ctesias* and his followers, and must have dyed an infant of about three years old. Nadius.

THE next that filled the throne were *Chinzirus*^b and *Porus* who reigned five years: Concerning these we have nothing to conjecture. The names seem to belong to two persons, and they may have been brothers; or it may be, that one man may have born both the names, which seem to have no direct affinity either with the *Chaldee* or the *Assyrian*. Chinzirus
and Porus.

Jugæus^c reigned next; there is nothing recorded of him, nor can we offer at one conjecture concerning him, except that he, as well as those he immediately succeeded, and those that came after him, down to *Affar-addin*, did nothing worthy notice, and that they may have passed their days in sloth and effeminacy. Jugæus.

Mardoc-empad^d, he is certainly the *Merodach-baladan* of *Mordoc* scripture, the same that sent an embassy to *Hezekiah* king of *Judah*. The times of the former in the canon, and of the latter in scripture, agree exactly; and it must have been in the seventh or eighth year of his reign that he sent to *Hezekiah*. In *Isaiah*^e he is called *Merodach-baladan*, as we have

^r VALER. MAXIM. l. 9. c. 3. ^t Idem ibid. ^u PLIN. ubi sup. ^w See before in the fourth Sect. of the Hist. of *Assyria*. ^x SUIDAS ad vocem Σαμάριας. ^y Ibid. ^z Ibid. ^a See before in the canon, p. 279. ^b Ibid. ^c Ibid. ^d *Isai.* xxxix. 1.

written him above, but in the book of *Kings* he is called *Berodach-baladan*^e, and in both places, the son of *Baladan*, whence we gather, that the *Jugæus* above, who seems to have been his father, would be more properly called *Baladan*, though that is what we would not venture to do. If, as is most generally supposed, he sent this embassy to *Jerusalem*, to inquire concerning the regression of the shadow upon *Abaz's* sun-dial^f, he must be concluded to have been a prince of curiosity, and a man that cultivated astronomy, or at least encouraged it in others: Though that this was all the business of this embassy, may be disputed; for there seems to have been some other view in it, by the parade *Hezekiah*, upon this occasion, made of his warlike stores and treasures^g. It may be suspected there was something more than the solution of a curious enquiry intended; for, as *Sennacherib* was then alive, it cannot well be conceived, how there should have been such a liberty taken by his *Babylonian* relation or dependant, as to correspond with an enemy by ambassadors. This is the first *Babylonian* king we read of in scripture to have had any intercourse with the kings at *Jerusalem*; and he must have been a man of resolution and ambition, if we suppose he wanted to draw *Hezekiah* into an alliance with him against the *Assyrian* emperor. Upon the whole, the men he sent from *Babylon* seem rather to have been private agents than public ambassadors, and what was transacted with them seems to have been quite a secret. He may have understood, that the *Medes* were on the point to revolt, as they certainly did a very short time afterwards, and that other nations, their neighbours, were ripe for the same; this he may have known, and may therefore have attempted alliances with the *Jews* and others, on this side the *Euphrates*, against *Sennacherib*, to secure his own dominions, or to enable him to withstand such incursions, as he may have dreaded from the same people; but we forbear to expatiate farther hereon. Thus far is certain, that things now began to threaten some calamity to *Assyria*; and it is likely, *Merodach-baladan* might have foreseen it, and bestirred himself to make sure of what belonged to himself. This prince reigned 12 years and was succeeded by

Arkianus. *Arkianus*^h, concerning whom all we know is, that he reigned but five years, and that after him there was an inter-reign of two yearsⁱ. This is distinguished as the first inter-reign in the *Babylonian* kingdom, and thereby it might be fairly concluded, that the line of *Nabonassar* became extinct

^e 2 Kings xx. 12.

^f See before, p. 86.

^g Isai. xxxix. 2.

^h See before in the canon, ubi sup.

ⁱ See before, ibid.

in the last king, or that it was set aside, if it be not more rational to suppose, that the kingdom was not hereditary, so as to fall of course to the eldest son. There may have been disputes among the sons about the succession, or the king of *Nineveh*, who may have appointed the kings of *Babylon* according to his own pleasure and good liking, may not, in this space of time, have determined who should next be king of *Babylon*. *Affar-baddon* was now emperor of *Affyria*, and the *Medes* had actually revolted five or six years before, and he may now have been at a loss whom to substitute in the throne of *Babylon*, which, if what we have observed be right, may have been filled with slothful and inactive princes ever since the death of *Nabonassar*, or his wife, if she was so, *Semiramis*. For while the kings of *Nineveh* were successively warring in the west, the kings of *Babylon* may have degenerated considerably, and have fallen into disgrace and vice, in conformity to what prophane authors relate of the successors of *Semiramis*; and may, by their indolence or connivance, have encouraged the *Medes* to shake off the yoke.

Belibus * succeeded to this inter-reign, but by what means, *Belibus*. or by what right, we know not, except that it may plainly appear, that he was appointed by *Affar-baddon*. He reigned but three years, at the end of which term, whether he died, or was displaced, may be doubted, by the shortness of his duration as king.

He made room for *Apronadius* ¹, who reigned six years, *Apronadius*. and gave place to *Regibélus* ^m, who, possessing the throne but one year, made way for *Meseffimordacus* ⁿ, who held the sceptre but four years, and gave place to an inter-reign ^o, *Regibélus*. *Meseffimordacus*. which lasted full eight years. To fill up this chasm, it may hence be confirmed to us, that the kings of *Babylon* were at the pleasure of the king of *Affyria*, and appointed by him, as he thought proper, out of the *Babylonian* family; the shortness of the four preceding reigns may persuade us, that the kings, between this inter-reign and the former, did not succeed each other as father and son, and the same we may indeed conclude of the kings between *Nabonassar* and the first inter-reign, who were but a little while on the throne, and seem to have been rather appointed governors for a certain term of years, than kings succeeding in right of each other; nor can it well have been otherwise. The elder family at *Nineveh* must in time have assumed considerably over the younger at *Babylon*, and contracted a jealousy of them, and imposed such hardships on them, or have some way or other behaved to them so as to provoke them at last to join with

Second inter-reign.

* See before, *ibid.*

¹ *Ibid.*

^m *Ibid.*

ⁿ *Ibid.*

^o *Ibid.*

the *Medes* to destroy them. Thus the thing seems to have been.

Assar-addin.

THE eight years of this inter-reign being expired, *Assar-addin*^p, the *Esar-baddon* of scripture, possessed himself of the kingdom of *Babylon*. We have already said all we positively know of him, when we formerly gave his reign as king of *Assyria*. It is remarkable, that he should deliberate so long as eight years, before he assumed the government of *Babylon* in person. We formerly made it a doubt^q, whether or no he seated himself master here by art or by violence; but by what we think we plainly discover of these collateral kingdoms of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, he now set aside the *Babylonian* family as useless, or dangerous, to his empire, which must now have been in a very crazy condition^r. By this step of policy he seems to have re-established the *Assyrian* monarchy; and remarkable it may be thought, that he made no attempts towards the recovery and extension of the *Assyrian* conquests westward, till he had thus taken *Babylon* to himself^r. Hence it may appear, that the former division of the empire, however small it may have been, was now judged hurtful thereto, and that so it had been, appears by the consequences of this junction, after which the *Assyrians* rose to a higher pitch than ever they had been, at least in the western parts, where under this king they established their power more firmly than it ever had been, and even conquered *Egypt*^r. The obscurity of the kings of *Babylon*, between *Nabonassar* and this *Assar-addin*, may have given birth to what is related of the sloth and inactivity of all the kings that succeeded between *Semiramis* and *Sardanapalus*, a name which we have as good as proved to have belonged to this prince^u; but at the same time we have shewn there were two of the name, a warrior and an effeminate man. This then must have been *Sardanapalus* the warrior, for his history declares him to have been such, but that is what we need not repeat. He reigned at *Babylon* 13 years, and was succeeded by

Saosducheus.

Saosducheus, or *Saosduchinus*^w, who, as well as his predecessor, was king both of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*. We have already said all of him we have been able to collect^x, as king of *Assyria*. He reigned 20 years, and was succeeded by

Chyniladan.

Chyniladan^y, whom we have shewn to have been the *Nebuchadonosor* of the book of *Judith*^z, where we have given

^p Ibid.

^q See before, p. 201, & seq.

^r See before, Ibid.

^r Ibid.

^t See before, p. 203.

^u See before, p. 205, note (M).

^w See before in the canon, ubi sup.

^x See before, p. 205.

^y See

before in the canon, ubi sup.

^z See before p. 207, note (Q).



all the history we know of him. He, as well as his two predecessors, was king both of *Affyria* and *Babylon*, and reigned 22 years. The length of these three reigns, which in sum make up 55 years, which exceeds the sum of the nine reigns and two inter-reigns between *Nabonassar* and *Affar-addin* by two years, may convince us, that the kings of *Babylon* during that interval were little better than governors, placed and displaced by the kings of *Affyria* at their will and pleasure; and continued or discontinued just as they approved themselves more or less trusty and serviceable to the *Affyrian* kings. Hitherto the kingdom of *Babylon* had been dependent on the emperors at *Nineveh*; it now begins to emerge, and to rear up the head as an empire, exalting itself on the ruins of the *Affyrian* monarchy.

FOR *Nabopallasar*^a succeeded *Chyniladan*, and is said to Nabopal- have wrested the kingdom of *Babylon* from the *Affyrians*, lasar. and to have seized on it himself, and is plainly the man who transferred the seat of the *Affyrian* monarchy to *Babylon*^b. His name declares him to have been an *Affyrian*, and to have derived his origin from *Pul* and *Nabonassar* his son, it partaking equally of both; for as *Nabonassar* is plainly compounded of *Nebo-addon-assur*, this man seems to have rejected the *Addon* for *Pul*, and to have had his name compounded from *Nebo-pul-assur*; which, it is likely, he may have assumed upon his revolt from the *Affyrian* *Sarac*, *Sarchedon*, or *Sardanapalus*^c, and claims, as should plainly appear by his name, to have been lineally descended from *Pul* by *Nabonassar*, and so, it is likely, pretended to a right of inheritance in the kingdom of *Babylon*, of which his family had been unjustly deprived by the elder branch of *Affyria*. Thus it seems natural to conclude; if so it was, he had a fair opportunity of asserting his right, for being appointed over *Chaldaea* upon the death of *Chyniladan*, who left the *Affyrian* affairs in great confusion, and at a time when the *Medes* were in the full vigour of their pursuit against the kings at *Nineveh*^d, he took the advantage, and, seizing on the kingdom of *Babylon* for himself, he entered into alliances with *Astyages* the *Mede*, and to confirm the same desired his daughter *Amyite* in marriage for his son *Nabocolassar*^e, and joining heartily in the war with him against the kingdom of *Affyria*, they reduced it to a very humble condition, though, as we have

Year of
the Flood,
2373.
Year be-
fore Christ.
626.

^a See before in the canon, ubi sup. ^b See before, p. 215. note (A). ^c See before, ibid. ^d See before, p. ibid. ^e ALEX. POLYHIST. apud SYNCHEL. p. 210. EUSEB. in Chron.

made it appear ^f, he did not live to see the final destruction of it; for the irruption of the *Scythians* put a stop to the progress of these new allies, for the space, as we are told, of 28 years ^g.

THIS prince is called by contraction *Nabulassar* ^h, but by the same author he is also called *Nabuchadonosor* ⁱ, as he is by others ^k *Nebuchadnezzar*, whence he is distinguished from his son, as the first of the name ^l; in a word, he, and no other, must have been the *Belesis* of *Ctesias* ^m, and the *Nanybrus* of *Nicholas of Damascus* ⁿ; but what is seemingly strange, he is also called *Sardanapalus* ^o, which we have taken notice of already. This prince, besides what he must have suffered and apprehended from the *Scythians*, who during his time prevailed in *Asia* ^p, was in imminent danger of being blasted in his hopes by an invasion from *Egypt*. For *Pharaoh Necho*, at that time king of the country, understanding, that the kingdom of *Assyria* was as good as dissolved, by the combination of the *Babylonians* with the *Medes*, and that the confederates themselves were under restraint from the *Scythians*, thought this a proper opportunity to be revenged on the *Trans-euphratensians*, who had captivated the kingdom of *Egypt* in the days of the great *Esarhad-don* ^q, and to raise himself an empire over the kingdoms and countries on this side of the *Euphrates*, which had, for some time past, been under the kings of *Assyria* by conquest. He prosecuted his design, succeeded to his wish, and even took the great city of *Carchemish*, *Circutium*, or, as it is most corruptedly written, *Carchabesa* ^r, upon the *Euphrates* ^s. This we are told was his case, but we have seen it is false; for before this invasion of *Necho* he must have been dead ^t some time, as appears by the circumstance we are told of *Josiah's* death, who was slain at *Megiddo* in making head against *Necho*, as he was marching against the king of *Assyria* ^u, who can have been none other than *Sarac* ^v; for as *Josiah* reigned full 31 years ^w, he must according to the course of scripture and *Ptolemy's* canon,

^f See before, p. 218, & seq. ^g Ibid. note (E). ^h *BEROS.*
apud *JOSEPH.* contr. Ap. l. i. p. 1044, & *Antiq.* l. 10. c. 11.
ⁱ Idem apud eund. *Antiq.* l. 10. c. 11. ^k In *Libr. JUCHA-*
SIN. p. 136. ^l *DAVID GANTZ II.* Chron. l. 2. n. 285.
^m See before, p. 284. ⁿ See before, *ibid.* ^o See be-
fore p. 215, note (A). ^p See before, p. 218, note (E).
^q See before, 203. ^r *JOSEPH.* *Antiq.* ubi sup. c. 7. ^s See
Vol. II. p. 47. ^t See before p. 219, note (G). ^u See
before, p. 99. ^v See before. p. 215. ^w See before, p. 99.
have

have survived *Nabopallasar*. It is therefore plain, that we cannot rely upon *Berosus* ^a, when he informs us, that he sent his son *Nabuchadonosor* to quell the rebellious satrapa, or governor, of *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, as he plainly calls *Pharaoh Necho*; nor did *Nabuchadonosor* effect this till after his death, and after he had subverted *Nineveh*, which was brought to pass by his valour and good fortune, in conjunction with *Cyaxares* the *Mede* his brother-in-law ^y. There was then no war between *Babylon* and *Egypt* during the life of *Nabopallasar*, nor was there any such officer as a satrapa over *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, in his time, for the *Assyrians*; *Egypt* had recovered itself a considerable time before ^z from the conquest and captivity of *Esar-haddon*; and *Judah* was all this time under her own king *Josiah* ^a, and that all the western regions, on this side of the *Euphrates*, had shaken off the *Assyrian* yoke is plain, not only by the history of *Chyniladan* ^b, but by the trouble the great *Nebuchadnezzar* had afterwards to reduce them to *Babylon*. We may perceive then, that *Berosus*, in the passage before us, confounds the father and son together, and that he is too hasty in bringing on the destruction of *Nineveh*; for till that had been effected, there is no supposing the *Babylonians* could have pretended to cross the *Euphrates*; and that there was a king of *Assyria* subsisting in the day that *Josiah* was killed by *Necho*, we learn from scripture ^c, and that *Josiah* survived *Nabopallasar*, we understand by comparing the same with the canon ^d. This satrapa of *Egypt* and *Syria* must be understood proleptically, except we suppose the office to have subsisted upon the conquests of *Esar-haddon*; which if it did, whoever enjoyed it had little to boast but the empty title, as may be easily discovered. We are certain then of no one particular fact relating to *Nabopallasar*, except that he withdrew obedience from the king of *Assyria*, that he joined with the *Mede*, in order to put an end to that kingdom, and that he reigned 21 years, and was succeeded by his son

Nabocolassar ^e; this is the great *Nebuchadnezzar* of scripture. Nabocolassar, by the *Greeks* called *Nabuchadonosor* (A). It was he lassar. that

^a Apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. & contra APION. l. 1. ^y See NEWTON'S Chron. of anc. kingd. amend, p. 292. ^z See before p. 203, note (K). ^a See before, p. 92, 93, & seq. ^b See before, p. 205, & seq. ^c 2 Kings xxiii. 29. ^d See before p. 219, note (G). ^e See before in the canon, p. 279.

(A) His name, taken which way you will, may be discovered to have been *Assyrian*, by the termination *Assur*. We have already given

Year of the Flood, that compleated what his father had aimed at, and subjected the throne at *Babylon*; it is he that must be called the first *Babylonian* monarch. It has been said, that his father, grown old and feeble, had intrusted him with the reins of the government some years before he died, and that in consequence of this, he waged war with *Pharaoh Necho*, who had conquered all *Syria* to himself, while the *Medes* and *Babylonians* were under restraint by the *Scythians*, or buſied in the reduction of *Nineveh*; and that in this war he not only wrested *Carchemiſh*, or *Circeſium*, or *Circutium*, a considerable town on the *Mefopotamian* ſide of the *Euphrates*, from *Pharaoh Necho*, and routed him with a great ſlaughter; but reduced all the provinces on this ſide of the *Euphrates* which had been ſeized by *Necho*, and made a conqueſt even of *Egypt* itſelf, where, underſtanding his father was dead at *Babylon*, he took the neceſſary meaſures to ſecure thoſe countries, and by the ſhorteſt way of the deſert, haſtened to *Babylon* †. This we have ſhewn to be a miſtake, ſo far as it is poſſible to detect an error of this nature (B). He certainly did

† *BEROS.* apud *JOSEPH.* contr. *APION.* l. i. & apud *EUSEB.* in *Præp. Evang.* l. 9. c. 40. p. 455.

given the ſeeming derivation of it, and only mention it here to remind the reader of what we have ſo often aſſerted, that the *Babylonian* monarchy, how much ſoever it may have been diſtinguiſhed from the *Aſſyrian*, was no more than a continuation of it. And this may be the more pertinently remarked here, as this prince was not only the firſt emperor at *Babylon*, properly ſo called, for his father can never be quite conſidered as ſuch; but as he was alſo the man in whom the *Aſſyrian* or *Babylonian* greatneſs arrived at its utmoſt height, as appears by *Daniel*, who, ſumming up the whole of it in his perſon, declares, that the golden head he ſaw in his viſion was meant to ſignify himſelf*.

(B) We have already (1) demonſtrated the thing to have been as we here ſuggeſt, concerning the death of *Nabopallaſar*; but as it is a point which immediately concerns the hiſtory of this branch of the *Aſſyrian* family, we may be allowed to repeat our attempt here, by ſtating it in another manner, and to make it ſtill clearer, if it be poſſible ſo to do. From the death of *Aſſar-addin* to the firſt year of the reign of *Chyniladan* is twenty years, and from the firſt of the reign of *Chyniladan* to the 12th, that he warred upon the *Medes*, is

* *Dan* ii. 38.
note (G).

(1) See before, p. 206, note (Q), & p. 219,

did not cross the *Euphrates*, before he, in conjunction with his brother-in-law *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, had put an end to *Nineveh*, and established himself on a solid basis in the east.

THIS

32 years. *Manasseh* was taken prisoner by *Affar-addin* in the 21st year of his reign, and, according to all appearance, in the 9th or 10th year of *Affar-addin*'s reign at *Babylon*. The 9th or 10th year we say; because, as he took *Manasseh* captive not long before he invaded *Egypt*, and was to hold *Egypt* but three years (2), according to the prophet, and reigned at *Babylon* but 13 years, we cannot be induced but to think, he effected his conquest of *Egypt* in the latter part of his reign, and that, as he certainly must have kept the same in subjection all his life-time, he died within three or four years after he had taken *Manasseh* prisoner. This being stated, if *Manasseh* was made a captive in the 9th or 10th year of *Affar-addin* at *Babylon*, and, as *Manasseh* reigned 34 years after his said captivity, if, to the 32 years between the war *Chyniladan* made upon the *Medes* and the death of *Affar-addin*, we add three or four years, to make the 13 years of this last king complete at *Babylon*, it must follow, that *Manasseh* died either in the 10th or 11th year of the said *Chyniladan*; and as between the last year of *Manasseh* and the first of *Josiab*, there is an interval but of two years, *Josiab* must have begun his reign either in the 12th or the 13th year of the same *Chyniladan*; from the 12th or the 13th of *Chyniladan* to the last year of his successor *Nabopallasar*, the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, must, according to this, have been either 30 or 31 years. Now *Josiab* reigned 31 years, and therefore must either have outlived *Nabopallasar* by one year, or have died the same year he died, supposing the reign of this *Babylonian* to have ended with his life, and we know not how to think otherwise; for if he had committed the reins of his government ever so much to the guidance of his son, he must have been considered, according to all appearance, but as his lieutenant; the father must still have been king, tho' we consider him but as colleague with his son, and the years he lived and reigned, either in whole or in part, must have been reckoned to him accordingly. Now when *Josiab* was killed, there was a king of *Affyria* still in being; it was not against the *Medes* and *Babylonians* that *Pharaoh Necho* went up, as *Josephus* * in a hurry mistakes the matter: his business was apparently to get a share of the *Affyrian* empire, which the *Medes* and *Babylonians* were on the point of dividing between them; *Nabopallasar* then could have claimed no lawful homage of the king of *Egypt*, who can have been no rebel to him, nor can he have even sent his son to such remote parts as *Egypt*, when he had so much to do at home, and found, that his whole force, combined together with that of the *Medes*, was not more than necessary to destroy the old *Affyrian* family;

(2) See before, p. 203, & seq. * *Antiq. l. x. c. 6.*

THIS when he had done, he crossed the *Euphrates* (C) to recover what formerly made a part of the *Assyrian* empire, taking

not to mention the *Scythians*, who, if ever they held any dominion in these parts of *Asia*, must have held it now, in this interval between the fall of the *Assyrians* and the rise of the *Babylonians* and the *Medes*. *Berosus* then, in what he says of the expedition *Nabopallasar* sent his son against his pretended satrapa of the *Syrians* and *Egyptians*, seems rather to have desired to magnify this first *Babylonian* hero, than to adhere to the truth. No attempt can have been made, either by him or his son, on this side of the *Euphrates*, till *Nineveh* had been destroyed and the *Scythians* expelled. Now in the very last year of his reign *Pbaraob Necho* came upon his very frontiers, and took *Carchemish* from him, as we have here stated it, though, as we computed before †, this invasion and success of the *Egyptian* must have fallen out full four years after his reign had been expired. So that take it which way you will, and make all the allowances you possibly can in the behalf of *Berosus*, it is plain, he is not sincere with us in this case. *Pbaraob Necho*, who must have been the satrapa or governor he talks of in the western parts, must have been by far a more powerful prince than *Nabopallasar* his pretended master; and we are, for this reason, inclined to think, that by the same rule he degrades this potent *Egyptian*, he must have spun out the life of his *Babylonian* beyond its natural limits, and have made him a mightier man than he was. If *Berosus* abounded with many such mistakes as these seem to have been, he deserves to be as little regretted as *Trogus*, or any other we have condemned.

Here we would beg leave to rectify an oversight and seeming inconsistency, that formerly (3) escaped us, where we suppose the city of *Nineveh* to have been some time destroyed in the fourth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which, as we have stated things there, coincides with the year *Josiah* was slain by *Necho*, though, according to scripture, there was then an *Assyrian* king absolutely in being, and though we have elsewhere determined (4), that *Nineveh* was not ruined but in the second, third, or fourth year of *Jeboiakim*, which is what we still adhere to as most probable: By the computation here above it must appear, that *Nineveh* had been some time destroyed in the fourth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*; though there had been, as there actually was, a king of *Assyria*, when *Josiah* was slain at *Megiddo*.

(C) *Eupolemus* (5) tells us, that *Nabuchadonosor*, king of *Babylon*, understanding that *Jeremiah* had prophesied in his favour, entertained *Asibares*, the king of the *Medes*, to assist him in this expedition against *Syria* and *Palestine*. That accordingly the army of

† In the note, p. 206.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 219, note (G).

l. 9. c. 39. p. 454.

(3) See before, p. 207, note (Q).

(5) *Apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang.*

aking *Carchemish* from the *Egyptians*, and reducing *Syria* as elated; but as for *Egypt*, he laid no hands on that till many years afterwards; as not only appears by the history of *Egypt* itself, as delivered by prophane authors, but also by the plain concurrence of scripture.

HAVING destroyed the city of *Nineveh*, and possessed him-
self of *Carchemish*^s, he crossed over to this side of the river *Euphrates*, and, having conquered *Syria* and the neighbour-
ing countries, came with a mixed number of nations^h, and
having ravagedⁱ *Samaria*, *Galilee*, *Scythopolis*, and the *Jews*
in *Galaaditis*, he at length laid siege to *Jerusalem*^k, and took
it on the 9th of the month *Chasseu*, or *November*, a day the
Jews commemorate even in our times^l. He now took *Je-*
hoiakim prisoner, and bound him in chains with design to carry
him to *Babylon*; but he changed his mind upon the humble
deportment of the captive king, who swearing to be true to
him as his vassal and tributary, he restored him to his liberty;
though he did not abstain from the plunder of *Jerusalem*,
whence he transported the vessels in the temple to that of
Belus in *Babylon*^m, and took with him some of the choicest
and most promising youths, whom he committed to the care
of *Asbpenaz*, the prince of his eunuchs, with a charge to see
them instructed in the learningⁿ and language of the *Chal-*
dees, and to educate them in such manner, that they might
be fit to attend him as his royal domestics. Of these, parti-
cular notice is taken of *Daniel* and his three friends, *Hanani-*
ah, *Misbael*, and *Azariah*^o. *He takes Carchemish, and conquers Syria.*

THUS did *Nebuchadnezzar* begin to establish himself in the
west (D), and returning to *Babylon*, he resolved to adorn *Babylon*.
and *Returns to*

^s BEROS. ubi sup. ^h EUFOL. apud EUSEB. Præpar. Evang.
l. 9. c. 39. p. 454. ^z Kings xxiv. 2. ⁱ EUPOLEM. ubi sup.
^k 2 Kings xxiv. 11, 12. ^l Dan. i. 2. ^U USSER. Annal. ad Ann.
Mund. 3398. ^m Dan. i. 2. ⁿ Dan. i. 3. ^o Ibid. 6.

the *Medes* and *Babylonians* united together,¹ and consisted of ten thousand chariots, one hundred and eighty thousand foot, and one hundred and twenty thousand horse. By this author then it appears they had made an end of the *Assyrian* monarchy, before they attempted any thing upon *Syria*; which though it is certain, without any such evidence, we may yet quote it, to confirm what we have endeavoured to clear up in the note above.

(D) Thus it was, and most natural it must appear: he had settled himself in the east, and his business now was to strip *Pharaoh Necho* of his new empire over *Syria*, which had formerly belonged to the *Assyrian* monarchy. He does so, drives the *Egyptians* from

and inlarge the seat of his growing empire, in proportion to the sovereignty it was to possess over the nations far and near^p; and being thus employed at home, it happened, that he was, in an extraordinary manner, affected by dreams^q. Under great anxiety of mind, he called together his magicians, forcerers, astrologers, and *Chaldeans*, and not only demanded of them the interpretation of a certain dream which had escaped his memory, but also what the dream had been. Perceiving it was in vain he consulted them, his disappointment wrought upon him to that degree of fury, that he resolved to put them all to death^r, and gave his orders accordingly to *Arioch*, the captain of his guard; who, being on the point to do as he was commanded, was accosted by *Daniel*, who, expostulating with him upon the rashness of the decree against the wise-men, and requesting him to suspend the execution of it, gave him assurance, that he could satisfy the king in what he was so solicitous to know^s.

His dream
of the
image.

Daniel then went into the presence of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and, begging that he would grant him a little time to consider of the thing, repaired to his three companions above-mentioned, and joining with them in an address to heaven, the secret was revealed to him in a night vision^t. Thus instructed from above, he went to *Arioch* the captain of the guard, desiring, he would not so much as think of the orders he had received against the wise-men, but conduct him to the king, whom he was prepared to satisfy^u. When the king saw *Daniel*, or *Beltesbazzar*, (that was his name in *Babylon*) he asked him if he could tell him his dream, and what it portended; to which he answered, with a prefatory introduction to instil into the haughty prince some notions of the might and majesty of God, that his dream had been as follows^w, That

^p *BEROSUS* ubi sup. ^q *Dan.* ii. ^r *Ibid.* ver. 12. ^s *Ibid.* ver. 16. ^t *Ibid.* ver. 19. ^u *Dan.* ii. 24. ^w *Ibid.* ver. 31.

Carchemish, whence they pretended to curb the *Babylonians* even in their own country, recovers all the dominions of *Syria* and *Palestine* quite to the river of *Egypt* (6), and the king of that country dares no more shew his head in these parts (7); being more solicitous to defend himself in his own country, which was to have its turn of invasion, as having been joined to the *Assyrian* empire by *Efarbaddon* (8), than any thing else.

(6) 2 *Kings* xxiv. 7.
note (K).

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) See before, p. 203,

in

in his sleep he saw an image, vast and resplendent, and terrible to the sight; that the head of this image was of fine gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, the legs of iron, and the feet of part iron and part clay; that from an invifible power he saw a stone, that struck the image on the feet, which were part iron and part clay, and crushed them to pieces; that immediately all the metals in the body of the image became as dust, which was swept away by the wind and no more seen; while the stone, which had caused this destruction, remained behind, grew into a mountain, and filled the whole earth *. That as for the interpretation of this extraordinary dream, He himself, as king of kings, was signified by the golden head of the image; that a second kingdom, inferior to his, should arise, which was denoted by the breast and arms of silver; and that from thence a third kingdom of brass should arise, and lord it over the whole earth; that a fourth kingdom should arise, and be as strong as iron, and destroy all that had gone before; but that, the feet and toes being part iron and part clay, this fourth kingdom should be nevertheless partly strong and partly feeble: That after these, God would set up a kingdom which should endure for ever, and that this was signified by the stone hewn or thrown without hands, and which had shattered the gold, the silver, the brass, the iron, and the clay of the image into dust, which had been scattered abroad by the wind † (E).

Nebu-

* Ibid. ver. 35.

† Ibid. ver. 45.

(E) “ In this vision of the image composed of four metals, the foundation of all *Daniel's* prophecies is laid. It represents a body of four great nations, which should reign over the earth successively, viz. the people of *Babylonia*, the *Persians*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans*. And by a stone cut out without hands, which fell upon the feet of the image, and brake all the four metals to pieces, and became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth, it further represents, that a new kingdom should arise after the four, and conquer all those nations, and grow very great, and last to the end of all ages.

“ The head of the image was of gold, and signifies the nation of *Babylonia*, who reigned first, as *Daniel* himself interprets. “ *Thou art this head of gold*, said he to *Nebuchadnezzar*. These nations reigned till *Cyrus* conquered *Babylon*; and, within a few months after that conquest, revolted to the *Persians*, and set them up above the *Medes*. The breast and arms of the image were of silver, and represent the *Persians*, who reigned next. The belly and thighs of the image were of brass, and represent the *Greeks*, who under the dominion of *Alexander the great*, conquered

Nebuchadnezzar, amazed at what he heard, fell on his face and worshipped *Daniel*, commanding that they should strait offer him an oblation and sweet odours, acknowledging his God to be a God of gods, and a Lord of kings. He then promoted him to a great height of dignity, made him great presents, invested him with the government of all the province of *Babylon*, and made him chief of the presidents of all the wise-men. But *Daniel* requested, that his three friends, *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abed-nego* (so they were called in *Babylon*) might have charge of the affairs of the province of *Babylon*, and the thing was so; while *Daniel* was appointed to sit in the gate of the king, as next immediately to himself^a.

Sends several nations to barrajs Jehoia-khim.

WHILE he was thus at *Babylon*, news came to him, that *Jehoiakim* had rebelled against him, and refused to pay him any more tribute; but not having a proper opportunity to chastise this distant king in person, he ordered the *Chaldees*, *Syrians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites* to make incursions into the territories of *Judah*^b; and in this manner did they continue to perplex him for the space of three years; till, at length uniting, they besieged *Jerusalem*, and laying hands on *Jehoiakim*, they slew him, and threw his body into the highway^c; a warfare related a different way by *Josephus*^d, according to whom *Nebuchadnezzar* must now himself have been before *Jerusalem*, and must have taken it in person, and have put the flower of the inhabitants to the sword, and have carried off 3000 of the chief citizens into captivity.

Year of the Flood, 2400. Year before Christ 599.

BUT to return to scripture^e; these confederated nations, though they had thus destroyed the king of *Judah*, did not possess themselves of *Jerusalem*, but continued to blockade it

^a Ibid. ver. 47. ^b 2 Kings xxiv. 1. ^c See before, p. 105. ^d Antiq. l. x. ^e Ubi sup.

“ quered the *Persians*, and reigned next after them. The legs
“ were of iron, and represent the *Romans*, who reigned next after
“ the *Greeks*, and began to conquer them in the eighth year of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For in that year they conquered *Perseus* king
“ of *Macedon*, the fundamental kingdom of the *Greeks*; and from
“ thence forward grew into a mighty empire, and reigned with
“ great power, till the days of *Theodosius* the great. Then, by
“ the incursions of many northern nations, they brake into many
“ smaller kingdoms, which are represented by the feet and toes of
“ the image, composed part of iron and part of clay*.

* Sir Is. NEWTON's *Observ. on the Prophecy of Dan. Part i. c. 3.*
p. 25, 26.

till

till *Nebuchadnezzar* came, who appeared in a few months (F) at the head of his whole army; and investing it with a regular siege, he forced *Jehoiachin* to surrender himself, with the circumstances before related ^f. He now resolved to exert the utmost of his rigour, and to give a glut to his avarice; and, in consequence thereof, he emptied the sacred and the royal treasuries, and cutting to pieces the golden vessels of the temple, he carried all off, together with the inhabitants that were considerable either for valour or ingenuity; draining the land to that degree, as to leave none but the poorer sort just to cultivate the land; and appointing *Mattaniah*, whose name he changed into *Zedekiah*, king over the desolate kingdom of *Judah* ^g. Thus did he march back in triumph to *Babylon*, laden with the spoils of the *Jews*, and followed by numbers of the captive people, who, by their valour and skill, might have been, and no question were, of great use to him in the stupendous works he had begun or projected at *Babylon*, and highly serviceable to him in the prosecution of his conquests. And thus ended his second war with the *Jews*.

No sooner was this over, than *Jeremiah* ^h began to prophesie the increase of this prince's dominion, and particularly, that he should subdue *Elam*, a kingdom on the river *Ulai*, to the eastward of the *Tigris* (G). This country must have been

^f See before, p. 105.

^g Ibid. p. 106.

^h Jerem. xlix.

34.—39.

(F) If it be wondered, how it came to pass, that *Nebuchadnezzar* neglected, for at least three years, to appear in this war personally; it is answered (9), That it is uncertain what detained him so long, though it is very probable, he was busied in the conduct of his vast designs at *Babylon*; that, however, he may have been engaged, as a mediator between the *Medes* and the *Lydians*, who, after a war of several years, being on the point of fighting a decisive battle, were interrupted by a total eclipse of the sun (10), which, as they interpreted it, prevailed on them to submit to the arbitration of two neighbouring princes, they should agree to chuse for each other. It is now supposed, that *Nebuchadnezzar* was chosen by the *Medes*, and that he was employed in that affair, while the nations mentioned made war upon *Judah*; but *Herodotus* expressly saying it was *Labyntus* (11) who was this mediator, we shall defer what may be suggested thereon to the time of his reign.

(G) By the words of the prophecy *Elam* must have been a great and potent kingdom; *Behold I will break the bow of Elam, the chief*

(9) PRIDEAUX'S *Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test.* Vol. I. part i. l. 1. p. 69. &c.

(10) HERODOT. l. 1. c. 74.

(11) *Idem* l. 1. c. *ibid.*

been the *Susiana* of the *Greeks*, and lay so opportunely for him, being, as it were, a borderer on him, that he can have been no very great while in the completion of this advantageous prophecy. And accordingly we find, that, in after-times, the capital of this country, *Shushan*, was sometimes honoured with the presence of the *Babylonian* monarchs.

THIS mighty prince, the darling of heaven, or the instrument rather of God's wrath to punish the wickedness of the nations round about him, had always his victories and accessions of fortune preceded by prophecies from the mouth of *Jeremiah*, or some other prophet; nay, plots and seditions contriving against him were blasted, while yet in embryo, by typical remonstrances from men divinely inspired. So, when the kings of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* would have tempted *Zedekiah*, the thoughtless king of *Jerusalem*, to rise against the *Babylonian*; *Jeremiah*¹ sent to each of the ambassadors in his court, a present of yokes and bonds, to be carried to their masters, with this declaration, That the Lord of hosts, the God of the whole earth, had doomed them all to be servants to *Nebuchadnezzar*; that they should all serve him, his son, and his son's son; that such as should but offer to reject his yoke, he would punish with the sword, and with famine, and with pestilence, till they were utterly consumed by him; but that those who quietly submitted their necks, and faithfully obeyed the king of *Babylon*, should find mercy, and remain in possession of their country^k; such was absolutely to be their fate if they resisted, and such their reward if they behaved submissively under their bondage.

A more sublime elevation no man can be shewn in than this, which exalts him to the height of being, as it were, God's immediate vicegerent here on earth. But how great and terrible soever he was represented, he was dreaded but for a time, by the western nations especially; who, notwithstanding the severe remonstrance and declaration of *Jeremiah*,

¹ Ibid. xxvii.^k Jerem. xxvii.

of their might. And upon *Elam* will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven, and will scatter them towards all those winds, and there shall be no nation whither the out-casts of *Elam* shall not come. For I will cause *Elam* to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life; and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger saith the Lord, and I will send the sword after them till I have consumed them. And I will set my throne in *Elam*, and I will destroy from thence the king and the princes, saith the Lord (12).

(12) Jerem. xlix. 35.—38.

were contriving how they should free themselves from the Year of king of *Babylon*. *Nebuchadnezzar*, understanding that the the Flood, *Egyptians*, the *Jews*, and the other nations, were contriving ^{2409.} to withdraw themselves from his obedience; and that *Zedekiah*, whom he had appointed king of *Jerusalem*, had been ^{Year before Christ 590.} encouraged by *Pharaoh Hophra*, or *Apries*, king of *Egypt*, to set him at defiance, resolved particularly to punish such ingratitude and infidelity¹ in the most extraordinary manner; and putting himself at the head of his army, he advanced to the frontiers, at the same time to chastise all these presumptuous nations; where being arrived, and considering with himself, that he had a number of them to deal with, he remained in suspense for a while, dubious where he should first open the war; till at last he referred this important business to the ordinary methods of divinatory direction in practice with the *Chaldees*, who, consulting of entrails, their images, or *teraphim*, and their arrows (H), delivered it as their opinion, That

¹ 2 Kings xxv. 1. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17. Jerem. xxi. 1. xxxiv. 1.

(H) This practice of divining by arrows continued among the *Arabs* till *Mohammedism* prevailed, which absolutely forbids it (13), and appears to have been the very same in use with the *Babylonians* at this time. "The arrows used by them for this purpose were like those with which they cast lots, being without heads or feathers, and were kept in the temple of some idol, in whose presence they were consulted. Seven such arrows were kept at the temple of *Mecca*; but generally in divination they made use of three only; on one of which was written, *My LORD hath commanded me*; on another, *My LORD hath forbidden me*; and the third was blank. If the first was drawn, they looked on it as an approbation of the enterprize in question; if the second, they made a contrary conclusion; but if the third happened to be drawn, they mixed them and drew them over again, till a decisive answer was given by one of the others. These divining arrows were generally consulted before any thing of moment was undertaken: as when a man was about to marry, or about to go a journey, or the like [*Ebn al Aibir, al Zamakh. & al Beid. in Kor. c. 5. Al Mostatraf. &c. Vid. Poc. Spec. p. 327. &c. & D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Acdâh.*] This superstitious practice of divining by arrows was used by the antient *Greeks*, [Vid. *Pott. Antiq. of Gr. vol. i. p. 334.*] and other nations; and is particularly mentioned in scripture, [*Ezek. xxi. 21.*] where it is said, that the king of *Babylon* stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination; he made his arrows bright, (or, according to the version of the Vulgate, which seems

(13) See the *Koran*, c. 5. p. 94. of Mr. Sale's translation.

" preferable

That the war should first break out against the *Jews* ^m. The *Babylonian* army then made its way to the kingdom of that people, and in a few days became master of all their cities, except *Lachish*, *Azekah*, and *Jerusalem* ⁿ; which in the latter end of *December*, the same year, was blocked up by *Nebuchadnezzar*, with all his formidable army, and a close and vigorous siege ensued ^o.

WHILE he thus was employed, he had advice, that *Pharaoh Hophra* was on his march to relieve the besieged; whereupon he broke up from before the city, and marched to give the *Egyptian* battle ^p, and attack him before he could be possibly joined by any of the discontented nations mentioned above; but before he left *Jerusalem*, he took care to send all the captive *Jews* in his camp, amounting to 832 persons, under a good guard to *Babylon* ^q. He then moved against the *Egyptians*, who, not daring to abide the onset, as should seem by the prophet ^r, retreated in proportion as *Nebuchadnezzar* advanced; though others ^s tell us, they ventured on a battle, which ended in their overthrow.

HAVING thus driven the *Egyptians* back again into their own country, he had leisure once more to prosecute the vengeance he had resolved to take on the king at *Jerusalem*, which city he besieged once more, raising works about the place from whence he so annoyed the inhabitants, that they did not so much as dare to shew their heads on the walls ^t. And yet this siege continued so long, and was in a way of continuing so much longer, that *Nebuchadnezzar* seems to have lost all patience, and to have retired to recreate himself at *Riblah* ^u; if it was not business rather than pleasure that drew him thither. While he was at *Riblah*, his generals, *Nebuzaradan*,

^m Ezek. xxi. 19.—24.

ⁿ Jerem. xxxiv. 7.

^o 2 Kings ubi

sup. Jerem. xxxix. 1. lii. 4.

^p Jerem. xxxvii. 5.

^q Idem lii.

29. ^r Idem xxxvii. 7.

^s Joseph. Antiq. Jud. ubi sup. c. 10.

^t Idem ibid.

^u 2 Kings ubi sup. ver. 6.

“ preferable in this place, *be mixed together*, or *shook the arrows*)
 “ *be consulted with images*, &c. The commentary of St. Jerom
 “ on this passage wonderfully agrees with what we are told of the
 “ aforesaid custom of the old *Arabs*. He shall stand, saith he, in
 “ the highway, and consult the oracle after the manner of his nation,
 “ that he may cast arrows into a quiver, and mix them together, being
 “ written upon, or marked with the names of each people, that he may
 “ see whose arrow will come forth, and which city he ought first to
 “ attack” (14).

(14) See the prelim. Disc to the same, p. 126, 127.

Nebushasban

Nebushasban, Rabfaris, Nergal-sharezzer, and Rabmag (I), Year of stuck close by *Jerusalem*; and at length perceiving the inhabitants to be quite exhausted of their strength and courage, they assaulted the city in the middle of the night, ^{2411.} and took it after a twelvemonth's siege. At first they missed *Zedekiah* and his family, but they took him the next morning, as he was attempting to escape. *Nebuchadnezzar* no sooner saw *Zedekiah* brought before him at *Riblah*, than, severely upbraiding him for his perfidy and ingratitude, he caused his children and all his friends that had been taken with him, to be put to death before his face, and then, depriving him of his eye-sight, ordered him to be bound with chains of brass, and in that deplorable condition to be carried away captive to *Babylon* ^{588.}.

He then dispatched *Nebuzaradan*, the captain of his guard, with orders quite to dismantle the city of *Jerusalem*, to burn the temple there, and the royal palace, and in short the whole place. This was executed with the utmost rigour; and to compleat the tragedy, every soul in the land was led away into captivity, except some few of the most miserable of the people, who were left to take care of the soil and the fruits as yet ungathered. Thus did the *Chaldeans*, under *Nebuchadnezzar*, deal with the *Jews*; they stripped the temple of all its furniture, and destroyed the brazen sea, and the two brazen pillars.

AMONG the prisoners *Nebuzaradan* brought with him to *Riblah* were *Seraiah* the high-priest, *Zephaniah* the second priest, the three governors of the temple, *Zedekiah's* chief general, and five of his favourites or counsellors, together with his muster-master, who was also his secretary; *Nebuchadnezzar* ordered all these to be beheaded. In the midst of his fury, however, he concluded it was adviseable not to leave the land without somebody to look to the miserable remnant that was in it, and to this office he appointed one *Gedaliah*: Nor did he fail to extend his mercy and favour towards the prophet *Jeremiah*, giving *Nebuzaradan* a favourable charge with regard to that holy person, to leave him to his choice of remaining behind in his own country, under his particular

^w Ibid. ver. 4.
p. 110.

^z See before, p. 109.

^y Ibid.

^z Ibid.

(I) *Josephus* (15) calls them *Nergelear, Aremantus, Emegar, Nabafaris, and Echarampsaris*.

(15) *Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 11.*

protection, or of going forward with him to *Babylon*, there to enjoy himself in peace and plenty in his palace. And now *Nebuchadnezzar* returned once more in triumph to the city of his residence, adding great strength and glory to it, by an immense booty he brought with him, and a numerous accession of new inhabitants.

WITH the gold he amassed in this expedition, it is thought, he erected ^a the monstrous colossus of that metal in honour of his god *Bel*, in the plain of *Dura* in the province of *Babylon*. It was sixty cubits in height, and six cubits in breadth, and all of gold; and having summoned together all his princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, counsellors, and all the rulers of provinces, to the dedication of this idol, proclamation was made, That all people, nations, and languages, should no sooner hear the sound of various musical instruments, than they should fall down and worship the golden image *Nebuchadnezzar* the king had set up; under the fearful penalty of being thrown into the midst of a burning fiery furnace ^b. They failed not to obey at the signal given, all but the *Jews*, and particularly *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abed-nego* (K), who being brought before the king, and accused of the neglect, and contempt, and persisting in a refusal to do as was commanded, he became quite furious against them, and ordered, that the furnace should be heated seven times more than ever it had been, and that they should be thrown into it ^c. They were then bound with all their apparel about them, and thrown in; but the heat or the fire of the furnace was so violent, that it killed the men who had charge of the execution ^d. This was

^a PRIDEAUX, ubi sup. l. 2. p. 87. ^b Dan. iii. ^c Ibid. ver. 20. ^d Ibid. ver. 22.

(K) It may be thought strange, that *Daniel* was not accused as well as his friends, it being impossible to suppose, he fell down and worshipped the image. To this it is answered (16), that he must have been either absent, or, if present, must have been too great a man to be accused: It is observed (17) to be most probable, that he was present, it being impossible well to conceive, how so important an officer could have been absent upon so general a summons, and upon so solemn an occasion; but that his enemies might think it dangerous to begin with him, and chose to pave the way to his destruction by that of his three friends, who being miraculously delivered, *Daniel* escaped all danger of course.

(16) See Prid. ubi sup. p. 87.

(17) Idem. ibid.

no sooner over, than *Nebuchadnezzar* became all astonished; and hastily inquiring, if they had not thrown three men bound into the furnace, and being answered accordingly, he cried out, *I see four men loose walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt, and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God*^e. He then drew near to the mouth of the furnace, and conjured the three men, as servants of the most high God, to come out to him. They did so, and all were astonished at what they saw, when they perceived, they had not received the least hurt or alteration, even in their garments^f. *Nebuchadnezzar* blessed the God of *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abed-nego*, and decreed, that whosoever of any people, nation, or language, should presume to speak any thing amiss of the God of *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abed-nego*, the criminal should be cut in pieces, and his house turned into a dunghil^g.

THIS mighty prince, thus reformed, was obliged once more to cross the *Euphrates*, to make war on the nations on this side, whose turbulence of spirit could not rest. It had been prophesied, that he should subdue *Egypt* (L), and serve her

^e Ibid. ver. 25. ^f Ibid. ver. 27. ^g Ibid. ver. 29.

(L) The prophet's words are (18), *Son of man, take up a lamentation for Pharaoh king of Egypt, and say unto him, Thou art like a young lion of the nations, and thou art as a whale in the seas; and thou camest forth with thy rivers, and troubledst the waters with thy feet, and fouledst the rivers. Thus saith the Lord God, I will therefore spread out my net over thee, with a company of many people, and they shall bring thee up in my net . . . For thus saith the Lord God, The sword of the King of Babylon shall come upon thee . . . There be the princes of the north all of them, and all the Zidonians, which are gone down with the slain, with their terror they are ashamed of their might, and they lie uncircumcised with them that be slain by the sword . . . Pharaoh shall see them (that is, Pharaoh shall see the Zidonians, or Tyrians destroyed before him; for *Nebuchadnezzar* subdued *Pbaenicia* before he invaded *Egypt*), and shall be comforted over all his multitude, even Pharaoh and all his army slain by the sword, saith the LORD God. That this prophecy immediately relates to *Nebuchadnezzar*, appears by the recapitulation, made in this same chapter, of the conquests of this monarch, as *Assur*, or *Assyria*, *Elam*, &c. *Jerusalem* may not have been mentioned, as not being yet destroyed. The same prophet dilates much upon this fearful destruction and captivity of *Egypt* in other places (19). *Jeremiab* is quite explicit upon the occasion, and mentions (20) this king by name, *Thus saith**

(18) *Ezek. xxxii. 2—31.* (19) *xxix, xxx, xxxi.* (20) *xliii. 10—13.*

the

her as Judah had been served, and that the same fate should also befall the city of Tyre (M).

Year of the Flood, 2414. Year before Christ 585. IN completion of these predictions he sat down with his army before Tyre, and underwent a most tedious siege of 13 years there, and at last had nothing but an empty town for

the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold, I will send and take Nebuchadnezzar my servant . . . And when he cometh, he shall smite the land of Egypt, and deliver such as are for death, to death; and such as are for captivity, to captivity; and such as are for the sword, to the sword. And I will kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt, and he shall burn them, and carry them away captives, and he shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd putteth on his garment, and he shall go forth from thence in peace. He shall also break the images of Bethshemesh, that is in the land of Egypt, and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall be burn with fire. Much more to the same purpose is to be found in this same prophet (21).

(M) These are the words of the prophet (22), *Son of man, because that Tyrus hath said against Jerusalem, Aba, she is broken, that was the gates of the people . . . Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, O Tyrus . . . Behold I will bring upon Tyrus, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings, from the north . . . shall slay with the sword thy daughters in the field, and he shall make a fort against thee, and cast a mount against thee, and lift up the buckler against thee. And he shall set engines of war against thy walls, and with his axes he shall break down thy towers. By reason of the abundance of his horses their dust shall cover thee, thy walls shall shake at the noise of the horsemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots, when he shall enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach. With the hoofs of his horses shall he tread down all thy streets; he shall slay thy people by the sword, and thy strong garisons shall go down to the ground. And they shall make a spoil of thy riches, and make a prey of thy merchandise; [This seems to contradict what is said of the removal to the island, and the emptiness of the place when Nebuchadnezzar got possession of it, but may be meant only to exaggerate the destruction of the old town] and they shall break down thy walls, and destroy thy pleasant houses; and they shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust, in the midst of the water . . . And I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon: thou shalt be built no more . . . Then all the princes of the sea shall come down from their thrones, and lay away their robes, and put off their broidered garments; they shall cloath themselves with trembling, they shall sit upon the ground . . . and be astonished at thee; and so on in this place, and in others (23) of this same prophet, to the same purpose.*

(21) xlii. xliii. xlii. &c. (22) Ezek. xxvi. 2—16. (23) xxviii. xxviii.

his pains ^h. For the *Tyrians*, perceiving his obstinacy against them, and sensible they must sooner or later fall into his hands, bethought them of removing to the island opposite to them, and not above half a mile or so from the shore; where they built them a new city, whither they conveyed all their effects, and left *Nebuchadnezzar* to vent his rage upon the empty walls of the old town, which he failed not to do ⁱ. However, during this siege, he from time to time, by detached parties, seems compleatly to have subjugated all the countries about; and this he certainly did, in pursuance of the several prophecies of *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*. Thus during this siege, he sent *Nebuzaradan* with a party into *Judæa*, to take vengeance on them for the murder of their late governor *Gedaliah*: In consequence of which he brought off with him all the inhabitants he could meet with, and which amounted to no more than 745 persons, and thereby compleated the desolation of the land.

WHAT *Nebuchadnezzar* may probably have done at *Tyre*, Year of before he departed thence, we have declared already ^k. But the Flood, to make amends for this disappointment, it was promised by 2427. the prophet, that *Egypt* should pay him for what he had suf- Year be- fered before *Tyre* ^l. *Egypt* was at this time as weak as *Tyre* fore Christ was apparently strong; for the country was at this time in 572. great distraction, caused by a civil war then raging between *Apries* and *Amasis* ^m. But concerning this his expedition against *Egypt* we have no manner of account, except what we find relating thereto in the prophecies of *Ezekiel* and *Jeremiah*; whereby we understand, that *Egypt* suffered as much by him as any nation had till then done (N). And now it must

^h See Vol. II. p. 345.
p. 49.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 346.

^k Ibid. ^l Ibid.

^m Ibid. p. 50.

(N) This, besides what we have cited from the prophets to prove it, is directly said by *Jeremiah* (24), addressing himself to such of the remnants of the captivity as thought to have found a sure place of refuge in *Egypt*; Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, If ye wholly set your faces to enter into *Egypt*, and go to sojourn there, then it shall come to pass, that the sword, which ye feared, shall overtake you there in the land of *Egypt*, and the famine, whereof ye were afraid, shall follow close after you, there in *Egypt*, and there ye shall die. So shall it be with all the men that set their faces to go into *Egypt*, to sojourn there, they shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence: and none of them shall remain, or escape from the

must have been also, that he conquered the *Libyans*, and *Ethiopians*, and other adjacent nations, according to the prophecies concerning him (O). As for *Egypt*, it is quite uncertain in what state, or upon what conditions, he left that country, or whether or no he did not appoint *Amasis*, so famed among the *Egyptians*, his lieutenant or viceroy there^a. The glory and prosperity of the reign of this *Egyptian* king, as represented by the *Egyptians* themselves^o, need not prevent us from concluding, he was no better than a substitute and tributary to the king of *Babylon*, and the rather, as the prophet foretels of them, that they should be confounded and desolate for 40 years afterwards^p, which is a space of time nearly equal to the reign of *Amasis*^q; and his defection in the end may have been as good a reason as any formerly given for the rage, as it is represented, of *Cambyfes* against him^r, when the *Persians* had destroyed the empire of *Babylon*.

BUT to desist from uncertainties of so very dubious a nature, *Nebuchadnezzar* is said to have carried his arms into the very heart of *Libya* and *Iberia*, and to have far exceeded even

^a Ibid. p. 52. ^o Ibid. p. 53. ^p Ibid. p. 49. ^q Ibid. p. 59. ^r Ibid. p. 56.

evil that I will bring upon them. For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, As mine anger and my fury hath been poured forth upon the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, so shall my fury be poured forth upon you, when ye shall enter into Egypt: and ye shall be an execration, and an astonishment, and a curse, and a reproach, and ye shall see this place no more (25).

(O) Son of man * prophesy and say, Thus saith the Lord God, Howl ye, wo worth the day. For the day is near, even the day of the Lord is near, a cloudy day, it shall be the time of the heathen . . . Great pain shall be in Ethiopia, when the slain shall fall in Egypt, and they shall take away her multitude, and her foundations shall be broken down. Ethiopia, and Libya, and Lydia, and all the mingled people, and Chub, and the men of the land that is in league, shall fall with them by the sword. Thus saith the Lord, They also that uphold Egypt shall fall, and the pride of her power shall come down: from the tower of Syene shall they fall in it by the sword, saith the Lord God. And they shall be desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities shall be in the midst of the cities that are wasted. And they shall know that I am the LORD, when I have set a fire in Egypt, and when all her helpers shall be destroyed. In that day shall messengers go forth from me in ships, to make the careless Ethiopians afraid, and great pain shall come upon them, . . . for so it cometh (26).

(25) Ibid. 15—18. * Ezek. xxx. (26) Ibid. 2—9.

Hercules

Hercules himself *. Thus far we have seen him a warrior beyond all that had gone before him; we have now done with his martial deeds, and must retire with him to *Babylon*, and take a view of what he did there, and seeing the magnificence of that city is wholly attributed to him, we cannot do it better than by a description thereof, which we have particularly reserved for this place; for it was this prince that enlarged and adorned it, and enriched the temples of it with the spoils he had taken, and, in fine, did most of what is attributed to *Semiramis*, except the immediate foundation; and, indeed, as it is evidently under him, and almost under him only, as monarch of *Babylon*, that the country flourished, and lorded it over the nations, and divided the empire with the *Medes*, who upon his death seem to have been upon no very good terms with the *Babylonians*, so nothing is more natural than to conclude, that the city attained its splendor under him, and that what was done to it after him, was rather to preserve it from assaults of the enemy, than to set it off as the queen of the east.

TOWARDS the description of *Babylon*, and what *Nebu-Babylon chadnezzar* did there, we have little or nothing to add to *described*. what has already been said for us; and therefore we shall have no more to do than to transcribe it, and particularly in the method of a late learned author †.

Semiramis, as we have seen, by some ‡, and *Belus* § by others, is said to have founded this city; but whether it was originally founded by *Belus* or *Pul*, or his son *Nabonassar* the first *Babylonian* king in *Ptolemy's* canon, it was *Nebuchadnezzar* that made it one of the wonders of the world. The most famous works in and about it were the walls of the city itself; the temple of *Belus*; *Nebuchadnezzar's* palace, and the hanging gardens belonging to it; the banks of the river; and the artificial lake and canals made for the draining of the river; works which for magnificence and expence, were exceeded by no one attempt of human labour, excepting the wall of *China*.

THE walls that surrounded the city were every way prodigious; for they were in thickness 87 foot, in height 350 foot, and in compass 480 furlongs, or 60 of our miles ¶. These are the measures according to *Herodotus*, who was him- *The walls.*

* ABYDEN. ex MEGASTH. apud EUSEB. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. p. 456. & BEROS apud JOSEPH. † PRIDEAUX in his connect. ‡ See before, p. 165. § ABYDEN. ex MEGASTH. apud EUSEB. Præp. Evang. l. 9. p. 457. ¶ QUINT. CURT. l. 5. c. 1. ^w HERODOT. l. 1. c. 178.

self at *Babylon*; and though there are those who differ from him in these dimensions, yet most, who agree in any measures of these walls, give us ^a the same, or nearly the same he does (P). These walls formed an exact square¹, each side of which was 120 stades, or 15 miles, in length, and were all built of large bricks, cemented together with bitumen², a particular product of the neighbourhood of this city³, and much more durable and strong than lime. On the outside of these walls was a large ditch full of water, and the earth dug out of it served to make the bricks which built the walls^b, so that from the great dimensions of the walls, those of this ditch or moat may be readily conceived. In each side of this square were 25 gates, 100 in all, and all of solid brass: Between every two of these gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great square, and three between those corners and the gates next on each side, and each of these towers was ten foot higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only of those parts, of the walls, where towers were needful for defence^c. For some parts of them being upon a morass, and inaccessible by an enemy, there the labour and cost was spared, which, though it must have spoiled the symmetry of the whole, must be allowed to have favoured of good oeconomy; though that

^a PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. 6. c. 26. PHILOST. l. 1. c. 18. HERODOT. ubi supr. ² Idem ibid. c. 179. QUINT. CURT. l. 5. c. 1. STRAB. l. 16. p. 743. DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 69. ARRIAN. de expedit. ALEX. l. 7. ³ See Vol. I. p. 319, note (I).
^b HERODOT. ubi supr. ^c DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 68.

(P) *Diodorus Siculus*, as we have seen before (27), diminishes the circumference of these walls very considerably, and takes somewhat from the height of them, as in *Herodotus*, though he seems to add to the breadth of them, by saying, That six chariots might drive abreast thereon; while the former writes, That one chariot only might turn upon them; but then he places buildings on each side of the top of these walls, which, according to him, were but one story high (28); which may pretty well reconcile them together in this respect. It is observed (29), that those, who give the height of these walls but at fifty cubits, speak of them only as they were after the time of *Darius Hystaspes*, who had caused them to be beaten down to that level. To dwell particularly on the varieties in authors that have spoken of this city, would be both endless and fruitless.

(27) P. 165.
ubi supr. p. 95.

(28) L. 1. c. 179.

(29) Vid. Prid.

is what one would not have expected from a prince who had been so determined, as *Nebuchadnezzar* must have been, to make the city complete both for strength and beauty; and hence it should seem, that we see a woman in after-ages completing the walls of *Babylon*; which may have been no more than supplying the deficiency of towers in the parts so destitute of them, which may be better considered, when we come to speak of her in particular. The whole number then of these towers amounted to no more than 250, whereas a much greater number would have been necessary to have made the uniformity complete all round. From the 25 gates in each side of this square there was a strait street, extending to the corresponding gate in the opposite wall, whence the whole number of the streets must have been but 50; but then they were each about 15 miles long, 25 of them crossing the other 25 exactly at right angles^d. Besides these whole streets, we must reckon four half streets, which were but rows of houses facing the four inner sides of the walls. These four half streets were properly the four sides of the city within the walls, and were each of them 200 foot broad^e, the whole streets being about 150 of the same. By this intersection of the 50 streets, the city was divided into 676 squares, each of four furlongs and an half on each side, or two miles and a quarter in compass. Round these squares on every side towards the streets stood the houses, all of three or four stories in height, and beautified^f with all manner of ornaments; and the space within each of these squares was all void, and taken up by yards, and gardens, and the like, either for pleasure or convenience.

A branch of the *Euphrates* divided the city into two, running through the midst of it, from north to south (Q), over which, in the very middle of the city, was a bridge, a furlong in length^g, or rather more, and indeed much more, if we hearken to others, who say, it was no less than five stades or furlongs in length, though but 30 foot broad^h, a

^d HERODOT. ubi supr. c. 180. ^e DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 67. ^f HERODOT. ubi supr. PHILOSTR. l. 1. ^g STRAB. ubi supr. p. 738. ^h See before, p. 166.

(Q) It seems rather to have been a branch of the *Euphrates* (30), than the main stream itself, that thus divided this city. In *Ptolemy's* maps it is seated upon the *Nabarmalcha*, or royal river.

(30) *Vide eund. ibid.*

difference we shall never be able to decide (R) ; this bridge however is said to have been built with wonderful art¹, to supply a defect in the bottom of the river, which was all sandy. At the ends of this bridge were two palaces²; the old palace on the east side, the new one on the west side of the river; the former of which took up³ four of the squares above-mentioned, and the latter⁴ nine of them. The temple of *Belus*, which stood next to the old palace, took up another of the same squares.

THE whole city stood in a large flat or plain, in a very fat and deep soil⁵; that part or half of it on the east side of the river was the old city⁶, and the other on the west was added by *Nebuchadnezzar*⁷, both being included within the vast square bounded by the walls aforesaid. The form of the whole was seemingly borrowed from *Nineveh*, which was also 480 furlongs; but though it was equal in dimensions to this city, it was less with respect to its form, which was a parallelogram⁸, whereas that of *Babylon* was an exact square: It is supposed, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had destroyed that old seat of the *Affyrian* empire, proposed that this new one should rather exceed it than not⁹, and that it was to fill this great intended city with inhabitants, that he transported such numbers of captives from other countries hither¹⁰; though that is what may be disputed, seeing he therein only followed the constant practice of the kings of *Affyria*, who must have re-

¹ DIODOR SICUL. l. 2. p. 68. HERODOT. l. 1. c. 186. QUINT. CURT. l. 5. c. 1. PHILOSTR. l. 1. c. 18. ² BEROS. apud

JOSEPH. Antiq. Judaic. l. 10. c. 11. HERODOT. ubi supr. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supr. QUINT. CURT. ubi supr. PHILOSTR. ubi supr. See before, ubi supr. ³ DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supr.

⁴ Idem ibid. ⁵ HERODOT. ubi supr. c. 193. ⁶ BEROS. ubi supr. ⁷ Idem ibid. ⁸ DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supr. p. 65.

⁹ Vid. PRIDEAUX's Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test. vol. 1. l. 2. p. 97. in 8vo. ¹⁰ Vid. eund. ibid.

(R). By the former of the dimensions of this bridge, it is plain, the city was not immediately upon the great river of *Euphrates*, but rather upon some artificial canal, or inferior branch of the main stream. By the latter indeed it may seem, that it stood upon the main stream itself; however, as they both agree so well in the breadth of the bridge, we may be inclined to think the former was the truest length thereof, the latter being quite disproportionate thereto; and hence we may be brought to conclude, that the city of *Babylon* was not immediately upon the great river *Euphrates*. Other arguments, this way tending, may be alledged; but, as it is a point of such obscurity, we wave them.

curred

curred thereto, as the most certain means of assuring their conquests either to themselves or their posterity.

THUS far however appears; this city was never near inhabited, and, with respect to the very meridian of its glory, may be compared with the flower of the field, which flourishes to day, and to morrow is no more; for as we shall see in the course of this work, it never had the time to grow up to what *Nebuchadnezzar* visibly intended to have made it; for *Cyrus* removing the seat of the empire soon after to *Shushan*, *Babylon* fell to decay, and never flourished to the degree of any thing like what *Nebuchadnezzar* had certainly proposed to himself. Thus far is allowed, no country could have been better able to support so vast and populous a city as this was intended to have been, had it been the will of fate that it should have been compleated up to the first design (S).
But

(S) This it is thought never to have been; for “when *Alexander* (31) came to *Babylon*, *Curtius* tells us, no more than 90 furlongs of it was then built, which can no otherwise be understood than of so much in length, and if we allow the breadth to be as much as the length, (which is the utmost that can be allowed) it will follow, that no more than 8100 square furlongs were then built upon, but the whole space within the walls contained 14400 square furlongs, and therefore there must have been 6300 square furlongs that were unbuilt, which, *Curtius* tells us, were plowed and sown. And besides this, the houses were not contiguous, but all built with a void space, on each side, between house and house. And the same historian tells us this was done, because this way of building seemed to them safest. His words are, *Ac ne totam quidem urbem testis occupaverunt, per 90 stadia habitatur, nec omnia continua sunt; credo, quia tutius est pluribus locis spargi.* i. e. Neither was the whole city built upon, for the space of 90 furlongs it was inhabited, but the houses were not contiguous, because they thought it safest to be dispersed in many places distant from each other. Which words [they thought it safest] are to be understood, not as if they did this for the better securing their houses from fire, as some interpret them, but chiefly for the better preserving of health; for hereby, in cities situated in such hot countries, those suffocations and other inconveniences are avoided, which must necessarily attend such as there dwell in houses closely built together. For which reason *Delhi*, the capital of *India*, and several other cities in those warmer parts of the world, are thus built; the usage in those places being, that such a stated space of ground be left void between every house and house that is built in them; and old *Rome* was

(31) *Vid. eund. ibid.*

“ built

But neither did *Nebuchadnezzar* live long enough, or the empire itself subsist a time sufficient to bring this to pass.

THE

“ built after the same manner. So that, putting all this together,
 “ it will appear that *Babylon* was so large a city in scheme rather
 “ than reality : for according to this account, it must be by much
 “ the larger part that was never built, and therefore, in this respect,
 “ it must give place to *Nineveh*, which was as many furlongs in
 “ circuit as the other, and without any void ground in it that we
 “ are told of. And the number of its infants, at the same
 “ time, which could not discern between their right hand and
 “ their left, which the scripture tells us, were 120,000 in the time
 “ of *Jonah*, doth sufficiently prove it was fully inhabited.”

Upon this we have to remark, that nothing can be concluded from what is related by *Curtius*, at a time when the city must have suffered a very great decay ; and when the houses and private buildings in particular must have been deserted and gone to ruin, and levelled with the ground, the ground that became void, amounting to a considerable space, may have been converted to the uses of tillage and pasture. For when *Alexander* came to *Babylon*, it must have been little better than the skeleton of the old city ; so that let what *Curtius* reports concerning it be ever so true, it proves no more, than that such was the state of *Babylon* when *Alexander* came there, not what it had been, and doubtless was, when the seat of the *Babylonian*, or latter *Assyrian* empire. Again, as to what is alledged in the citation above, to confirm what is asserted by *Curtius*, as to the distance left between house and house, and the example produced in *Delhi*, and other cities in hot countries, which are built in that straggling manner, it may be needless to animadvert thereon, when at the same time it is granted, that in the length or breadth of 15 miles there was no more than 25 streets, or 26, including the two half streets, or rows, at the ends and at the sides. A city built in this proportion must have been full airy enough, and by the proportions it must appear, that there were such void spaces behind all the houses, as must have answered all the purposes of preventing suffocations, and other inconveniencies the inhabitants may have been in danger of. And besides, if *Delhi* and other cities in the east, are built in the extensive and incoherent manner above suggested, other cities there are, in climates to the full as warm, and under much better regulation, which are not only built, without this discontinuity, but as close as possible, and with streets so narrow, that there would not be much more than room for one of our coaches to pass through them ; as *Canton* in *China* (32), and other cities in the same country, and others.

(32) See the Dutch Embassy.

Lastly,

THE next work in *Babylon*, attributed to *Nebuchadnezzar-Temple of zar*, is the temple of *Belus*^t. This temple or tower, as to *Belus*. its form and dimensions, we have sufficiently described already^u, where we have also declared our thoughts concerning the first foundation and completion of it^w; but some particulars we must however add, to give a more distinct idea of

^t *Beeros*, ubi sup. ^u See Vol. I. p. 321. note (K). ^w *Ibid*.

Lastly, it is almost certain, that *Nineveh* was never so big as *Babylon*, notwithstanding what is inferred from the 120,000 souls there, who could not distinguish their right hand from their left; which, as we have suggested formerly (33), may be as justly understood of a religious blindness, as a natural incapacity; and is a figurative expression, which may be very aptly used on the occasion when *Jonah* was to open their eyes, that they might see the dangers their sins were like to bring upon them. *Nineveh* was in the time of *Jonah* in its infancy (34); there was as yet no king of *Assyria*, distinguished as such (35), and therefore to suppose that city, in the days of *Jonah*, to have been more considerable than *Babylon* was, at the height of her meridian, is a little out of the way. Nor will it be much more just to imagine it to have exceeded this city, even when it was at the greatest; for it is plain, by the history of all the *Assyrian* kings at *Nineveh*, that they never established a settled dominion over the parts of their empire, as it is called, but were forever diverted by foreign wars; so that they lived rather upon the spoil, from time to time, as they made their incursions upon this kingdom or that, than upon any regular or continued revenue or tribute from the several people they over-ran, who never rested quietly, for any space of time, under their yoke. *Esar-baddon* was the most powerful of them all, and extended his dominion even over *Egypt*, which none of his predecessors ever did, and was in a fair way of effecting the monarchy his fore-fathers had in vain aspired at; but he dying soon after he had thus established himself, and being as it seems, succeeded by a prince of no active genius, the empire mouldered away by degrees till it became no more. *Nebuchadnezzar*, of all the *Assyrian* race, seems to have raised the family to the utmost it ever was. His great successes, and the length of his reign, in comparison of what was enjoyed by any *Assyrian* king before him, may abundantly convince us, that he raised *Babylon* to a pitch of magnificence and grandeur, which had never been seen at *Nineveh*; and if thereto we add his passion to aggrandise and embellish this city, which plainly eclipsed her sister in *Assyria*, we cannot so much as doubt of it; though after all, we are very ready to think, *Babylon* never was so very enormous as represented.

(33) See before p. 186, (W).

(34) *Ibid*.

(35) *Ibid*.

what

what it was. The ascent to it was by steps on the outside, by the slope lines which formed the eight retractions or benchings in, which shaped it, as it were, into eight distinct towers, as may be observed in the representation we have copied of it. What the uppermost of these towers was set apart for, we have seen already †; but on the top of this there was, it seems, an observatory ‡, by the means of which the *Babylonians* are pretended to have advanced themselves to their great pretended knowledge in the sidereal sciences. Till the times of *Nebuchadnezzar*, it is thought, this tower was all the temple of *Belus*, but as he did by the other antient buildings of the city §, so he did by this ¶, making great additions thereto, by vast edifices erected round it **, in a square of two furlongs on every side, and just a mile in circumference, which exceeded the square at the temple of *Jerusalem* by 1800 foot ††. On the outside of these buildings was a wall, which inclosed the whole; and in consideration of the regularity wherewith this city was to all appearance marked out, it is supposed ‡‡ that this wall was equal to the square of the city wherein it stood, and so is concluded to have been two miles and an half in circumference. In this wall were several gates leading into the temple, and all of solid brass †††, which it is thought ‡‡‡, may have been made out of the brazen sea, and brazen pillars, and other vessels and ornaments of the kind which *Nebuchadnezzar* had transported from *Jerusalem*; for in this temple he is said to have dedicated his spoils brought from that of *Jerusalem* ‡‡‡.

IN this temple were several images or idols of massy gold, and one of them, as we have seen §, 40 foot in height, the same, as supposed ¶, with that which *Nebuchadnezzar* consecrated in the plains of *Dura* †. This last is said to have been 60 cubits, or 90 foot high; which, though it vastly exceeds the dimensions of the former of 40, yet this last is thought to have been so extraordinary for size, that it has been attempted to reconcile them into one ‡, by supposing, that in the 90 foot the height of the pedestal is included, and that the 40 foot are for the height of the statue without

† Ibid. p. 244. § DIODOR. SICUL. l. 2. p. 98. ¶ BEROS. apud JOSEPH. ubi sup. ‡ Idem apud eund. ibid. § HERODOT. ubi sup. ¶ Vid. PRID. Connect. Vol. I. part 1. l. 2. p. 100. in 8vo. † Idem ibid. ‡ HERODOT. ubi sup. ‡ Vid. PRID. ubi sup. § Dan. i. 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. ‡ See before p. 167. † Vid. PRID. ubi sup. † See before, p. 316. ‡ Vid. PRID. ubi sup.

the pedestal (T); and being said to have weighed 1000 talents of *Babylon*¹, it is thence computed, that it was worth three

¹ See before, p. 167.

(T) With the pedestal or without, this golden colossus must be allowed to be a wonder, and especially if it was all of gold. We will forbear to talk of the proportions of this statue, as a late learned author (36) has done: they may have been just, for ought we know, though that is what we are apt to suspect, as well as that *Diodorus*, by the statue he mentions (37), means that which *Nebuchadnezzar* raised in the plain of *Dura*. It shall suffice, that we take notice, that the same late learned author (38) imagines this statue, vast as it was, weighed but 1000 talents of *Babylon*, and consequently, that, according to the value of the *Babylonish* talent in *Pollux's Onomasticon*, it amounted to three millions and a half of our money. The golden statue in *Diodorus* is placed in the temple of *Belus* (39), where *Herodotus* has also seemingly two golden statues of solid gold, the one, which he represents as large, of *Jupiter* or *Belus* (40), in a sitting posture, on a throne of gold, and with a table of the same metal before it, the whole together weighing 800 talents of *Babylon*; and another of 12 cubits high, all of solid gold, which if it weighed so much as 800 talents, must have been much larger than the former; which, with its throne and all its furniture, weighed no more; and that to *Herodotus* (41) seems so much, that he cautiously reports it on the credit of the *Chaldeans* themselves. Whatever was the difference in weight between these two statues, it may thence appear that *Diodorus*, in allowing but 1000 talents for his statue of 40 foot high, is egregiously mistaken, and consequently, that our author (42) was a little inattentive to this seeming absurdity, except he concluded his statue to have been hollow, or plated over with a thick sheet of gold; that indeed might alter the case, and he would have done well to have made this distinction; but he plainly concludes it to have been of massy gold (43).

We formerly declared (44), we were not sure, that *Herodotus*, by the height he gives of the one and the weight of the other, does not mean the same statue; our reason for this, among others, is his omitting to name whom the last statue represented, which being so remarkable a piece of furniture in this *Babylonian* temple, we wonder how so exact a writer should have been guilty of the omission; and this inclines us to think they were both *Jupiters*, and consequently the same god, and perhaps the same image. If so, he may have thought it needless to repeat the name, which would have been quite necessary if they had been distinct deities; but as we formerly made it a doubt (45), so now we are far from pretending to decide the matter.

(36) See *Prid. ubi sup.* p. 101.

(37) See before, p. 167.

(38) *Prid. ubi sup.*

(39) See before, *ubi sup.*

(40) See before,

p. 244.

(41) *L. 1. c.* 183.

(42) *Prid. ubi sup.*

(43) *Ibid.*

p. 100.

(44) See before, p. 244.

(45) *Ibid.*

VOL. IV.

T c

millions

millions and an half of our money ^m. In a word, the whole weight of the statues and decorations in *Diodorus Siculus* amounting to 5000 and odd talents in gold, the whole is estimated at above ⁿ one and twenty millions of our money; and a sum about equal to the same in treasure, utensils, and ornaments, not mentioned ^o, is allowed for; which we leave to the reader, with this one observation, that our author supposes this immense treasure to have been about 2000 years in collecting, and that as he is most apparently mistaken in that, he may as likely be out in his computation; which, if it was curtailed considerably, might have been, together with other plunder of the sort, a sufficient indemnity to *Xerxes* for his *Grecian* expedition.

The two
palaces.

NEXT to this temple ^p, on the same east side of the river, stood the old palace of the kings of *Babylon*, being four miles in circumference. Exactly opposite to it, on the other side of the river ^q, was the new palace built by *Nebuchadnezzar*: it was eight miles in circumference, and consequently four times as big as the old one. Both these palaces we have already described according to such accounts as we have remaining of them ^r, but must add, that as vast as this palace must have been, it was the work of no more than 15 days ^s.

The hang-
ing gardens

BUT nothing in this city of *Babylon* has obtained a greater degree of admiration, than what we call the pensile or hanging gardens, built by *Nebuchadnezzar*, to gratify his wife *Amyitis*, who was a *Mede* ^t, and desirous to have something of a prospect that might look like her own country, which was as woody and mountainous as *Babylonia* was otherwise. They are said to have contained a square of four plethra ^w, or 400 foot; on each side, and described to have consisted of terrasses one above another, and carried up to the height of the wall of the city, the ascent from terrass to terrass being by steps ten foot wide. The whole pile consisted of substantial arches upon arches, and was strengthened by a wall surrounding it on every side of 22 foot thick, and the floors on each of them were laid in this order: First, on the tops of the arches was laid a bed or pavement of stones, 16 foot long and four foot broad; over this was a layer of bitumen, and over this two courses of brick, closely cemented together with plaster; and over all these were thick sheets of lead, and on these the

^m Vid. PRID. ubi sup. p. 101.

ⁿ Idem ibid.

^o Idem

ibid. ^p STRAB. l. 16. p. 731.

^q DIODOR. SICUL. ubi

sup. PHILOSTRAT. ubi sup.

^r See before, p. 166.

^s BEROS.

apud JOSEPH. ubi sup.

^t Idem ibid.

^u See before, p. 216.

^w DIODOR. SICUL. ubi sup. p. 70.

earth or mould of the garden. This floorage was designed to retain the moisture of the mould, which was so deep as to give root to the greatest trees which were planted upon every terrass, together with great variety of other vegetables pleasing to the eye. Upon the uppermost of these terrasses was a reservoir, supplied by a certain engine with water from the river, from whence the gardens on the other terrasses were supplied.

THE other works attributed to *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Bero-The banks, sus*^a and *Megasthenes*, or *Abydenus*^y, were the banks of the artificial river, the artificial canals, and the great artificial lake, said canals, and to have been sunk by *Semiramis*^z. The chief of these canals ^{laks.} was the *Nabarmalcha*, or *Basilicos Potamus* of the *Greeks*^z; the lake was to abate the inundations of the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, just as the lake *Marris* in *Egypt* was designed to correct the irregularities of the *Nile*^b; their uses are exactly alike, viz. to fecundate the country in times of drought, and to rescue it from the dangers of inundation^c. This lake, however, if we are to credit our historians, was vastly more in circumference than that in *Egypt*, it being on the one hand^d said to have been 210 miles in circuit, and on the other^e, which is much less, 160, either of which gave it a square, for that was the form of it, far exceeding that of the *Egyptian lake*, which has been thought a work too stupendous to have been effected by the labour of men; but indeed what this wanted in length and breadth, it seems to have more than made good in depth, which was in some places no less than 50 fathom^f, whereas the depth of this *Babylonian lake* is given but at 35 foot^g, or 75 at the utmost^h; a difference which is attempted to be reconciled by a supposition, that the one measures only the surface of the sides, while the other includes the banks thrown up upon themⁱ.

THIS lake is said to have been dug to receive the river, which was diverted while *Nebuchadnezzar* built the banks to each side of the city of *Babylon*^j, and to have been to the westward of that place. These banks were built for the security, convenience, and decoration of the city particularly,

^z Apud *JOSEPH.* ubi sup. ^y Apud *EUSEB.* Præp. Evang. ubi sup. ^a See before, p. 167. ^b See Vol. I. p. 114.
^b Ibid. p. 426, & seq. ^c See *PRID.* ubi sup. p. 103, & Vol. I. p. 426, & seq. ^d *HERODOT.* ubi sup. c. 185. ^e *MEGAST.* apud *EUSEB.* ubi sup. ^f See Vol. I. p. 427. ^g *HERODOT.* ubi sup. ^h *MEGAST.* ubi sup. ⁱ Vid. *PRID.* ubi sup. p. 104. ^j Vid. *ABYDEN.* ubi sup. *HERODOT.* ubi sup. *DION.* ubi sup.

and were made all of brick and bitumen¹. and extended on each side throughout the whole length of the city², and even farther according to some³, who reckon they extended 160 furlongs, or 40 miles; whence it is concluded⁴, they must have begun two miles and a half above the city, and have been continued an equal distance below it, the length of the city being no more than 15 miles. These towers were built from the bottom, and were rather walls of the same thickness with those that surrounded the city; and opposite to each street on each side he had a brazen gate in the said wall⁵, with stairs leading down from it to the river; these gates were open by day, and shut by night. *Berosus*, *Strabo*, *Agathangelus*, and *Stephanus*, attribute all these works to *Nebuchadnezzar*; but *Herodotus* tells us, the bridge, the banks, and the lake, were the work of a queen after him, called *Nitocris*, who may have finished what *Nebuchadnezzar* left imperfect, and therefore have had the honour this historian gives her of the whole⁶. If these works fell even much short of what we have here seen them to have been, it must be granted, we have not said too much of the *Babylonians* where we have represented them as have been ingenious, industrious, and laborious; and if *Nebuchadnezzar* did but attempt them, it must be allowed, that he deserved the first place among those who have distinguished themselves by such stupendous monuments of art and labour; but if he did really conduct them to that state of perfection, nothing can be said too much of him considered in this view.

We have now seen this first *Babylonian* monarch, properly so called, in all his state, both at home and abroad; what we have remaining to say of him will be of a different nature: for we shall see him under great trouble and anxiety of mind, and even, as the text is commonly understood, degraded beneath the meanest of the race of mankind, and seemingly exhibited as an example of terror to princes, who, swollen with vanity, and drunk with power, would arrogate to themselves what they ought not.

Year of the Flood, continuance, and finished with the conquest of *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, and *Libya*, and the reduction of all *Syria*, but reposing himself in his palace, he had a dream, which may be best described before Christ

570.

¹ *ANEPH. apud EUSAB. ubi supr.*² *HANOPOT. ubi supr.*³ *BEROS. ubi supr.*⁴ *Vid. PAID. ubi supr.*⁵ *Compare BEROS. ubi supr. with HANOPOT. ubi supr.*⁶ *PAID. ubi supr. p. 105.*⁷ *See before, p. 276.*

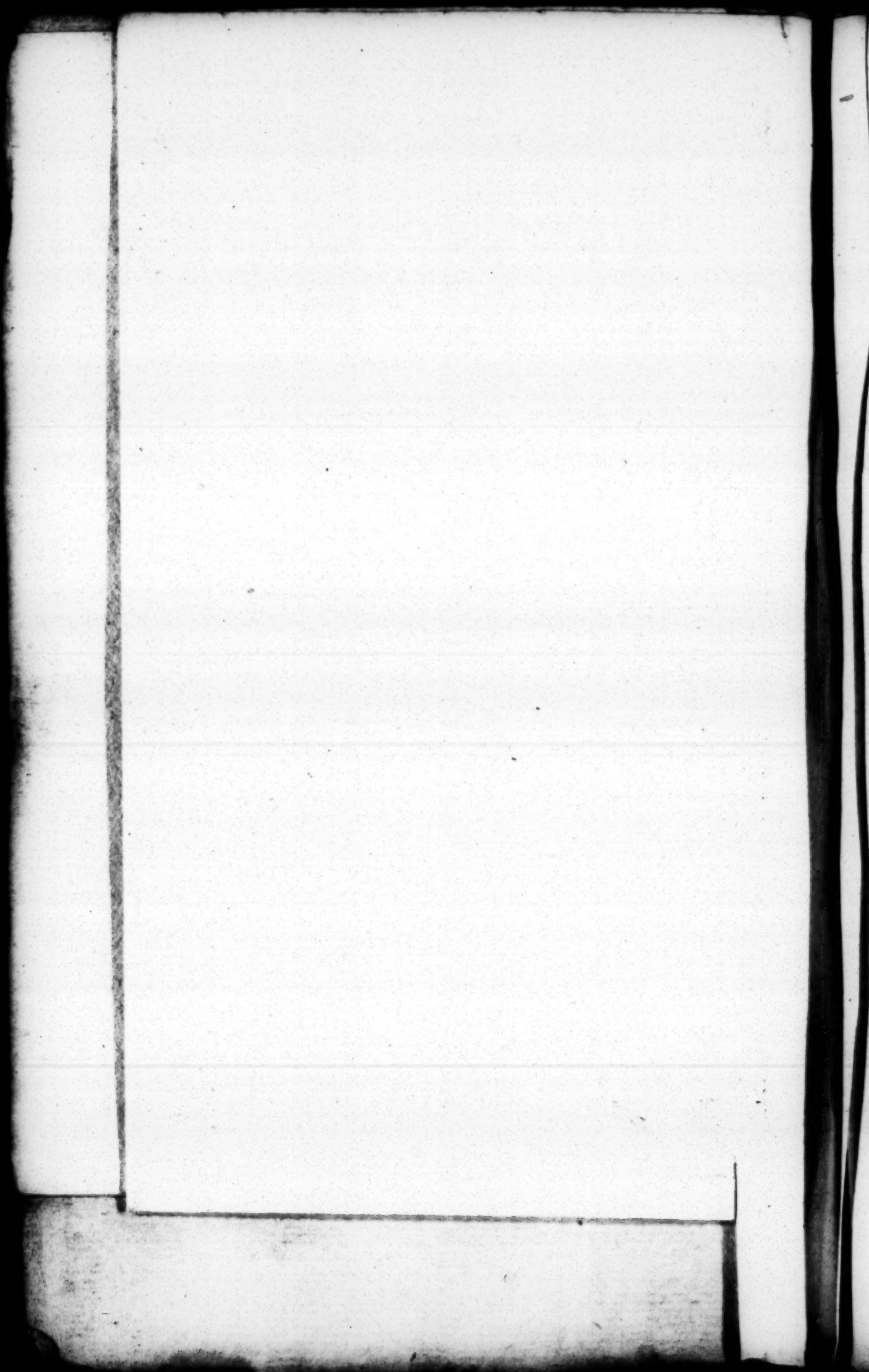
livered

THE CITY OF BABYLON



OF BABYLON





livered in his own words ^f; “ I saw, and behold, a tree in Nebu-
 “ the midst of the earth, and the height thereof *was* great. chadne-
 “ The tree grew and was strong, and the height thereof *zar’s*
 “ reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of *dream of*
 “ all the earth. The leaves thereof *were* fair, and the fruit *the tree.*
 “ thereof much, and in it *was* meat for all: The beasts of
 “ the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven
 “ dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it.
 “ I saw in the visions of my head upon my bed, and behold,
 “ a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven. He
 “ cried aloud, and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut
 “ off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit;
 “ let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from
 “ his branches. Nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in
 “ the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the ten-
 “ der grass of the field, and let it be wet with the dew of
 “ heaven, and let his portion *be* with the beasts in the grass
 “ of the earth. Let his heart be changed from man’s, and
 “ let a beast’s heart be given unto him, and let seven times
 “ pass over him. This matter *is* by the decree of the watch-
 “ ers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the
 “ intent, that the living may know, that the most High
 “ ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomso-
 “ ever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men ^t”.

HAVING declared this to have been his dream to his wife- *The inter-*
 men, astrologers, *Chaldeans*, and the like, and all to no *pretation of*
 purpose, he at length revealed it to *Daniel*, or *Beltshazzar* ^u; *it.*
 which; how he should have neglected to do at first, after the
 proofs he had had of his superiority and the omnipotence of
 his God, may be hard to account for, if we do not suppose
 him to have laboured under some sort of distraction. To
 wave this, he is represented as revealing his dream to *Daniel*,
 in words to the effect above; and *Daniel* no sooner heard
 it, than he *was astonished for one hour, and his thoughts*
troubled him ^w. At length, after he had recovered himself,
 and deprecated the evil omen, and excused himself to the king,
 who was very solicitous with him to tell him the truth with-
 out fear or disguise, he told him, The tree he saw was meant
 of himself; that by the order of the watcher and the holy
 one concerning the tree, it was signified, that he should be
 driven out from the society of men, and become as a beast,
 and that, in fine, he should so continue to be, till he had
 been brought to a due sense of the supremacy and omnipotence

^f Dan. iv.
ver. 19.

^t *ibid.*

^u *Ibid.* ver. 9.

^w *Ibid.*

of God; that the stump of the tree which was to be left signified, that the kingdom should nevertheless revert to him once more ^a. Such was *Daniel's* interpretation, which he closed with an exhortation to him to abstain from sin, and to shew mercy to the poor, that so he might procure to himself a prolongation of peace and tranquility ⁷.

*His pride
and meta-
morphosis.*

THIS extraordinary sentence thus pronounced on him, and by the lips of a man whom he must entirely have relied on, seems to have made no lasting impression upon him; for not being immediately executed upon him, he might have worn off the terrors of it, before the time was quite come. So that about twelve months afterwards, as he was walking in his palace, or, as some think ^a the fact may have been, on the uppermost of the terraces of his hanging garden, and contemplating the glories of the city he had adorned, unable to contain the pride of his heart, he cried out, "Is not this great *Babylon*, that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty ^a?" He had no sooner vented himself in this insolent manner, than there fell a voice from heaven, saying, "O king *Nebuchadnezzar*, to thee it is spoken, The kingdom is departed from thee ^b." And straight he was driven from the society of men, and dwelt with the beasts of the field, and he ate grass as an ox, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles feathers; and his nails like birds claws ^c. Thus runs the letter of the text, which is sometimes taken in all the strictness of it; it being supposed, that, losing his senses, he wandered about in the fields, and there took up his abode with the cattle, till seven times, or seven years, had passed over his head ^d; but concerning this metamorphosis, and the duration (U) of it, there is a great variety of opinions.

DURING

^a Ibid. ver. 26.

⁷ Ibid. ver. 27.

^a PR 1 D. ubi sup. p. 105.

^a Dan. ubi sup. ver. 30.

^b Ibid. ver. 31.

^c Ibid. ver. 33.

^d See PR 1 D. ubi sup.

(U) Concerning the nature and degree of this change, "*Origen* (46) believed the thing to be impossible, and turned it into allegory: *Bodin* (47) thought, he was really changed into a bull, and that he lost even the soul of a man; while others (48) maintain, he was changed as to the body only, retaining his reason, as *Apuleius* did while an ass, and like the *Italians*, mentioned by

(46) *Apud Hieron. in Dan. iv.* (47) *Dæmonol. l. 2. c. 6.* (48) *Maldon. in Dan. ubi sup. & Tertull. de Pernit. c. 12, 13.*

" St.

DURING this his disorder, it is said, his son *Evil-merodach* *His death.* administered the government for him*. and that he did it so ill, as to draw his father's most heavy displeasure on him, when he came to understand what he had done ; for when his

seven

* *HIERON.* in *Esai.* xiv. 19.

“ *St. Austin* (49), who having tasted of cheese, presented to them
 “ by certain magicians of the country, were immediately turned
 “ into beasts of burden, but at last recovered their first form and
 “ condition of life. Some *Rabbins* have pretended, that the soul
 “ of *Nebuchadnezzar* deserted his body, and, for a time, gave
 “ place to the soul of an ox, which degraded him into all the in-
 “ clinations and sensations of that animal ; while others (50) ad-
 “ mit no more to have been the case than a vitiated imagination
 “ in the prince, and a kind of fascination in the eyes of his sub-
 “ jects, which made them fancy, as well as himself, that he was,
 “ for certain, become an ox, though there was no such thing.
 “ The most received opinion is, that, by the power of God, *Ne-
 “ buchadnezzar* fell into a black melancholy, and, under this op-
 “ pression of mind, fancied himself an ox ; as in a lycanthropy a
 “ man persuades himself he is a wolf, a dog, a cat ; a change
 “ which exists no where but in the disordered brain, nor to be dis-
 “ covered but by his motions and behaviour, which tend to the
 “ imitation of a wolf in his rapacity, howling, and desire to range
 “ the country, and fly from men. That after some such manner
 “ it must have been, that this king became an ox, and was agitated
 “ by all the affections and desires of one. That his people, astonish-
 “ ed at such an alteration (51), bound him as a madman, but that,
 “ escaping from them, he fled into the fields, and lived after the
 “ manner of an ox.”

Our author (52), whence we have extracted this, thinks no-
 thing more than this last supposition is required to account for what
 in scripture is said of this extraordinary event ; that there was no-
 thing miraculous in it, except the prophets prediction of its ap-
 proach and duration.

As there are doubts about the manner of this accident, so there
 are varieties as to the continuance of it. “ Some with *Theodoret*
 “ (53), maintain, that, as the *Persians* divided their year into two
 “ seasons, winter and summer, the seven years of *Nebuchadnezzar*
 “ must be reduced to three and a half. *Dorotheus* (54) and the spuri-
 “ ous *Epiphanius* (55) affirm, that God had actually condemned him

(49) *De Civit. Dei.* l. 18. c. 18. (50) *Medin. de rect. in*
Deum fide, c. 7. *Vier. de prestig. Daemon.* l. 1. c. 24. (51) *Hieron.*
Theodoret. Maldon. Peireri. Cornel. Sanct. in Dan. Vales de Sacr.
Philosoph. c. 80. *Bartholin. de Morb. Bibl. &c.* (52) *Calmet. Dict.*
of the Bible, Art. Nebuchadnezzar. III. (53) *Ubi sup.* (54) *In*
Synop. (55). *De vit. & Mort Prophet.*

Year of seven years were expired, he threw him into the prison where the Flood *Jehoiakim*, the captive king of *Judah*, had lain 37 years. 2437. Having thus satisfied his injured subjects by this exemplary justice on his son, and given the honour and praise due to God, Year be- fore Christ and acknowledged him to be above all, and all this by a public decree, he continued in the possession of his kingdom 562. about a twelve-month afterwards, and then departed this life, after a reign of 43 years.

THE circumstances of his death are omitted in scripture, but may be fabulously supplied from those who tell us, that, after all the great things they report him to have done, he ascended to the top of his palace, and that, being there suddenly seized by a spirit from heaven, he prophesied to this effect, and in these words; "Behold, O *Babylonians*, I fore-
 His prophe-
 y. "tel you a calamity at hand, which nor the fates, nor our
 "forefather *Belus*, nor our queen *Beltis*, may possibly avert.
 "A *Persian* mule shall come, and by the assistance of your
 "own gods shall load your necks with a most galling yoke;
 "and this destruction shall befall you by the means of a *Mede*,
 "in whom the *Affyrians* were wont greatly to glory them-
 "selves. O would that he, ere thus he betrays my people,
 "were swallowed up by some whirlpool, or overwhelmed in

f MEGASTH. EX ABYD. apud EUSEB. PRÆP. EVANG. l. 9. c. 41. p. 456.

"to a seven years punishment, but was prevailed on by *Daniel* to shorten it into seven months: the *pseudo-Epiphanius* adding, that as *Daniel* ceased not to foretell the restoration of the king, and the great men continually disbelieved him, and derided what he said, he obtained of God that his time might be shortened for the sake of convincing them. Others maintain, he was changed but for 21 months, explaining these words of *Daniel*, *Donet septem tempora mutentur super eum*, as intended for seven times the space of three months; *tempus*, according to them, being a quarter of a year. *Peter Comestor* allows but seven months, which he proportions out in this manner; For the first 40 days he allows him to have been in a phrenzy, or mad; the 40 days following, he bewailed his offences; and the next 40 days, he gradually recovered from his infirmity. But that nevertheless, in compliance with what he had been exhorted by *Daniel*, he remained seven years in the exercise of repentance, abstaining from ought but herbs and pulse, to atone for his pride and folly." But our author (56) concludes, with the bulk of commentators, that we need no interpreter but *Daniel* himself, who plainly means whole years.

(56) Calmet, *ubi sup.*

“ the depths of the sea ; or that hurried away into some
 “ lonely desert, he might there remain a wanderer, never
 “ to behold again the footsteps of mankind, and never to
 “ see ought but birds and beasts of prey. O grant unto me,
 “ before he is agitated by this rage of mind, to share a hap-
 “ pier end ;” thus saying, he was suddenly snatched from
 the sight of men ; the same exit *Semiramis* is said to have
 made ^g.

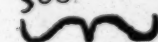
He was succeeded by his son *Evil-merodach* ^h, *Ilvoradam* ⁱ, Year of
Ebidan-merodach ^h, *Evil-maluruch* ⁱ, and, as it is most likely, the Flood,
Belsazzar. That he was this seemingly last king of *Babylon*, ^{2437.}
 according to *Daniel*, we shall endeavour to make out before Year be-
 we close up his reign. In the mean time, we must look back fore Christ
 to what he seems to have done while regent for his father, ^{562.}
 when under distraction of mind, which, among other false
 steps he may have committed, may particularly have drawn
 on him his father’s most heavy displeasure, and which, if strict-
 ly true, must have laid the foundation of that animosity in
 the *Medes* and *Persians*, which hurried on the dissolution of
 the *Babylonian* empire. While his father was deprived of his
 senses, this prince his son, who was upon the point of marry-
 ing the *Nitocris* ^m so celebrated by *Herodotus*, took it into his
 head to divert himself with a hunting-match, upon the bor-
 ders of *Media*, where he understood there was great plenty
 of game, by reason of the pacific state the *Affyrians* and *Medes*
 had been in for some years. He went attended by a small
 force, light-armed, consisting both of horse and foot, and
 seemingly equipt for the chase only. Being arrived on the fron-
 tiers, he halted near some garison’d places, where he staid
 all night, intending to enter upon his diversion the next morn-
 ing : But it happening, that certain troops appearing for the
 relief of those in garison in these parts, he took a fancy that
 these men, added to those he had brought with him, might
 form such a body as might be able to make some notable im-
 pression upon the *Medes*, which he judged would redound
 more to his honour, than the diversion he at first proposed.
 He obeyed this irregular impulse, and the next morning, by
 break of day, he moved towards the nearest places that be-
 longed to the *Medes*, leaving his foot behind him to guard his
 own frontiers, while he proceeded with the horse. Being
 advanced as far as he thought convenient, he made a halt, and
 encamped with the best of his troops about him, that so he

^g See before, p. 174. ^h Jerem. lii. 31. ⁱ See before in the
 Canon, p. 279. ^k Ibid. in the ecclesiastical account. ^l Ma-
 GASTH. ubi supr. ^m Vid. USSER. Annal. ad A. M. 3421.

might the better keep the garisons of the *Medes* in awe, and prevent their sallies; the rest he sent out in detached parties to pillage the country. The king of the *Medes*, understanding the violences *Evil-merodach*, the son of the *Assyrian*, was committing in his country, marched towards him with such troops as he had usually attending him, and such as his son could raise upon so sudden an emergency; but on his march he was joined by others who came in to his assistance, and among these was *Cyrus*, now about 16 years of age, and who now first signalized himself in battle. The parties *Evil-merodach* had sent out were first attacked by the *Medes*, who, at length falling upon his main body, routed and pursued him with a great slaughter, quite home to his own bordersⁿ. Such was the event of this rash, and seemingly unjust, enterprise (W); and this action may not only have exasperated his father in a particular manner against him, but may also have been the first cause of that enmity of the *Medes* and *Persians*, which ended in the ruin of *Babylon*, as we have already observed. And this spirit thus roused in the *Medes* may have been so dreaded, and the consequences of it so naturally foreseen by his father, the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, as to have caused him to imprison this his son, and to utter the predictive exclamation we have seen above.

Evil-me-
rodach.

Year of
the Flood,
2439.
Year be-
fore Christ
560.



THIS prince, who, if this action be founded upon truth, was justly called, as his name is interpreted, *Foolish Merodach*, having administered very ill during his father's disorder, was thrown into prison upon his recovery: And in this confinement he contracted such a kindness for the captive king of *Judah*, that, succeeding to the throne upon the death of his father, he took *Jehoiachin* out of prison, and entertained him like a king ever afterwards*. Farther concerning him is uncertain, except that, indulging himself in sloth and wickedness, he became intolerable to his subjects, and that, after a very short reign, he was treacherously murdered by his sister's husband *Neriglissar*; who, that he was a *Mede*, and particularly *Darius* the *Mede*, we shall endeavour to make out in his reign; and if so, his murder of *Evil-merodach* his brother-in-law, may be accounted for by the

ⁿ XENOPH. *Kypa Haidia*. * 2 Kings xxv. 27. Jerem lii. 31. JOSEPHUS, &c.

(W) If it was really *Nitocris* this prince was now about to marry, and if she was really a *Mede*, as it is most generally understood, it is impossible to account for these his hostilities upon that nation, and especially at the time our author here seems to mean; but this is what may be considered hereafter.

aversion

aversion he may have contracted in common with his countrymen against this unwise prince, who had so behaved to them as we have seen.

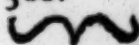
WHAT we have material to add concerning this king is, that, by all circumstances, he is more likely to have been the *Belshazzar* of *Daniel*, than any other king in *Ptolemy's* canon. This we gather from the concurrence of scripture with prophane history. *Berosus*^o represents *Evil-merodach* as a lewd and wicked prince; *Belshazzar* is in scripture^p represented as the same. *Berosus*^q relates, that *Evil-merodach* was killed at a banquet by some of his lords; the scripture^r says *Belshazzar* was murdered at a great feast he gave to 1000 of his lords, but mentions not by whom. They both say he was the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, by the name of *Evil-merodach*^s, and scripture says the same of *Belshazzar*, which is not said of any other of the *Babylonish* kings. If to this it should be objected, that both *Evil-merodach* and *Belshazzar* are mentioned in scripture^t, as sons of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and that therefore they cannot be the same person; we answer, that they are not mentioned any where in scripture, either together, or in a course of succession, but in different books, and not at all in reference to each other. That in scripture it is not unusual to call the same prince by different names in different places. Thus *Nebuchadnezzar* himself is in some places, and particularly in the prophets, called *Nebuchadrezzar*. Thus the king, who in one place is called *Ahasuerus*^u, is in another called *Artaxerxes*^v; and in one and the same chapter^w is *Esar-haddon*, the great *Assyrian*, called *Asnapper*; and this authority is so much the more valid, as it occurs in a part of scripture indisputably genuine. If again it be objected, that in scripture mention is made of the third year of *Belshazzar's* reign^y, whereas *Evil-merodach* is allowed on all hands to have reigned but two years^z; we answer again, that parts of years are never reckoned as whole years by chronologers; so that though he was in the beginning of his third year, they reckoned but two to his reign; an instance of which we have in *Ptolemy's* canon, where *Laborsoarchod*, the successor of *Neriglissar*, is left out, because he did not reign a complete year, though he reigned nine months of a year. This shall suffice for this subject for the present; we may resume it hereafter still further to the reader's satisfaction.

^o Ubi supr.^p Dan. v.^q Ubi supr.^r Ubi supr.^s Jerem. lii. 31.^t Ibid. & Dan. ubi supr.^u Ezr. iv. 6.^v Ibid. ver. 7.^w Ibid. ver. 10.^y Dan. viii.^z See be-

fore in the canon, ubi supr.

Nerigliffar.

Year of
the Flood,
2439.
Year be-
fore
Christ,
560.



Nerigliffar, *Niriglifforoor*, *Niricassolaffurus* ^a, or, as we think, *Darius* the *Mede*, who is represented as the chief of the conspirators against *Evil-merodach* ^b, usurped the throne. Of him it is seemingly recorded, for he is not mentioned by name, that dreading the *Medes* who began to threaten *Babylon*, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by foreign alliances. The story, as it is told ^c, represents this king as a great conqueror, and one who had made himself master of all *Syria*, *Hyrkania*, and *Arabia*, and to have been busied in a war with the *Bactrians*, when *Astyages* the *Mede* departed this life, and thereby to have given a violent alarm to the *Medes* and the *Persians*, who began to fear it would be their turn next. This king then concluding, that if he could but reduce the *Medes*, the rest would bow to him of course, dispatched ambassadors to *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, to *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Paphlagonia*, the *Indies*, and *Cilicia*, to instil jealousies into the several princes of these countries, and to stir them up against the *Medes* and *Persians*, as if they were about to make themselves masters of all, particularly insisting on the strict union between them by the mutual ties of marriage. The success of these several embassies was, that some yielded to his reasons, and others ^d to his present largesses and future promises. Now, by what our author here says of this king, and particularly of his conquests, one would be rather apt to imagine he meant *Nabocollassar*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, than any king of *Babylon* that succeeded him, and particularly as he makes him cotemporary with *Astyages* the *Mede*. As for the pretence of union between the *Persians* and the *Medes*, the same was as strongly cemented between the *Babylonians* and the *Medes*; for *Nebuchadnezzar* was married to a *Mede* ^e, and it is very likely, that *Nerigliffar* was a *Mede*, by his being husband to a daughter of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s ^f. In short, the *Medes* and the *Babylonians* seem to have been as closely united by marriages as any other nations of the time.

BUT we must allow our author ^g to be a little inaccurate, and especially as it is made a doubt, whether it was a history he meant to write, or a romance. However, that it is built upon some sort of truth, may be gathered from what he is here supposed to write concerning our *Nerigliffar*; for as an usurper it is but natural he should have made such strong and earnest applications to the nations round about, as he is said to have done; a method of procedure which can never be re-

^a See before, *ibid.*

^b *BEROS.* *ubi sup.*

^c *Κυρὸς Παιδ. β.*

^d *Ibid.*

^e See before, p. 330.

^f See before, p. 338.

^g *XENOPH.*

conciled with a conqueror in the full stream of his good fortune, as this prince is by our author^b, at the same time, represented to have been. We must therefore tax him with a little inattentiveness to what he was writing. *Neriglissar*, though he may have been of the royal blood of the *Medes*, may have been dubious, whether or no they and the *Persians* would suffer him to sit in quiet possession of the *Babylonian* empire, and may have had sufficient reasons to dread they would not; and that in such case he should so bestir himself in his own defence is no wonder.

Let this have been as it will, it is apparently certain, that when this king seized on the sovereignty, the empire was in its decline, and in great danger from both the *Medes* and *Persians*, and it is not unlikely, but he may have actually stood in need of foreign aid. Thus when *Nabuchadonosor* was threatened with an invasion by the *Medes*, he issued out his commands to all nations to come in to his assistance¹, a conduct *Ctesias*^a has ascribed to his *Sardanapalus*; and which may serve to illustrate what we advance concerning the distress *Neriglissar* must have been in upon his usurpation; but he does not command as they did, he claims no obedience, but petitions rather, and begs and bribes for aid.

To have done with this obscurity, the army, which *The confederate* ranged itself under the *Babylonian* standard, is said to have consisted of a mixed multitude as follows. *Cræsus*, king of *Lydia*, came with 10,000 horse, and upwards of 40,000 lightarmed foot; *Artamas* king of the greater *Phrygia* brought 40,000 foot, mostly pike-men, and 8000 horse; *Aribæus*, king of *Cappadocia*, led with him 6000 horse, and 30,000 foot, mostly armed with missile weapons; *Maragdas*, the *Arabian*, conducted 10,000 horse, 100 chariots, and a great number of slingers*. These were the confederates of *Neriglissar*, and such the quotas they respectively furnished; but we are not quite to depend upon the exactness of them, they being given as upon hear-say only, and in a conversation between *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus*. *derate army under him.*

As for *Neriglissar* himself, this potent *Babylonian* and fortunate conqueror, as our author has represented him, the numbers he himself brought into the field seem to be very short, considering him in that view; for as much as he may have been a principal in this war, he headed no more than 20,000 horse, 200 chariots, and foot proportionable¹. Whether or no this confederate army received any further addition is not certain; but the *Carians*, *Cilicians*, *Paphlagonians*,

^a Idem. ibid.¹ See before, p. 207.^b Ibid. p. 182.* *Κυρη Ηαιδ.* ubi supr.¹ Ibid.

and some others, seem to have receded from their first engagements. So that the case is pretty much alike between *Chyniladan*^m, the *Affyrian*, and this *Babylonian*, in regard of the many nations they called in, and the many that disappointed them, and left them to their fate. The army of the *Medes* and the *Persians* did not amount to above a third of that under the *Babylonian* king, till they were joined by a considerable re-inforcement under *Tigranes* the *Armenian*. In the midst of these great and industrious preparations for war, ambassadors arrived from *India* to inquire into the grounds and causes of it, with an offer of mediation, if it might be accepted, and with a threat, in case it was rejected, of joining with those who should appear to have the most justice on their sideⁿ.

War between him
and the
Medes and
Persians.

How this embassy concluded is uncertain, but the war begins very much to the disadvantage of *Neriglissar*; for *Cyrus* subdued the *Chaldeans* in the mountainous country, from whence they were wont to make their inroads upon the country of *Armenia*^o. These *Chaldeans*, as they are called, can have been no other than the proper *Affyrians*, who, for ought we know, may have been formerly so called; but the proper *Chaldeans*, and their mountains, were far away from any part of *Armenia*^p. Whether or no our author is here guilty of an error in geography we cannot positively say; but to us it seems that he is. These *Chaldeans*, however, according to our author's description, were the most valiant race of men in all these parts, and carried no other arms than a wicker shield and two javelins, and entered willingly into foreign pay, as being naturally addicted to war, and very poor; but they were subdued by *Cyrus*, and obliged to make a peace with their next neighbours the *Armenians*, and, in a manner, to become the same people with them^q.

Chaldeans
next to
Armenia.

Battle between the
Babylonians and
the Medes

THE two armies now appeared in sight of each other, and the *Affyrians*, or *Babylonians*, under *Neriglissar*, incamped and fortified themselves with strong retrenchments, while the *Medes* and the *Persians* covered themselves only with the villages and hills in the neighbourhood. In this posture they continued for some days, till at length the *Affyrians*, leaving their retrenchments, and drawing themselves up in battle-array, and being exhorted by *Neriglissar* to behave as became them in the approaching conflict, and particularly as their all was at stake, were attacked by the enemy, who shamefully routed them in the field, and pursued them with a prodigious

^m See before, p. 207.

ⁿ Κυρῶ Παίδ. ubi sup.

^o Ibid.

See before, p. 224.

^q Κυρῶ Παίδ. ubi sup.

slaughter

slaughter close to their retrenchments; where those within did not dare to shoot an arrow against the insulting *Medes* and *Persians*, under the conduct of *Cyrus*, and no sooner understood that he intended to force their camp than they betook them to the most precipitate flight, and left their wives and children to lament their loss, in the most woeful and sensible manner. This, when the confederate kings perceived, they hastened with the choicest of their men that were left them, to repulse the *Persians*, and they succeeded in their endeavours, and *Cyrus* retreated and encamped at some distance. But *Neriglissar* lived to see no more of the war now kindled. He was slain in battle, his subjects were in the utmost consternation, and *Cræsus* and his allies, quite at a loss, and amazed at the intrepidity of the enemy, resolved to save themselves as they could, and left their camp a prey to *Cyrus* and his *Persians*†.

SUCH was the unfortunate end of *Neriglissar*, who, that he was *Darius the Mede*, appears by these arguments. If, as king of *Babylon*, he is in the canon of *Ptolemy*, *Darius* the *Mede* can have been no other than *Neriglissar*. Secondly, *Darius the Mede* is said to have commenced king of *Babylon* at the age of 62 years; which, if we do not suppose him to have been slain by *Cyrus* as above, may be thought to suit better with *Neriglissar's* short reign of four years, than *Nabonad's* longer reign of 17 years, which would make him 79 years old at his death; and, by the way, as *Nabonad* did not end his days with his reign, *Darius the Mede* must, in this case, have been still much older, which is not very likely. Thirdly, *Neriglissar* is represented as a wise, a worthy, and a brave prince, which neither of his successors were, and just such an one does *Darius the Mede* seem to have been. Fourthly, Though *Neriglissar* is not said to have been a *Mede*, yet he very probably may have been so, and nothing is said to the contrary. He is allowed not to have been of the line of *Babylon*, though he married the daughter of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and sister of *Evil-merodach*; and these marriages, as we have suggested above, may have been frequent between the two kings of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, till *Evil-merodach* behaved so impolitically as he is represented to have done, in breach of the faith and good intelligence between the two kingdoms. Fifthly, *Neriglissar* is on all hands allowed to have succeeded *Evil-merodach*, whom he slew, and so *Darius the Mede* is said to have slain *Belshazzar*, and to have assumed his kingdom. And though the scripture expression, in this

Neriglissar slain.

Year of the Flood, 2443. Year before Christ 556.

Neriglissar most likely to have been *Darius the Mede*.

† Kupa Παιδ. ubi supr.

case; does not always imply an immediate succession, it may be fairly enough admitted in such a sense, in the circumstance before us, till something to destroy it be exhibited against it. Sixthly, That *Neriglissar* was a *Mede*, may be gathered from the inveteracy he seems to have born against *Evil-merodach*, whom we take to have been *Belsazzar*; and it may be very naturally accounted for, if what we have related from *Xenophon* has any truth in it. Seventhly, The scripture does not say, that *Darius* was king of the *Medes*, but only that he governed by their laws, which he may have introduced with the good liking of the *Babylonians*, who may thereby have had a limited monarch for an unlimited one. And lastly, He may have been a *Mede*, and yet *Cyrus* may have made war upon him, and slain him in battle; for *Cyrus*, it is said, made no scruple to dethrone even his own grandfather; whence *Darius* may not only have been a *Mede*, but may also have been very nearly related to *Cyrus*, and yet have perished in battle against him; for nothing is to stand in the way of those who are fired by the wasteful ambition of conquest and universal monarchy. This is what we have thought necessary to say in this place.

Laboroso-
archod.

THIS last king was succeeded by his son *Laborosoarchod*^c, *Labassorasc* †, or *Chabaeffarach*^c: some suppose him to have been the same with *Nabonadius*, or *Belsazzar*, and to have been the last king of *Babylon*. But they contradict an historical fact very explicitly related; whereby we understand, that he came very young to the throne, and that, betraying a most vicious and abominable turn of mind, he was murdered, as not even worthy to live, much less to reign, which he did no longer than nine months^u; so that not having compleated a year, it is thence he is omitted in the canon.

SOME of this king's evil doings are supposed^{*} to have been recorded by *Xenophon* †, according to whom it may have been, that he committed such cruelties on *Gadates* and *Gobryas*, two great *Babylonians*, as provoked them to the share they are said to have had in the subversion of this empire. The son of the former of these he is said to have slain for no better reason than hitting a beast, at a hunting he had invited him to, which he himself had missed; and the latter he is said to have castrated, only because one of his concubines

^c BEROSUS ubi sup.
apud EUSEB. ubi sup.
113. † Ubi sup. d. i.

† ABYDEN. ubi sup.
* Idem ibid.

^c Idem
* PRID. ubi sup. p.

had commended him for an handsome personage *. By these most violent acts of tyranny it is supposed †, that he drove them, and the provinces they commanded, over to the enemy. Such is this king supposed to have been, though there are other seeming reasons why he should have been particularly odious in the eyes of some of the *Babylonians*, and particularly of his successor and his associates.

Nabonadius, who had the chief hand in the murder of *Laboresarchod*, is said to have been a *Babylonian* †, so that what is said above of the unworthiness of his short-lived predecessor, may have very little of truth or justice in it. His greatest fault may have been, that he was the son of a stranger and an usurper; and being perhaps a child, or little able to defend himself, he may easily have been destroyed, and reasons may as easily have been given for the deed. Nor can we wonder greatly at this barbarity, in a man who was confessedly the son of *Evil-merodach*, and grandson to the great *Nebuchadnezzar*; one, who must have thought himself injured by an exclusion from the throne, and that it was even a duty on him not to slip so favourable an opportunity of retrieving the lustre of his family. Nor must we forget, that he must also have been the son of the famed *Nitocris*, who is said even to have outshone *Semiramis* herself; and who, if the thing were so, could not have rested in a private state, while the son of an usurper possessed the throne in prejudice of her son; and thus was it the sceptre came again into the hands of a prince of the old *Affyrian* or *Babylonian* race, of the male branch, which in him was to cease from empire.

THIS king is also called *Nabonduis* †, *Labynetis*, *Labyni-Nabonatus* †, *Nabannidochus* †, *Naboandel* †, *Belsazzar*, and *Darius dius*. the *Mede* †, and by other names, and rather struggled for the empire than possessed it; for *Cyrus* was now in the career of his victories, and a professed enemy to the kingdom of *Babylon*, and had some battles with this king, as should seem, and his allies, in the beginning of his reign; but the particulars being no where to be met with, we must content ourselves with the little we know of the matter, and which we shall relate hereafter. *Nabonadius* appears, however, to have been the most powerful prince of his time, and the kingdom of *Babylon* to have been such, that *Cyrus* thought it prudent

Year of
the Flood,
2444.
Year be-
fore Christ
555.

* Ibid. † Prid. ubi supr. † ABYD. ex MEGASTH. apud EUSEB. ubi supr. & BEROS. apud JOSEPH. ubi supr. & Id. ubi supr.
† See before in the canon, ubi supr. † HERODOT. † MEGASTH. ubi supr. † JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 10. c. 12. † See before in the ecclesiastic account, ubi supr.

to strengthen himself, the most he could, by the conquest of all the neighbouring kingdoms, before he undertook to destroy this.

Nitocris.

WHAT sort of a man *Nabonadius* was, is hard to say; but his mother, according to some^c, has all the glory of his reign; all the honour of preparing for the defence of the falling kingdom is ascribed to her. Her name was *Nitocris*^d, and she is supposed to have been a *Mede* by birth^e, and to have been wife to *Evil-merodach*, and being a woman of great sagacity and resolution, she not only foresaw the storm that was gathering, but prepared for shelter against it, and particularly by fortifying the city itself of *Babylon*, so that it should be proof against any enemy that might assault it. Accordingly it was in this reign, and consequently by her, that *Babylon* is said to have been first surrounded with walls^f next to the river; and it is pretty plain, as we have observed before, that she completed what *Nebuchadnezzar* had begun. Thus *Herodotus* represents her to have not only fortified the sides of the river with walls, to prevent the enemy from landing on either side of the city, but to have sunk the lake, and done other works ascribed to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and particularly to have built the bridge, which till then had been wanting at *Babylon*^g. This heroine, having done all that could be done to secure the city from all danger of the enemy, while her son *Nabonadius* wallowed, as should seem, in sloth and luxury, neglectful and careless of what threatened him, was commemorated by an extraordinary inscription on a monument which had been prepared by herself, to the following effect, IF ANY KING OF BABYLON AFTER ME SHALL BE IN DISTRESS FOR MONEY, HE MAY OPEN THIS SEPULCHRE, AND TAKE OUT AS MUCH AS MAY SERVE HIM; BUT IF HE BE IN NO REAL NECESSITY, LET HIM FORBEAR, OR HE SHALL HAVE CAUSE TO REPENT HIM. This monument and inscription, said to have been over one of the most remarkable gates of the city, is also said to have remained untouched till the reign of *Darius*, who, considering the gate was useless, no man caring to go under a dead body, and being invited by the hopes of an immense treasure, broke it open; but instead of what he sought, is said to have found nothing but a dead body, and another inscription, to the following effect, HADST THOU NOT BEEN MOST INSATIABLY

^c HERODOT. and his followers.

^d HERODOT. l. i. c. 185.

^e Vid. USSER. Annal. ad Ann. Mund. ubi sup.

^f BEROSES

apud EUSEB. & JOSEPH. ubi sup. HERODOT. ubi sup.

^g HE-

RODOT. ibid. c. 186.

AVARITIOUS, AND GREEDY OF THE MOST SORDID GAIN, THOU HADST NEVER VIOLATED THE ABODE OF THE DEAD (X). Thus much for *Nitocris**; we must now return to her son, and see how the *Babylonian* empire ended under him.

As the circumstances of the fall of *Nineveh* are involved in great obscurity, those of the fall of *Babylon* are in many respects no less so; for all we seem positively to know concerning it is, that it was destroyed by *Cyrus*; and all we can do is, first, to relate what profane authors write concerning this last king; and, secondly, to inquire whether or no he was the *Belshazzar* of *Daniel*.

If we adhere to *Herodotus*^h, who calls him *Labynitus*, we Herodotus's account must conclude him to have been still a great king, who, as yet, had not been attempted by the *Medes* and the *Persians*; but to have been, on the contrary, in such high esteem with the former, as to have been chosen their mediator with the *Babylonians*.

Lydians; which apparently destroys what *Xenophon* represents of the war, which subsisted without any intervention of settled peace, from the reign of *Neriglissar* to the last day of the *Babylonian* monarchy; and this circumstance being considered, it has been thought, that however *Herodotus* may seem to give this king, who thus reconciled the *Medes* and *Lydians*, for the last of the race, he could certainly mean no other than the great *Nebuchadnezzar*, who alone, of all the kings at *Babylon*, seems to have had weight and authority enough to be invested with this mediatory office.

Herodotus has a *Labynetis* whom, in two places, he calls the king of the *Babylonians*, and a *Labynitus* whom he calls empe-

* Idem ibid. c. 187.

^h Ibid. c. 188.

(X) *Plutarch* (57) mentions this monument and inscription as belonging to *Semiramis*. Thus the sepulchre of *Bel* himself is said to have been opened by *Xerxes*, who found nothing there but a glass vessel almost full of oil, with a dead body floating in it, and an inscription on a small pillar hard by, That the man who should open it should dearly repent him of what he had done, if he did not fill up the vessel with oil; which *Xerxes* in vain attempting, he went away heavy and sad, and experienced the efficacy of the threat in his *Grecian* expedition. So *Darius* by others being said to have opened the tomb of *Semiramis*, a pestilence is reported to have issued thence, and to have destroyed one third part of the race of men (58): Strange figments!

(57) In *Ἀποφθεγματά, p. 173.*
c. 12. p. 65.

(58) *Vid. Purch. Pilg. part i.*

ror of *Assyria*, and reports to have derived his name from his father. Under this *Labynitus*, according to him it was that *Babylon* was taken by *Cyrus*; so that, after all, it may have been some former *Labynet*, king of *Babylon*, that reconciled the *Medes* and the *Lydians*; but having thus suggested all we know concerning this matter, we leave it to the reader's decision.

THIS *Labynitus*, understanding that *Cyrus* was on his march to besiege the city of *Babylon*, went out with a great army to meet him; but being vanquished, the *Babylonians* betook them to their city, which being furnished with great stores of provision to hold out a very long siege, they made a jest of it, and lived within the walls as if no enemy had been near them; but being one day in the midst of a riotous festival, the *Persians*, who had drained the river by diverting it into the great lake we have described, scaled the works which defended the banks of the city, and the *Babylonians* were surprised in the midst of all their mirth and jollity, and an end was put to their empire¹.

*The fall of Babylon according to Berosus, and Me-
raghenes.* BY other authors² we understand, that this last king did not retire in person to *Babylon*, but chose rather to go to *Borsippa*, where, being besieged by *Cyrus*, he surrendered himself to that conqueror, who behaved very kindly to him, and sent him as his lieutenant, as should seem, into *Carmania*, where he spent the remainder of his days. And thus was *Babylon* taken, and such was the fate of her last king, after a reign of 17 years, according to profane historians; nor is the same inconsistent with scripture so very much as to oblige us quite to reject it.

The fall of Babylon according to Xenophon. BUT as much weight as these authors may have, *Xenophon* varies from them, and tells us³, that this king lost all the considerable places in his country by a continued warfare waged on him by *Cyrus*, notwithstanding all the leagues he could make, and all the foreign aid he could procure of *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and all the nations of the *Lesser Asia*, over whom he constituted *Cræsus* his general, and sent him even to invade *Media*. But *Cræsus* being utterly routed, and the country afterwards as good as all reduced, *Babylon* was left as it were to herself. The city and the little territory about it was all of the east that now held out against *Cyrus*, who at length drew near to besiege the *Babylonian* citizens. This last king then marched out to give him battle, but, being overthrown in the field, he was driven back to his city,

¹ Idem ibid. c. 191.

² BEROS. MEGASTH. ABYD. ubi sup.

³ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔ. 5. §.

and blocked up by a close siege. The place was thought impregnable, on account of its walls and the great number of people to defend them; not to mention a store of all necessaries to last them for 20 years. The siege continued two years; at the end of which the river was diverted into the lake as above, and a strong party was posted where the river ran into the city, and another where it ran out. These parties were commanded by the *Babylonians*, *Gobryas* and *Gadates*; who, about midnight, observing the river to be drained, marched into the bed of the river, and finding all the water gates open, which upon ordinary nights, for it was now a festival, were used to be shut they proceeded to the palace, and surprised, and slew the guard. The palace being opened to know the cause of this confusion, they rushed in and slew the king, as he was valiantly fighting with his sword in his hand *.

If he was really *Belshazzar*, he certainly came to this unfortunate end; for having made a feast for 1000 of his lords, and having profaned the vessels his fore-father had brought from the temple of *Jerusalem*, the fingers of a hand came out, and wrote upon the wall in a character unknown to any person then present; the king saw this, and was quite terrified; he trembled, and his knees smote one against the other ^m. He cried out for the astrologers, *Chaldeans*, and the rest, and promised, that the man among them who should decypher the writing, and inform him of what it meant, should be clothed in scarlet, and have a chain of gold, and be third ruler of his kingdom ⁿ. He addressed them in vain (Y), till the queen, who is supposed to have been *Nitocris* ^o, understanding the trouble the king was in, came in and informed him of *Daniel*, who had been so esteemed by his father; but that he should have been unknown to *Belshazzar*, is what it may be to no purpose to inquire into. *Daniel* came, and having reminded him of what his father had been, and what had befallen him, and rebuked him for his insolent pride, and for profaning the holy vessels which had stood in the house of the Lord, he read the words, which were, MENE MENE, TEKEL UPHARSIN ^p. “ This is the interpretation of the thing; “ MENE, God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished “ it; TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balance, and found

*The fall of
Babylon,
as seemingly
in Dani-*

* Ibid. ^m Dan. v. 1—6. ⁿ Dan. v. 7. ^o PRID.
ubi sup. p. 122. ^p Dan. v. 25.

(Y) It is supposed the writing was in what we call now the *Samaritan* character, which being unknown to the *Chaldeans*, they could not read it (59).

(59) See Prid. ubi sup. p. 122.

Year of "wanting; PERES, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Flood, "the Medes and Persians". Notwithstanding the severity of this doom, *Belshazzar* performed to *Daniel* all the promises he had made to the man who should thus satisfy him; and in that night was *Belshazzar* the king of the *Chaldeans* slain: And *Darius* the *Mede* took the kingdom, being about 62 years old^r.

Year be-
fore Christ
538.

IN the first year of the reign of *Belshazzar* it was, that *Daniel*^r had the vision of the four beasts, which we may resume hereafter, and in the third of the same *Belshazzar* it was, that he had the vision of the ram and the he-goat^r. In the reign of *Darius* the *Mede* it was, that the same *Daniel* was thrown into the lion's den^u; but the particulars of these several occurrences we reserve for another time, seeing we are at a loss for the proper place of these two reigns.

Nabona-
dius un-
likely to
have been
*Belshaz-
zar* or *Da-
rius* the
Mede.

WE are now to consider, whether or no this *Nabonadius* was either *Belshazzar* or *Darius* the *Mede*; in which we shall rather propose our own doubts, than pretend to decide upon so palpable an obscurity as is the whole history of *Babylon*, from the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* died, to the day that *Cyrus* made himself master of this city. Sir *Isaac Newton* and Doctor *Prideaux* are quite clear, that he was *Belshazzar*, and support themselves by many considerable arguments, but not so very powerful as to admit of no contradiction. To enter into the several opinions and varieties concerning this succession of princes, would lead us into an inextricable labyrinth, and confound rather than inform us; we shall therefore chiefly refer to what we have before offered, in proof that *Evil-merodach* must have been the *Belshazzar* of *Daniel*, and *Neriglissar* the *Darius* the *Mede* of the same, if they be any kings exhibited in *Ptolemy's* astronomical canon; and to suppose they are not would be a seeming reflection on the accuracy of that valuable piece[†].

IT is to be observed, that if any credit is to be given to prophane historians, *Nabonadius* cannot have been *Belshazzar*; for the former must have died in a strange land, while the latter was slain in his own palace. Again, *Belshazzar's* ignorance of *Daniel* can never be reconciled with so long a reign as that of *Nabonadius*. The utmost we can gather that

^r Ibid. ver. 28.
viii.

^r Ibid ver. 31.

^r Dan. vii.

^r Ibid.

^u Ibid. vi.

[†] The authors however, upon a fuller discussion of this subject^a, believe *Nabonadius* to have been the *Belshazzar* of scripture, *Cyrus* the *Darius* the *Mede* of the same.

^a See the last note of the 10th chapter.

Belshazzar reigned at *Babylon* was not above three years; *Nabonadius* reigned seventeen.

THIS *Nabonadius* was certainly the last king of *Babylon*, and by *Ptolemy's* canon, and by the concurrence of the bulk of prophane authors, there was no king there between him and *Cyrus*; nor does the scripture itself, which makes *Darius* the *Mede*, to have preceded *Cyrus*, say, that he reigned after the last king of the *Babylonian* race, or that there was no king of *Babylon* between *Darius* the *Mede* and *Cyrus*.

Now that this last *Babylonian* cannot have been *Darius* the *Mede*, as is sometimes said ^w, may be proved by prophane authors ^x, who agree, that he was a *Babylonian*, nay, and of the royal race ^y; and this shall suffice for the present, together with what has been said before, to evince, that he was not *Darius* the *Mede*.

Nabonadius was certainly of the royal race [†]; there is all the reason in the world to believe he was a descendant, and even a grandson, of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and especially if the celebrated *Nitocris* was married to *Evil-merodach*, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, as the common opinion is. It is said, that all nations should serve him and his son's son [‡]; *Nabonadius* may then have been this son's son. It is said, that God would cut off from *Babylon* the son and the grandson [§], and therefore it is concluded, that this last king must have been killed as well as *Evil-merodach*; but there is no occasion to suppose this, if prophane evidence may be received; and that so it ought to be, when it agrees with the text of scripture can be no manner of doubt. Now we understand, that this prophecy was amply fulfilled; for we are told, that *Evil-merodach*, the undoubted son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was murdered ^a, and that his grandson, by his daughter who was married to *Neriglissar*, and whose name was *Laborosoarchod*, was murdered likewise ^b. Supposing then *Nabonadius* to have been the grandson likewise of *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Evil-merodach*, there is no necessity to suppose he was murdered or slain. The predictions then, that all nations should serve *Nebuchadnezzar's* son and his son's son, and that God would cut off his son and his grandson, were apparently different, and apparently fulfilled. In a word, *Belshazzar*, who to all appearance, was no other than *Evil-merodach*, seems rather to have been butchered by the hands of assassins, than to have fallen by the sword of the enemy;

^w DU PIN Biblioth. Univers. des Histor. 296. ^x MEGASTH. BEROUS. ABBYD. ubi sup. ^y JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 10. c. 12.
[†] Idem ibid. [‡] See before, p. 312. [§] Isai. xiv. 22. ^a See before, p. 338. ^b Ibid. 344.

nor can it be consistent with the character we have of *Nitocris* to imagine, she could have been so negligent as to suffer the enemy to surprize the city in the manner they did ; she then must have been dead, and not alive, as *Prideaux* would have it. Though it is prophesied, that the enemy should possess the city at the time of a feast, while her great, and wise, and mighty men were in liquor, it does not follow immediately thence, that the king himself was slain at the same time. That it was taken at the time of a great festival, we have confirmed to us by an historian of the first credit, and nearest to the times ^c, and that is sufficient for the honour of the prophecy.

*Arguments
deduced
from Ne-
buchad-
nezzar's
prophecy.*

As we are not wholly to reject prophane authorities, but on the contrary, very much to rely on them, we would observe, that from the prophecy of *Nebuchadnezzar* ^d, which he is supposed ^e to have owed to no less a man than *Daniel* himself, it may be gathered, that what we have here and elsewhere above suggested, concerning *Belshazzar* and *Darius* the *Mede*, is not very much out of the way. For he speaks of the destruction to befall to *Babylon* as just at hand, and, though he must have been then very old, what he might possibly be a witness to ; and thus *Belshazzar*, who is in scripture expressly called his son, was murdered two or three years after his death. This destruction was to be brought on by the means of a *Mede*, in whom the *Assyrians*, or *Babylonians*, were wont greatly to pride themselves ; and what *Mede* can this have been so likely as *Neriglissar*, who seems by his name to have been even naturalized an *Assyrian*, and who had married *Nebuchadnezzar*'s own daughter ^f ? The *Persian* mule is plainly *Cyrus*, who, by warring upon *Neriglissar* to dethrone him, first struck at the root of the *Babylonian* empire, and, by continuing the war, brought it at length to the ground.

UPON the whole, it may appear rather more evidently than not, that if *Darius* the *Mede* and *Belshazzar* are any of the kings of *Babylon* in the canon, and that they are not, cannot well be so much as supposed, they can have been no other than *Evil-merodach* and *Neriglissar*. The son and grandson of *Nebuchadnezzar*, against whom it was denounced that they should be cut off, cannot well be allowed to have been any but *Evil-merodach* and *Laborosoarchod* ; and his son and his son's son, whom all nations, as it is hyperbolically expressed, should serve, can have been no other than *Evil-merodach* and this *Nabonadius*, in whose days the empire of *Babylon* came to an end, as had been foretold by the prophets The

^c HERODOT. ubi sup.

^d See before, p. 336.

^e Vid.

PRID. ubi sup. p. 106.

^f See before, p. 343.

burden of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amoz did see . . . Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand; it shall come as a destruction from the Almighty . . . Behold I will stir up the Medes against them . . . And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their folds there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands, shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces . . . How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! How art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations! . . . I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon, the name, and remnant, and son, and nephew [or, as it should be, the grandson ^a]. . . . I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water: and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction ¹. . . . Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods be hath broken unto the ground ². . . . Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth . . . They stoop, they bow down together, they could not deliver the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity ³. . . . The word that the Lord spake against Babylon, and against the land of the Chaldeans, by Jeremiah the prophet . . . Say Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces ⁴. . . . Hear ye the counsel of the Lord, that he hath taken against Babylon, and his purposes, that he hath purposed against the land of the Chaldeans ⁵. . . . Behold I will raise up against Babylon, and against them that dwell in the midst of them that rise up against me, a destroying wind; and will send unto Babylon fanners, that shall fan her, and empty her land . . . Flee out of the midst of Babylon, and deliver every man his soul: he not cut off in her iniquity . . . Babylon is suddenly fallen and destroyed: howl for her, take balm for her pain, if so be she may be healed. We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed: forsake her, and let us go every one into his own country: for her judgment reacheth unto heaven, and is lifted up even unto the skies . . . Make bright the arrows: gather the shields: the Lord hath raised up the spirit of the king of the Medes: for his device is against Babylon to destroy it . . .

^a Isai. xiii. ¹ See PRID. ubi Sup. ² Isai. xiv. 12.—23.
³ Ibid. xxi. 9. ⁴ Ibid. xlv. 1, 2. ⁵ Jerem. l. 1, 2. ⁶ Ibid.
ver. 45.

Set ye up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations against her, call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Aslichenaz, appoint a captain against her, cause the horses to come up as the rough caterpillars. Prepare against her the nations with the kings of the Medes. . . . The land shall tremble and sorrow: for every purpose of the Lord shall be performed against Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant. . . . One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to shew the king of Babylon that his city is taken at one end (Y). . . . Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing-floor, it is time to thresh her: yet a little while and the time of her harvest shall come. . . . And Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment, and an hissing without an inhabitant. . . . The sea is come up upon Babylon: she is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof. Her cities are a desolation, a dry land and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby. ^{21.} ¹⁰¹ The heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, shall sing for Babylon. . . . And I will make drunk her princes, and her wise men, her captains, and her rulers, and her mighty men: and they shall sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake saith the king, whose name is the Lord of hosts. . . . The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be burnt with fire, and the people shall labour in vain, and the folk in the fire, and they shall be weary.

SUCH was Babylon, and such her end. Upon the whole it appears, that the Assyrian monarchy, whether the first at Nineveh, or the second at Babylon, was never thoroughly settled in a dominion over the nations for any length of time, and that it rather contended for empire than enjoyed it in any settled form; and that, if we except Nabuchadnezzar, no one of these monarchs, from Pul to Nabonidus, could ever boast any thing like the conquests attributed to Sennacherib. Esar-baddon may claim the next place after him for conquests and dominion, but his life ended by the time he had exalted himself over the west. The rest of these princes were all unfortunate, one way or other: Some of them, with infinite la-

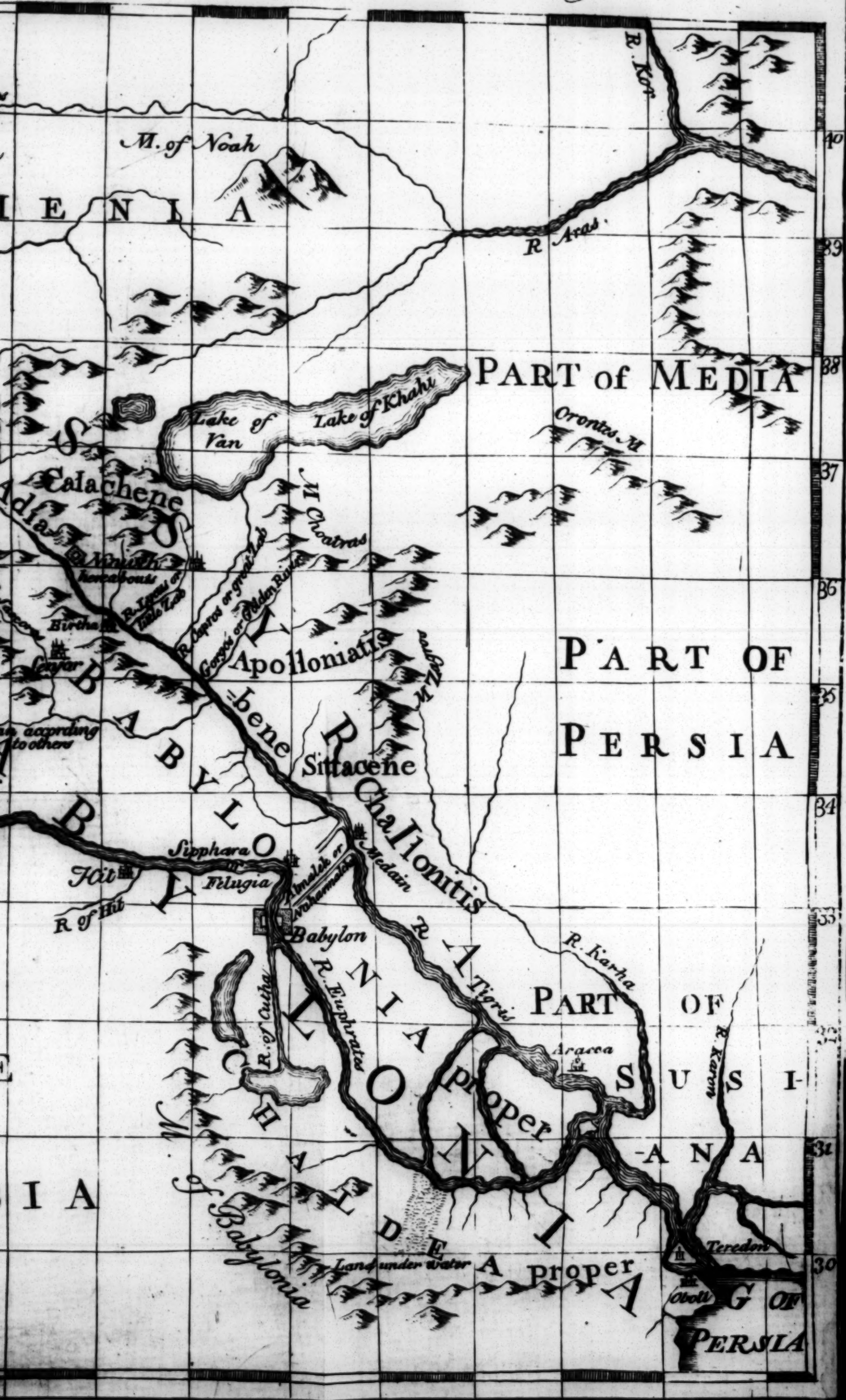
Idem. li. 1—58.

(Y.) Whether from hence it may be gathered that this last king was within the city or without it, at the time it was taken, we leave to the reader; and consequently, whether or no the Belshazzar of Daniel was this last king or not.

A MAP of ASSYRIA &



& BABYLONIA according to this History



N.M. Sculp.



hour and labour, attempted to subjugate the nations; but the flame still broke out somewhere or other against them; others of them, by a supine neglect, saw themselves in danger, from those their warlike predecessors had awed, and were some of them, in the end, subdued, and captivated, and destroyed by them. In fine, we see both the *Assyrian* and the *Babylonian* submitted to that fate, which must sooner or later dissolve all universal monarchies, which must have almost as many enemies as subjects.

CHAP. X.

The History of the MEDES.

SECT. I.

The Description of MEDIA.

THE country before us, once the seat of a potent empire, derives its name from *Madai* the third son of *Japhet*, as is plain from scripture, where the *Medes* &c. are constantly called *Madai* (A). It was bounded, according to *Ptolemy*, on the north by part of the *Caspian* sea; on the south by *Persis*, *Susiana*, and *Assyria*; on the east by *Parthia* and *Hircania*; and on the west by *Armenia Major*. It was in ancient times divided into several provinces, namely

^a DAN. v. 28. *ibid.* vi. 8. 12. 15. *ibid.* viii. 20. ESTH. i. 3. 14. 18, 19. *ibid.* x. 2.

(A) Among prophane authors, some derive the name of *Media* from one *Medus*, the son of *Medea* and *Jafon*; others from a city here called *Media*, whence say they, the whole country borrowed its name (1). *Sextus Rufus* tells us, that in his time it was known by the name of *Medana* (2), and from others we learn (3), that it was also called *Aria*; but to enquire into the origin of these various appellations, would prove both a laborious and fruitless task.

(1) *Strab.* l. 11. p. 526. (2) *Ortel. Thes. Geogr. ad vocem Media.* (3) *Ortel. ibid.*

Tropatene, *Charomithrene*, *Darites*, *Marcians*, *Amariaci*, and *Syro-media*: All these were by a later division reduced to two only, the one called *Media Magna*, the other *Media Atropatia*, or simply *Atropatene* ^b.

Atropatene was that part which lay between mount *Taurus* and the *Caspian* sea, and is supposed to have been so called from one *Atropatus*, who being governor of this province in the time of *Darius*, the last *Persian* monarch, withstood *Alexander the Great*, and, upon the downfall of the *Persian* monarchy, seized on this part of *Media*, and transmitted it to his posterity, who held it as sovereigns to *Strabo's* time ^c. This was a cold, barren, and inhospitable country, and on that very account allotted by *Shalmaneser* for the abode of many captive *Israelites* after the conquest of that kingdom.

CITIES of note in this part of *Media* were *Gaza* or *Gazæ*, the metropolis of the province, and situated, according to *Pliny*, in a spacious plain between *Ecbatan* and *Artaxata*, and equally distant from both. *Sanina*, seated between the *Arazes* and the *Cambyfes*; *Fazina*, between the *Cambyfes* and the *Cyrus*; and *Cyropolis*, between the *Cyrus* and the *Amardus*. This tract was inhabited by the *Cadusians* and *Caspians*, a barbarous and inhuman race, originally sprung from the *Scythians*.

Media Magna was bounded by *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Hyrkania*, the *Hyrcanian* sea, and *Atropatene*. The most remarkable cities in this part of *Media* were *Ecbatan*, *Lodicea*, *Apamea*, *Rageia*, *Arfacia*, &c. *Ecbatan*, the metropolis of all *Media* and the seat both of the *Median* and *Persian* monarchs, was built by *Dejoces*, the first that reigned in *Media*, after the inhabitants had shaken off the *Assyrian* yoke ^d. The walls of this city are much celebrated by the antients, and minutely described by *Herodotus* ^e: they were seven in number, all of a circular form, and gradually rising above each other by the height of the battlements of each wall. The situation of the ground, rising by an easy ascent, was very favourable to the design of building these walls, and perhaps first suggested it. The royal palace and treasury were within the innermost circle of the seven. The first of these walls was equal in circumference to the city of *Athens*, and had white battlements, the second black, the third of a purple colour, the fourth blue, and the fifth of a deep orange; but the two innermost, as serving more immediately for a fence to the royal person of the king, were embellished above the others, the

^b STRAB. l. II. p. 360. & p. 363.

^c STRAB. l. II. p. 523.

^d HERODOT. l. I. c. 98.

^e HERODOT. ubi supra.

one being done over with silver, and the other with gold^f: This description of *Herodotus* favours, we must own, somewhat of romance; but, nevertheless, that *Ecbatan* was a great and powerful city, and perhaps no-ways inferior either to *Nineveh* or *Babylon*, is confirmed by far better authorities. In the book of *Judith*^g we read, that the walls of this stately metropolis were seventy cubits high and fifty cubits broad; that the towers on the gates were a hundred cubits in height, the breadth in the foundation sixty cubits, and the walls built of hewn and polished stone, each stone being six cubits in length and three in breadth. This city is by the antients constantly called *Ecbatan* of *Media*, to distinguish it from another in *Syria* bearing the same name^h, where the unfortunate *Cambyfes* died, as we read in *Herodotus*ⁱ (B).

Laodicea,

^f HERODOT. *ibid.* ^g JUDITH. c. i. 2, 3, 4. ^h HERODOT. l. 3. c. 64. DIODOR. l. 14. c. 23. PLIN. l. 6 c. 27. Plutarch. in Alex. p. 704. TACIT. l. 15. c. 31. &c. ⁱ HERODOT. l. 3.

(B) *Pliny* (4) tells us, that *Ecbatan* was built by *Selucus*; an unaccountable oversight, since he must have read an account of it not only in *Herodotus*, but likewise in *Demosthenes* (5), who calls it the ordinary residence of the *Persian* monarchs. On the other hand, *Diodorus* (6) carries the building of this town back to the fabulous times of *Semiramis*, and speaks of mountains levelled, vallies raised, waters conveyed through rocky mountains, and other astonishing works performed by his heroine, for the embellishment of the city and convenience of the inhabitants. This great city was situate on a rising ground, according to *Ptolemy* and *Diodorus*, about twelve stades distance from mount *Orontes*, and not at the foot of mount *Jasanius* on the southern confines of *Media* and *Persia*, where *Ammianus Marcellinus* is pleased to place it (7). Here *Daniel* is said by *Josephus* to have built a stately palace, which afterwards served as a mausoleum of the kings of *Media*; some of the beams, says this author, were of silver, and the rest of cedar, but plated with gold. There are now no monuments remaining, either of this magnificent building, or of the proud palace, where the monarchs of *Asia* were wont to pass their summer; nay, there is a great disagreement among our modern travellers about the place where that stately metropolis stood. The opinion of *Molet*, who translated and wrote a commentary upon *Ptolemy*, seems to Sir *John Chardin* the most probable, viz. that *Tauris* is the antient and famous *Ecbatan* (8); and this opinion is confirmed by *Ortelius*, *Gelnits*,

(4) *Plin. l. 6. c. 14.* (5) *Demosth. Philip. 4. p. 100* (6) *Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 12.* (7) *Ammian. Marcell. l. 23 c. 23.*
(8) *Chardin. voy. en Pers. vol. 1. p. 181.*

Texcire,

Laodicea, of which appellation there were many towns, so called either from the mother of *Nicator*, or the wife of *Antiochus*, is counted by *Strabo*^k among the cities of *Media*, and placed by *Pliny*^m near the confines of *Persia*. *Apamea* is by *Strabo* sometimes adjudged to *Media*, and sometimes to *Parthia*ⁿ. - *Raga*, *Rageia*, or *Ragea* is called by *Isidorus*^o the greatest city of *Media*; it was repaired by *Nicator*, who called it *Europus*, and by that name it was known to *Ptolemy*; but in the book of *Tobit* it retains the former. In process of time it became the seat of the *Parthian* kings, who gave it the name of *Arfacia* or *Arface*, as we shall see in the history of that people. Other cities of *Media* are mentioned by *Pliny*, *Stephanus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Isidorus*, viz. *Zombis*, *Patigran*, *Gazata*, *Margasis*, &c. but these were all built in after-ages by the *Macedonians*, and are therefore called by *Strabo*^a *Greek cities*. This part of *Media* was inhabited by the *Candachians*, *Marandaeans*, *Gelians*, *Syro-medians*, *Margasians*, &c.

Mountains and rivers. THE mountains of this country, such as may be proper to take notice of, are, according to *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*^o, *Choatra*, parting *Media* from *Assyria*, and branching out from the *Gordyeen* mountains on the confines of *Assyria* and *Armenia*; *Zagrus*, dividing it from the same *Assyria* on the east, a mountain, if *Polybius*^p is to be credited, one hundred fades high. *Parachoatra*, placed by *Ptolemy* on the borders towards *Persia*, and by *Strabo*^q on the confines of *Media*, *Hyrcania*, and *Parthia*. These are the boundaries between *Media* and the adjacent regions, and therefore may be said as properly to belong to the latter as to the former; but the

^k STRAB. l. xi. p. 361.

^m l. 6. c. 26.

ⁿ STRAB. l. xi.

p. 354, & 361.

^o ISIDOR. p. 361.

^a STRAB. l. xi. p. 361.

^p STRAB. l. xi. p. 363.

^q POLYB. l. v. c. 44.

^o STRAB.

ubi supra.

Tauris, *Andrea della valle*, &c. *Josephus* assures us (9), that the palace built by *Daniel* was entire in his time; but at present not even the ruins of any magnificent building are to be seen either at *Tauris* or in that neighbourhood; for in all the ruins there, the materials, as our traveller judiciously observes (10), are only earth, brick, and pebbles, which in antient times were never used in *Media* for the building of palaces. Some writers confound *Ecbatan* with *Batana*, which is evidently *Ptolemy's* *Batina*, and placed by him to the north of mount *Orontes* near the river *Straton*.

(9) *Joseph. Antiquitat. l. 10.*

(10) *Chardin ubi supra.*

Orontes,

Orontes, the *Jafonius*, and the *Coronus* are in the strictest sense mountains of *Media*, as arising in the very heart of the country. The rivers of note are, according to *Ptolemy*, the *Straton*, the *Amardus*, the *Cyrus*, and the *Gambyses*. But these rivers, as they are represented to disembogue themselves into the most southern part of the *Caspian*, must by their position have belonged to the provinces of *Gbilan* and *Manandaran*, as they are now called, and consequently could not belong to *Media proper*, as it is described to us by the antients.

WE cannot help taking notice here of a considerable mistake, which many of the antients have been guilty of, with respect to the situation of the *Caspian Streights*, called by the *Latins* *Portæ Caspiæ*, *Glaustra Caspia*, and *Pylæ Caspiæ*. *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Arrian*, *Isidorus Characenus*, and *Dionysius Periegetes* place them on the confines of *Media* and *Parthia*, or on the eastern borders of *Media*. But *Pliny*, not liking this situation, carries them quite cross the country, and after having been some time at a loss how to dispose of so heavy a load, drops it at last on the confines of *Media* and *Armenia*, that is, on the most western borders of *Media*. *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* confound them with the *Iberian streights*, which are a narrow passage through the mountains dividing *Iberia* from *Sarmatia*. Some of our modern geographers place them in *Media Atropatia*, between the *Caspian* mountains and the *Caspian* sea, confounding them with what the present inhabitants call *Demir-can*, or *Iron-gate*, which is a narrow passage out of *Tartary* into *Persia*.

THE northern parts of *Media*, lying between the *Caspian Soil*, mountains and the sea, are very cold and barren; the present inhabitants make their bread of dried almonds, and their drink of the juice of certain herbs. Here the snow lies on the mountains for nine months in the year. But the southern parts are productive of all sorts of grain and necessities for life, and withal so pleasant, that the country adjoining to *Tauris*, probably the antient *Ecbatan*, is called the garden of *Persia*. There are here large plains, among which that of *Nysa* is famous for the numerous studs of horses that were kept in it for the use of the *Persian* monarchs, and are often mentioned and celebrated by the antients. Where this

* STRAB. l. xi. p. 362. ARRIAN. l. 3. ISIDOR. Characenus, p. 6. DIONYS. Perieget. versu. 1039. † PLIN. l. 6. c. 15.
 ‡ SUTTON. c. 19. "TACIT. Hist. l. 1. c. 6. " CHARDIN.
 voy. en Pers. vol. I. p. 524.

plain of *Nysa* was situated, is no easy matter to determine (C).

Climate.

THE climate is very unequal ; that part which lies between the mountains and the sea is exceeding cold, and the earth swampy, and full of marshes, where innumerable swarms of venomous insects are bred (D), which, together with the vapours rising from the *Caspian* sea, render that part very unhospitable. The provinces that are more remote from the sea enjoy a very wholesome air, though liable to heavy rains and violent storms, especially in the spring and autumn *. Besides the cattle and game of all sorts, which the *Mediterranean* provinces abound with, some of them have been for

* CHARDIN. ubi supra.

(C) The antients place the *Nysæan* plain in the eastermost parts of what they call *Media*, and far beyond the limits of what is now supposed to have been properly this country. We have a traveller, who thinks he has seen this fertile pasture ; but if he did, we must place it quite differently from what the antients seem to insinuate it ought to be, and several degrees nearer us. His words are, " We continued on our way (from *Tauris* towards *Persia*) upon the most beautiful and fertile plains covered with villages. These plains afford the most excellent pasture of all *Media*, and, I dare say, of the whole world, and the best horses of the country were there at grass. — I asked a young nobleman in company with us, *If there were any other plains in Media so fine and so extensive?* He told me, *He had seen some as fine about Derbent, but none more extensive* ; so that 'tis reasonable enough to believe, that these plains are the *Hippobaton* of the antients, and where they say the kings of *Media* had a stud of fifty thousand horses, and that here it is also, we must look for the *Nysæan* plain so famous for the horses of that name. *Stephanus* the geographer says, that *Nysa* was in the country of the *Medes*. I told this same nobleman some particulars which historians relate concerning these horses, namely *Phavorinus*, who says, all the *Nysæan* horses were light duns ; he answered, that *he had never read or heard any thing of the kind*. I afterwards enquired of several gentlemen of learning, but could never understand, that there was any place, either in *Persia* or *Media*, that produced horses of that colour (11)".

(D) *Ælian* tells us (12), that these parts of *Media* were greatly infested by scorpions, and that while the king of *Persia* was on his progress into *Media*, the inhabitants were employed for three days, before his arrival on the confines, in clearing the country of these venomous insects.

(11) *Chardin. ubi supra, p. 185.*
15. c. 26.

(12) *Ælian. de Animal. l.*

many ages remarkable on account of the various sorts of excellent wines they produce, especially the neighbourhood of *Tauris*, where no fewer than sixty different kinds of grapes, all of an exquisite flavour, are to be tasted at this day ⁷. From its productions in the present state we may judge, what it must have been in better times.

We cannot dismiss this subject without some observations ^{The Caspi-} on the *Caspian* sea, which is the northern boundary of *Me-* ^{an sea.} *dia*. This large body of waters was by the antients called indifferently the *Caspian* and the *Hyrceanian* sea, from the *Caspians* and *Hyrceanians* whose shores it washed ^a. However, *Pliny* ^a makes some difference between these two appellations, telling us, that on the *Caspian* coasts it bears the former denomination, and on those of *Hyrkania* the latter. The antient, and likewise the modern, geographers, had but a very imperfect knowledge of the true situation, extent, coasts, and bays of this sea, before the discoveries made lately by a very able navigator and geographer (E) ; and therefore what has been said by others is only to be relied on, so far as it agrees with the accounts he has given us. *Ptolemy*, and even *Herodotus*, knew, that the *Caspian* was surrounded on all sides by land, without any communication with other seas or visible efflux ; whence some thought, that it ought to be called a lake rather than a sea. However, *Strabo* ^b, *Pliny* ^c, *Pomponius Mela* ^d, and *Arrian* ^e wrote, that it was joined either to the *Indian* or northern ocean ; but we are well assured by experience, that they were mistaken. They were perhaps led into this error by such as had made their observations when the *Volga* had overflowed its banks, at which time it appears more like a sea than a river, covering with its waters, as a modern traveller informs us ^f, the whole country to the extent of sixty miles : This they might easily have mistaken for a streight joining the *Caspian* to the ocean. *Ptolemy*, though here in the right, was greatly mistaken as to its extent from east to west, for which he allows twen-

⁷ CHARDIN. vol. I. p. 185. ^a STRAB. l. xi. p. 83. DIODOR. l. 7. c. 75. ^a PLIN. l. 6. c. 13, & 16. ^b STRAB. l. x. p. 83. ^c PLIN. l. 6. c. 13. ^d POMPON. MEL. l. 3. c. 5. ^e ARRIAN. l. 7. p. 477. ^f Le Bruyn voy. par. la. Moscov. Tom. 3. p. 465.

(E) M. *Vanverden*, who, by orders of the late *Czar*, formed a very exact chart of the *Caspian* from observations made by him on the spot in 1720, 1721, 1722. These observations, together with M. *Vanverden*'s new chart, were by the *Czar*'s orders communicated to the royal academy of sciences at *Paris*.

ty three degrees and a half ; whereas it does not exceed, where widest, three degrees forty two minutes, and, where narrowest, one degree twenty two minutes. He likewise places it three degrees more to the north than it really is. These mistakes were observed, and in some degree redressed, by *Abu'lfeda*, an *Arabian* prince and able geographer, who in 1320, discovered the true situation of the *Caspian*, and abridged its extent by a third of what *Ptolemy* had allowed it. By this alteration its length was no more in longitude, as *Ptolemy* had placed it, but in latitude, as it truly is. *Abu'lfeda's* observations were greatly improved by *Bourrous*, *Olearius*, and *Jenkinson* ; but the true dimensions of this sea were not ascertained till the late observations, by which we are assured, that it lies between the thirty seventh and forty eighth degrees of north latitude, and does not exceed three degrees forty two minutes in its greatest longitude, which gives it a quite different figure from what it is represented to have in the maps of *Ptolemy*, and in the writings of other antient geographers.

THE *Persians* call this sea *Kulsum*, or the sea of *Astracan* ; the *Russians* the sea of *Gualenskoï* ; the *Georgians* *Sowa* ; the *Armenians* *Soof*. It receives the river *Volga*, which itself is like a sea, and near two hundred others into its bosom, and yet is never increased or diminished, nor observed to ebb or flow. This constant plenitude has given rise to many speculations, and some have imagined, that it must necessarily have some subterraneous communication either with the *Black* sea, though a hundred leagues distant, or with the *Persian* gulf, which is near two hundred leagues distant from it. Father *Auril*, a modern traveller, seems to favour the latter opinion, and alledges this proof to confirm it, *viz.* that over against the province of *Xilan* in *Persia* there are two immense whirlpools, which with an incredible rapidity and frightful noise suck in and swallow whatever comes near them, and consequently a cavity in the earth. He adds, that every year, about the latter end of the autumn, a great quantity of willow leaves are observed floating on the water by those who inhabit the coasts of the *Persian* gulf. As this tree is no where to be found near the *Persian* gulf, and on the other hand the coasts of the *Caspian* towards the province of *Xilan* are covered with them, there must be some subterraneous intercourse between these two seas. This observation, if true, is a strong proof of some secret communication between these two bodies of water, the leaves being conveyed through subterraneous fissures from the one to the other. But since the opinion, asserting a communication between the *Caspian* and

and other seas, has been taken up chiefly on this consideration, that as so many and so large rivers disembogue themselves into it, and are constantly pouring in their waters, in process of time the channel would be filled, and run over, unless there were subterraneous fissures and meatuses, through which it might evacuate its superfluous waters into the *Ocean*; as the opinion, I say, of the *Caspian's* being joined, either immediately, or by means of some other sea, to the ocean, is chiefly founded on this, it will be worth while to consider how the *Caspian* or any other sea comes to lose so much water as it receives, either from rain or rivers flowing into it (F). The water of this sea is salt as the waters
of

(F) There are two hypotheses among philosophers; one is, that the waters of the sea are conveyed by subterraneous conduits to the springs of rivers, and that in draining through the fissures they lose their saltness: the other is, that it happens by the vapours that are drawn up from its surface. The former is now rejected by most, it being next to impossible to explain how the water of the ocean, being more depressed than the very mouths of the rivers, can come up to their springs, which are mostly on high mountains. But in the latter hypothesis we have no occasion to explain this, nor to prevent the increase of the seas, by supplying the springs with their waters.

THE quantity of vapours drawn up from the sea was tried by Dr. *Halley*, who made the following computation (13). By an experiment made with great care he found, that water, salted to the same degree as common sea-water, and heated to the same degree of the air in our hottest summers, exhales the thickness of a sixtieth part of an inch in two hours. Whence it appears, that a bulk of water a tenth part of an inch high will be exhaled into vapours in twelve hours. So that if the superficies of the whole ocean, or a part of it, be known, it may also be known, how much water arises from it in vapours every day, supposing the water to be equally hot with the air in summer. According to what has been laid down, a superficies of ten square inches emits daily a cubic inch of water; one square foot, half a pint; a square, whose sides are four feet, one gallon; a square mile 6914 tuns; and one degree square (consisting, as we may suppose, of 69 *English* miles) 33 millions of tuns. The same author supposes the *Mediterranean* to be about forty degrees long, and four broad, allowances being made for the places where it is broader by those where it is narrower, so that its whole superficies may be accounted 160 square degrees; and consequently the whole *Mediterranean* must lose in vapours, according to the fore-stated proportion, in a summer's day, at least 5280 millions of tuns. What quantity of

(13) *Philos. Transact.* No. 189. p. 366.

Z. z. 2

water

of other seas, notwithstanding the opinion of the ancients to the contrary ; its freshness in some parts near the shore is owing to the rivers that discharge themselves into it. It is neither of a different colour from other seas, nor without various sorts of fish, as *Olearius*, an eye-witness, assures us, and thereby disproves the opinion of the ancients, who believed it to be of a blackish colour, and to have but one

water is dried off the surface by the winds cannot possibly be reduced to any rule ; but we may venture to say, that it sometimes exceeds even what is evaporated by the heat of the sun.

Now to compare this quantity of water with that which is carried daily into the sea, the above-mentioned writer observes, that the *Mediterranean*, for instance, receives these nine considerable rivers, the *Iberus*, the *Rhone*, the *Tiber*, the *Po*, the *Danube*, the *Neister*, the *Borysthenes*, the *Tanais*, and the *Nile*, all the rest being of no great note. Each of these rivers he supposes to be ten times greater than the *Thames*, not that any of them is near so great, but to comprehend with them all the small rivulets that fall into the same sea.

He likewise supposes the river *Thames* at *Kingston-bridge*, where the tide seldom reaches, to be in breadth about a hundred yards, and in depth three ; and the water to run two miles an hour. If therefore the breadth of the water, a hundred yards, be multiplied by three, the depth, and the product three hundred square yards by forty eight miles, or 84480 yards, which the water runs every day, the product will be 25344000 cubic yards of water, or 20312818 tuns, that are carried every day into the sea.

Now, if each of the aforesaid rivers yields ten times as much water as the *Thames*, it will follow, that each of them carries every day into the sea above 203 millions of tuns, and the whole nine 1828 millions of tuns in a day.

However, this is but little more than one third of what is proved to be raised in vapours out of the *Mediterranean* in twelve hours time. Hence it appears, that the *Mediterranean*, the *Caspian*, or any other sea, is so far from increasing or overflowing by the rivers it receives, that in a short time it would rather be evaporated and drained, unless the vapours that it exhales returned upon it in dew or rain.

Scaliger and others were of opinion, that the *Caspian* is joined by some subterraneous intercourse with the *Euxine*, but he alledges no reason to prove his opinion ; however, this may be urged for it, that the *Euxine* sea, as Mr. *Dugdale* observes (14), is continually disgoring a large quantity of water through the *Bosphorus*, and some think, that it is more than the rivers pour into it ; wherefore it may, for ought we know, be supplied from the *Caspian*.

(14) *Dugdale's compleat system of Gen. Geography*, p. 290.

kind of fish, and that of a monstrous form. We shall conclude this section with observing, that the ignorance of the antients with relation to this sea, or lake, as some are pleased to call it, may be urged as an argument of the imperfect knowledge they had of these northern parts of the *Persian* empire, and at the same time warn us not to depend on their accounts, unless vouched by the testimonies of modern travellers, who have, with far greater care and better success surveyed those remote regions.

S E C T. II.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, arts, learning, and trade of the MEDES.

WE have already derived the *Medes* * from *Madai*, the *Third* son of *Japhet*, and thereby put them upon the *gin.* level with the most antient nations (G). In process of time several colonies from the adjacent countries settled

* Vid. *supr.* p. 355.

(G) Some will have *Madai* to have been the progenitor of the *Macedonians*, and not of the *Medes*, grounding their opinion upon the two following reasons: 1. That the *Madai*, or *Medes*, are not mentioned in scripture till the later ages. 2. That this situation removes *Madai* too far from the rest of his brethren, and takes him out of his general lot, which was the isles of the *Gentiles*, to put him into that of *Shem*. But to the first it may be answered, that the *Jews* always retained the name, and it is plain they made use of it as soon as they had occasion: to the second, that, according to our hypothesis, the plantations of the sons of *Japhet* were contiguous; for the western *Media* was bounded on the north by the river *Ros* or *Aras*, to which, as we have elsewhere observed (15), the dominion of *Magog* extended; and perhaps those words, *by these were the isles of the Gentiles divided* (16), relate only to *Javan* and his sons, and not to *Gomer* and his posterity, the passages in scripture where these last are mentioned requiring a sense which places them on the continent. A modern writer (17) produces several authorities to shew, that there were a people in *Macedonia* called *Medi*, or *Mædi*, and a tract called the *Medic* regions in the borders of *Pæonia*; but this can only prove the *Macedonians* to be a later colony of *Madai*. To say that the *Macedonians* are the offspring of *Madai*, because the word *Macedonia* is compounded of

(15) *Vol I. p. 370.*
works.

(16) *Gen. x. 5.*

(17) *See Mede's*

Madai

tled among them, being invited thither by the fruitfulness of the soil, which gave rise to the various tribes into which that people was antiently divided. The *Greek* writers will have them to be originally *Persians*¹, and *Herodotus* tells us, that they were called *Arians* till the time of *Medus* the son of *Medea*, from whom they took the name of *Medians*. But our etymology is far more natural, and confirmed by the authority of all the antient interpreters, who by *Madai* in scripture constantly understand the *Medes*¹.

Government.

THEIR government was originally monarchical, like that of the other primitive nations, and they seem to have had kings of their own in the earliest times. Some are of opinion, that one of the four kings, who in the days of *Abraham* invaded the southern coasts of *Canaan*, reigned in *Media*. *Lactantius* mentions one *Hydaspes*, who, according to him, reigned long before the *Medes* were conquered by the *Assyrians*; and *Diodorus* tells us, that *Pharnus* king of the *Medes* was with his seven sons defeated and taken prisoner by *Ninus*, in the very beginning of the *Assyrian* empire². But his accounts of those early times are no ways to be relied on, it being plain, both from scripture and from the authority of the most judicious among the antient and modern chronologers, that the *Assyrian* empire did not begin till the days of *Pul*; whereas *Ctesias* and his copist *Diodorus* have made this empire as old as the flood, and given us the names of all the *Assyrian* kings from *Belus* and his feigned son *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*. According to the succession of *Assyrian* kings, as stated by them, that empire continued about 1360 years, whereas *Herodotus* tells us, that it lasted only five hundred years, and even his numbers are all too long. They were first brought under the *Assyrian* yoke by *Pul*, according to us the founder of that monarchy, or by his immediate successor *Tiglath-pileser*. Till that time they were probably governed by their own kings, as were, according to holy writ, the neighbouring nations (H). In the reign of *Sennacherib* they shook

¹ CERDEN. p. 18.

& in question. Hebraic.

² Vide HIERONYM. in cap. 13. *Esaia*,

² DIODOR. SIC. l. 5. c. 5.

Madai and *Cottim*, is relying too much, as every one must allow, on the authority of a forced etymology; and we may as well adopt the etymology of those who derive the *Tartari* from an antient tribe among the *Medes* called *Tapuri*, which they change into *Taturi*, and that into *Tartari* (18).

(H) In the time of the judges of *Israel*, *Mesopotamia* was under

(18) Vide Reinecc. hist. jul. par. secund. p. 2.

shook off the *Assyrian* yoke, and fell into an anarchy, which lasted till the reign of *Dejoces*, as we shall see in the following section. Their kings, after the revolt, were quite absolute, and controled by no law; nay, they claimed an equal respect with the gods themselves, the custom of adoring kings, which afterwards prevailed in *Persia*, having first taken rise among the *Medes* ¹.

THE *Medes* were once a very warlike race, as will appear from their history; but in process of time became one of the most effeminate nations of *Asia*, especially after they were reduced by *Cyrus*. In war they used the same armour as the *Persians*, whom they are said to have taught the art of war, especially to handle with dexterity the bow, and likewise to have been the first that introduced luxury into *Persia*, which at last occasioned the downfall of that empire, as it had before been the ruin of the *Medes* ². Polygamy was so far from being disreputable among them, that they were bound by law to maintain at least seven wives, and those women were looked upon with contempt, who had fewer than five husbands ³. In war they poisoned their arrows with a bituminous liquor called *Naphtha*, whereof there was great plenty in *Media*, *Persia*, and *Assyria*. The arrow being steeped in it, and shot from a slack bow (for a swift and violent motion took off from its virtue), burnt the flesh with such violence, that water rather encreased than extinguished the malignant flame; dust alone could put a stop to it, and in some degree allay the unspeakable pain it occasioned. They are likewise said to have bred a number of large dogs, to whom they used to throw the bodies of their friends, parents, and relations,

¹ *ÆLIAN*. var. histor. l. x. p. 525. ² *STRABO*, l. xi. *XENOPH.* *Cyropæd.* l. i. p. 7. ³ *STRABO*, l. xi. p. 526.

its own king (19); the king of *Zobab* reigned on both sides of the *Euphrates* till he was conquered by *David* (20). The kingdoms of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Philistia*, *Zidon*, *Damascus*, and *Hamath the Great*, were governed by their own princes, and so were those of *Haran*, or *Carrhae*, and *Sepharvaim* in *Mesopotamia*, and *Calneh* near *Bagdad*. As these petty kingdoms were ruled by their own princes, so was *Media* till the time of *Pul*, who subdued most of the above-mentioned nations. *Media* may have been subdued by *Nimrod*, who was a great warrior; but his empire, if he founded any, was of short continuance, it being the custom in those early times for every father to divide his territories amongst his sons.

(19) *Judg.* iii. 8.

(20) 2 *Samuel* viii. and x.

when

when at the point of death, looking upon it as dishonourable to die in their beds, or be laid in the ground*.

SOME writers charge the *Medes* with being the first authors of making eunuchs^p; but others impute this execrable practice to the *Persians*, and even name the place where it first took rise^q (I). The custom of confirming alliances with the

* BARDESAN. apud Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. 6. c. 8.
THENÆUS l. 12.

^p A-
^q STEPHAN. de urbib.

(I) *Stephanus* tells us, that this custom was first introduced in a city of *Persia* called *Spada*, whence he derives the *Latin* word *Spado*, signifying an eunuch. But both he and those who charge the *Medes* with introducing such an unnatural practice are certainly mistaken, since we find eunuchs in vogue among the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, long before such a piece of wanton luxury can be supposed to have been known either to the *Medes* or *Persians*. *Josephus* (21) acquaints us, that *Nabuchodonosor* commanded the most comely youths among the captive *Jews* to be made eunuchs; and *Jerom* is of opinion, that the prophet *Daniel* and his three companions were eunuchs (22). *Ammianus Marcellinus* will have *Semiramis* to be the first contriver of eunuchism (23). What prompted them thus to maim and deform nature, *Petronius Arbiter* will tell us:

*Persarum ritu male pubescentibus annis
Subripuere viros; exscellaque viscera ferro
In venerem fregere: atque ut fuga mobilis ævi,
Circumscripta mora, properantes differat annos* (24).

And *Claudian*,

*Seu Persica ferro
Luxuries vetuit nasci lanuginis umbram* (25):

Eunuchs have always been in great repute among the eastern princes, and were antiently employed in the most momentous affairs; all the places of greatest trust being filled by men, if men we may call them, of their species. To them the *Persian* kings committed, not only the guard of their own persons (26), but likewise the education of their children, it being a custom among them to put the heir apparent of the crown, as soon as he was born, into the hands of eunuchs, under whose tuition he remained, till he attained the seventh year of his age (27).

(21) *Joseph. antiquit. l. x. c. 16.* (22) *Hieronym. in cap. prim. Daniel.* (23) *Ammian. Marcellin. l. 14.* (24) *Petron. Arb. satyr.* (25) *Claudian. in Eutrop. l. 1.* (26) *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 7.* (27) *Plato in Alcibiad. 1.*

blood

blood of the contracting parties, which obtained among all the eastern nations, even in the *Roman* times, was originally peculiar to the *Medes*^r. When they were to strike alliances they used to tie together with a hard bandage the thumbs of their right hands, till the blood, starting to the extremities, was by a slight cut discharged. This they mutually sucked, and a league thus confirmed was esteemed most awful, as mysteriously solemnized with the blood of the parties^r.

THE laws and religion of the *Medes* were much the same *Laws, re-* with those of the *Persians*: wherefore, we shall defer what *ligion, &c.* may be said of them, till we come to the history of the *Persians* from the oriental writers. We shall only observe here, that when a law was once enacted, it was not in the king's power to repeal it, or to reverse a decree he had once made; whence the laws of the *Medes* are in holy writ called unchangeable^r. A modern writer tells us, that those only were admitted to the crown who were remarkable above others for their strength or stature^r. But that^r there was no such law is plain from the regular succession of father and son, without regard to any personal quality whatsoever. Some law of this nature may perhaps have obtained among them before they were conquered by the *Assyrians*; but we are quite in the dark as to the state of *Media* in those early times.

THEY paid their kings the greatest respect imaginable, putting them upon the level even with their gods. They thought it an high offence either to spit or laugh in their presence^w. They honoured their sovereign with the haughty title of *great king*, or *king of kings*, which style was afterwards adopted by the *Persian* monarchs and their proud successors the *Parthians*, whose king, even in the time of the emperor *Constantius*, retained that title, writing himself in a letter to that prince, *Sapor king of kings, allied to the stars, brother to the sun and moon, &c.*^r. When they appeared in public, which seldom happened, they were always attended by music, and numerous guards consisting of the prime nobility, their wives, children and concubines, being part of their retinue, even when they headed their armies in the field.

As to their arts, learning, and trade, we are quite in the dark; their country abounded with many excellent productions, as well for the use of the inhabitants themselves, as for foreign exportation; but whether they ever applied themselves

^r HERODOT. l. 1. c. 74.^r TACIT. annal. 12.^r Dan.

vi. 8.

^r ALEXAND. ab Alex. l. 4. c. 23.^w HERODOT.

l. 1. c. 99.

^r AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. 17.

to trade, is what we find no where recorded: neither do we find any mention made by the antients of their arts or sciences. During the short time of their monarchy, they seem to have applied their thoughts only to warlike exercises, namely to the arts of managing a horse and handling the bow, in which they surpassed all other nations, the Median horse being no less celebrated by the antients, than were in after-ages the Persian foot¹. Thus much we have thought necessary to say apart of the Medes and their country: what else may be added thereto we defer to the sections of the following chapter, which will be no more than a continuation of this.

S E C T. III.

The Chronology of the MEDES to the translation of their empire to the PERSIANS.

CYRUS and his followers have darkened the chronology of the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Medes, with such enormous anachronisms, that 'tis no easy matter to ascertain the rise or fall of those potent monarchies. To proceed with all the clearness and perspicuity so perplexed a subject will allow, we shall distinguish in the chronology of the Medes three remarkable occurrences, which will give birth to as many different eras; namely, the recovery of their liberty after they had been subdued by the Assyrians, the rise of their kingdom after some years of anarchy, and the beginning of their empire, which, as it is agreed on all hands, rose on the ruins of the Assyrian monarchy. The first king of the Assyrians, who brought the Medes under subjection, was either Pul, according to us the founder of the Assyrian empire², or his immediate successor Tiglath-pileser. For this prince having, at the prayers of Ahaz king of Judah, made war upon Rezin king of Damascus, and reduced that city, transplanted the inhabitants to Kir in Media³. Whence it is plain, that the Medes were then subject to the Assyrians; and consequently, that they must have been subdued either in the reign of Pul, or soon after the accession of Tiglath-pileser to the crown; for the empire of the Assyrians was already grown great, and the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tiglath-pileser

¹ XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. i. c. 7.
note (W).

² 2 Kings xv. 37. and xvi. 5. 9.

³ See before, p. 186.

ser king of Assyria to make war. *Pul* makes his first appearance in scripture during the reign of *Menahem* king of *Israel*, in the year of the flood 2228, before *Christ* 771. *Tiglath-pileser*, who is supposed to have been his son, succeeded him in the year of the flood 2259, before *Christ* 740. That there was no *Assyrian* empire before the days of *Pul*, is plain, both from scripture (K) and from the particular histories of each kingdom, so that the *Medes* could not be subdued by

1 Chron. v. 26.

(K) None of the prophets, who preceded *Pul*, and foretold the calamities which the people of *Israel* afterwards suffered from the *Assyrians*, ever name that nation, but only speak of a people that is to be raised up against *Israel*. Thus *Jonah*, who prophesied about sixty years before the reign of *Pul*, mentions indeed the king of *Nineveh*, but no where that of *Assyria*. The city of *Nineveh* had some time before shaken off the *Egyptian* yoke, and was governed by a king of its own (28); but his territories were of no great extent, as is plain from the said prophecies; neither was he called king of *Assyria*, but only of *Nineveh*. *Amos* prophesied about ten or twenty years before *Pul* began his conquests, and foretold, that God would raise up a nation that should humble the house of *Israel*, at that time elated with their success against *Damascus* and *Hamath*; but what nation he names not. In the prophecies of *Isaiab*, *Ezekiel*, *Hosai*, *Micah*, *Nabum*, *Zephaniab*, and *Zechariab*, which were written after the *Assyrian* monarchy was grown powerful, it is openly named on all occasions. Therefore, as *Jonah* and *Amos*, who prophesied before the reign of *Pul*, never mention the *Assyrians*, and those who flourished after his reign, frequently do, it is pretty plain, that in the days of the former the *Assyrians* made no great figure in the world, but were to be raised up against *Israel*; and by consequence rose in the days of *Pul*, who is the first upon record that fulfilled the prophecy of *Amos*, threatening *Syria* and *Israel* with captivity. Besides, we know from scripture, that till *Pul* made his appearance on this side of the *Euphrates*, not only *Syria* and *Egypt*, but many other neighbouring nations were governed by their own kings. *Sesac* and *Mennan* were great conquerors, and subdued *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, *Media*, *Persia*, *Bactria*, &c. but in their histories no mention is made of any opposition made to them by an *Assyrian* empire then standing. *Homer* mentions *Bacchus* and *Mennan* kings of *Egypt* and *Persia*, but knew nothing of an *Assyrian* empire (29). Whence it is manifest, that the *Assyrian* empire, which *Ctesias* makes as antient as the flood, did not begin till the reign of *Pul*, who reduced all the above-mentioned nations.

(28) *Jonah* iii. 6, 7. (29) See Sir Isaac Newton's *Chronol. of ancient Kingdoms*, p. 265. & seq. (30) 2 *Kings* xvii. iii. 6, 7. (31) *Tobit*, c. 1.

them before the time we have mentioned. From the time of *Pul* or *Tiglath-pileser* they continued in subjection to the *Assyrians* till the reign of *Sennacherib*, which began about the year of the flood 2286, before *Christ* 713, while *Hezekiah* was king of *Judah* (L). They took advantage, it is likely, of his long and distant absence, or of the sudden slaughter of his army near *Egypt*, and shaking off the yoke, defended their liberty by dint of arms against the power of the *Assyrians*, which was now in its decline. These are the troubles which prevented *Tobit* from going into *Media*, according to his custom^c; and they must have happened about the latter end of *Sennacherib*'s reign, that is, about the year of the flood 2289, before *Christ* 710. The *Medes*, having thus rescued their country from the *Assyrian* bondage, fell into a kind of anarchy, as *Herodotus* informs us^d, which gave *Esar-baddon*, or *Assar-baddon*, who succeeded *Sennacherib*, and was both a valourous and fortunate prince, an opportunity of bringing great part of *Media*, if not the whole country, anew under subjection. How long the anarchy may have lasted is hard to determine. Some include the years of the anarchy in the fifty three which *Dejoces*, their first king, is said to have reigned. It cannot have lasted above twenty or thirty years; for *Pbraortes*, who succeeded *Dejoces*, and reigned, according to *Herodotus*^e, twenty two years, was slain by *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchodonosor*, in the twelfth year of his reign. *Nabuchodonosor* came to the crown in the year of the flood 2351, before *Christ* 648; so that *Pbraortes* was killed eighty six years after the *Medes* had revolted from the *Assyrians*; from which number, if we subtract the fifty three of *Dejoces* and twenty two of *Pbraortes*, eleven years will remain for the anarchy. But the reign of *Dejoces*, who, as we read in *Herodotus*^f, had some time exercised the office of judge before he was cho-

^c TOBIT i. 15.^d HERODOT. l. i. c. 71.^e HERODOT.

ubi supra.

^f Ubi supra.

(L) That in the time of *Sbalmaneser* they were subject to the *Assyrians*, is plain from scripture, where that prince is said to have transplanted the inhabitants of *Samaria* to *Halab* and *Haber*, and to the cities of the *Medes* (30). In this captivity *Tobit* was carried from his native country, the city of *Thibse*, in the tribe of *Neptbali*, with *Anna* his wife, and *Tobias* his son, into *Assyria*; but the rest of his brethren were carried into *Media*, and planted there, particularly *Gabael* in *Rages*, and *Raguel* in *Ecbatan* (31), which proves *Media* to have been in the time of *Sbalmaneser* subject to the king of *Assyria*.

(30) 2 Kings xvii. 6.

(31) Tobit, c. i. vi. 10.

sen king, is evidently too long, and we may safely abridge it of fifteen or twenty years, adding them to the anarchy. From the beginning of the reign of *Dejoces* to the destruction of *Nineveh*, which happened in the second year of the reign of *Jeboiakim* (M), that is in the year of the flood 2390, before *Christ* 609, *Media* may be properly stiled a kingdom. From the destruction of *Nineveh*, we may date the rise of the empire of the *Medes*; for the conquerors, that is, *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyaxares*, having shared the *Assyrian* empire, they both became very powerful, and reduced most of the neighbouring nations, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. Their empire lasted till the taking of *Babylon*; for *Xenophon*^s tells us, that, after the reduction of that city, *Cyrus* went to the king of the *Medes* at *Ecbatan*, and succeeded him in the kingdom, which is entirely agreeable to scripture. *Babylon* was taken seventy three years after the destruction of *Nineveh*, to which we may add the two years that *Darius the Mede* reigned over that city, so that the empire of the *Medes* lasted seventy five years, at the period of which the *Persian* empire took rise in *Cyrus*. That *Darius the Mede* reigned over *Babylon*, is unquestionable; for he is said in scripture^h, to have introduced there the immutable laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*. In his reign the *Medes* are ever placed before the *Persians*ⁱ, as the *Persians* in the reign of *Cyrus* and his successors are always set before the *Medes*^k.

BEFORE we proceed to the history of the *Medes*, we shall exhibit the series of their kings according to several authors.

^s XENOPH. cyrop. l. 8.
ubi supra & v. 28. viii. 20.
x. 1, 20, & xi. 2.

^h Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15.

ⁱ Dan.

^k ESTH. i. 3. 14, 18, 19. Dan.

(M) In the reign of *Josiah*, when *Zephaniah* prophesied, *Nineveh* and the kingdom of *Assyria* were standing, for that prophet foretells their fall (32). Not long after *Pharaoh Necho* led his army to the *Euphrates* against the king of *Assyria*, and on his march slew *Josiah* (33); whence it is manifest, that the last king of *Assyria* was still alive. But in the third and fourth year of *Jeboiakim*, the successor of *Josiah*, we find *Assuerus* king of the *Medes* and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, leading their armies against the king of *Egypt*, and taking from him what he had newly taken from the *Assyrians*. Whence we may conclude, that *Nineveh* was already reduced, and the conquest of *Assyria* compleated. We cannot therefore err above a year or two, if we place the destruction of *Nineveh* and fall of the *Assyrian* empire, in the second year of *Jeboiakim*.

(32) *Zeph.* i. 1, and ii. 13. (33) 2 *Kings* xiii. 29. 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 20
A Tabl^e

A Table of the Kings of the MEDES, according to Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius, and Syncellus.

Acc. to Herodot.	Acc. to Diod.	Acc. to Euseb.	Acc. to Syncel.
• • • • •	1 <i>Arbaces</i> 28	1 <i>Arbaces</i> 28	1 <i>Arbaces</i> 28
• • • • •	2 <i>Mandaucæ</i> 50	2 <i>Sofarmus</i> 30	2 <i>Mandaucæ</i> 20
• • • • •	3 <i>Sofarmus</i> 30	3 <i>Medius</i> 40	3 <i>Sofarmus</i> 30
• • • • •	4 <i>Articus</i> 50	4 <i>Cardicæ</i> 13	4 <i>Artycæ</i> 30
• • • • •	5 <i>Arbacinus</i> 22	• • • • •	• • • • •
• • • • •	6 <i>Articus</i> 40	• • • • •	• • • • •
• • • • •	7 <i>Artynes</i> 22	5 <i>Dejoces</i> 54	5 <i>Diaoces</i> 54
1 <i>Dejoces</i> 53	8 <i>Antibarnes</i> 40	6 <i>Pbraortes</i> 24	6 <i>Aphraortes</i> 51
2 <i>Pbraortes</i> 22	9 <i>Astibares</i> 22	7 <i>Cyaxares</i> 32	7 <i>Cyaxares</i> 32
3 <i>Cyaxares</i> 40	10 <i>Apandas</i> or	8 <i>Astys</i> 38	8 <i>Astyages</i> } 38
4 <i>Astyages</i> 35	<i>Astyages</i> •		or <i>Darius</i> }
Total 150	282	259	283

THIS table contains what may be called two original catalogues, those of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, as he has borrowed it from *Ctesias*. The other two are compounded of both, with an equal deference to each, as far as they go. By what we have laid down above, and confirmed with the authority of holy writ, it appears, that *Herodotus* is not greatly mistaken in his numbers. *Ctesias* enumerates ten kings of *Media*, whose names are different from those mentioned by *Herodotus*, except the last whom he calls *Astyages*, and *Diodorus* names *Apandas*. The reigns of the eight first amount to 282 years, and those of the two last are omitted; but if they be supplied from *Herodotus*, they will come very near *Justin's* account, who supposes the kings of *Media* to have reigned 350 years. *Eusebius* and *Syncellus* differ as widely from *Ctesias* as from each other, except in the name and reign of the first king *Arbaces*, and besides omit two of his ten. They pay a greater deference to *Herodotus*, whom they copy more exactly, at least with regard to his names, tho' they vary sometimes very materially from him in the lengths of the reigns. As for the variations between them, it would be a fruitless task to enquire into them, especially, as it must appear, from what we have said already, that they are both grossly mistaken (N).

SECT.

(N) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* and *Appian* have followed *Herodotus*, with regard to the duration of the empires of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*.

S E C T. IV.

The History of the MEDES,

WE shall begin with what we may call the fabulous history of the *Medes*, being extracted from *Ctesias*, his transcriber *Diodorus*, and their followers. According to these, the *Medes* were governed by kings of their own before the early days of *Ninus*, the pretended founder of

Medes. The former acquaints us (34), that the empire of the *Medes* was ruined in the fourth generation; and the latter (35), that the three great empires of the *Assyrians*, *Medes* and *Persians*, to the time of *Alexander*, did not last 900 years. The *Persian* empire continued 230 years, from the first year of the fifty fifth Olympiad to the second of the hundred and twelfth. To this number if we add 670 years, which the empires of the *Assyrians* and *Medes* lasted according to *Herodotus*, the sum will be but 900 years. These are the sentiments of the most judicious among the prophane historians, concerning the duration of the empires of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*. But, on the other side, *Cephaleon*, *Alexander Polyhistor*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Castor*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and his abbreviator *Justin*, with *Valleius Paterculus*, have followed *Ctesias* in his catalogue of the *Assyrian* kings. Among christian chronologers, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus* have inserted in their catalogues the kings of the *Assyrians* and *Medes* mentioned by *Ctesias*; though, in order to adjust their chronologies, they have sometimes abridged, and sometimes increased, their number.

If the empire of the *Medes* continued 352 years, as it must have done according to *Ctesias*, if we supply the reigns of the two last kings in his catalogue from *Eusebius* or *Syncellus*, it must be supposed, that after the empire of the *Assyrians* was destroyed by *Arbaces*, there were no *Assyrian* kings either at *Nineveh* or *Babylon*, and that the *Medes* were sole masters of *Asia*. But this supposition is evidently repugnant both to sacred and prophane history. If we consult the scripture, we shall find, that the *Assyrian* empire was never more potent than after this pretended destruction of *Nineveh*. The prophet *Jonah*, who flourished in the reigns of *Amariah* king of *Judah* and *Jeroboam* king of *Israel*, was sent to preach repentance to *Nineveh*, about eighty years after the supposed reign of *Arbaces*, and *Nineveh* was then a great city, three days journey long; it had a king of its own, and was so populous as to contain above 120,000 children, not yet come to the use of reason (36).

(34) *Dionys. Halicar. l. 1. Hist. Rom.*(35) *Appian. in prefat.*(36) *Jonah. iii. 3. & iv. 11.*

of the *Assyrian* monarchy. For, when *Ninus* invaded this country, it was ruled by one *Pharnus*, who, being worsted by that mighty warrior, was taken prisoner, and crucified with his wife and seven children¹. Thus *Media* was reduced to a province of the *Assyrian* empire, and remained subject to the successors of *Ninus* till the time of *Sardanapalus*. However, they made some attempts towards the recovery of their liberty, during the regency of *Semiramis* and minority of her son *Ninyas*; for she is said to have invaded *Media* with a mighty army, and encamping near a mountain called *Bagistan*, to have made a pleasant garden twelve furlongs in compass. The mountain was dedicated to *Jupiter*, and had on one side craggy rocks seventeen furlongs high, which she ascended on

1 DIODOR. Sicul. l. 2. c. 1.

Could a city, which had been reduced to a heap of rubbish but eighty years before, grow to such a pitch of grandeur in so short a time? For, according to the prophet's account, it was then in the meridian of its splendor. Those who follow *Ctesias* have been forced to own, that *Nineveh* was twice taken and destroyed, viz. in the time of king *Jebosaphat* by *Arbaces*, and three hundred years after in the reign of *Josiab*. But the scripture, *Josephus*, and all prophane writers, allow only one desolation of that great city. The latter differ only in the time when it happened. *Herodotus* places it at the end of the reign of *Cyaxares*, and *Polybistor* does not much differ from him. *Ctesias* and his followers refer it to the reign of *Arbaces* three hundred years earlier. That the latter are mistaken is manifest from holy writ, as we have already shewn. We may add, that this powerful empire, which *Arbaces* founded, must soon have decayed, which is inconsistent with the system of *Ctesias* and the authors that follow him. The *Assyrian* empire must have raised itself again, *Nineveh* must have been rebuilt, and have past from an heap of rubbish to an extraordinary pitch of grandeur, and all this in the space of 70 or 80 years. For after this pretended destruction of *Nineveh* and the *Assyrian* empire, we find in scripture a series of *Assyrian* kings and a potent empire not subject to the *Medes*. Besides, if we compare the destruction of *Nineveh* described by *Ctesias* with that we read in scripture and *Polybistor*, they will plainly appear to be the same. *Ctesias* says, that *Sardanapalus* burnt himself, his concubines, and treasures; *Polybistor* writes the same of *Sarac*. *Ctesias* tells us, that the *Medes* in conjunction with the *Babylonians* destroyed *Nineveh*; and the same is confirmed by *Polybistor* and the sacred penmen. *Ctesias* writes, that the city was laid in ashes, and the citizens dispersed; and this is what we read in the prophets. Such a conformity of facts, joined to the former evidences, amounts to a full conviction, that there was but one destruction of the *Assyrian* empire, and one desolation of *Nineveh*.

the

the packs and loads carried by the beasts of burden that followed her army. In the lower part of this rock she caused her statue to be hewn out, and a hundred of her guards attending her. From hence she marched to *Chaon* a city of *Media*, where, on the top of a very lofty rock, she formed another pleasant garden with stately edifices, whence she might behold the beauties of the spot, and her whole army encamped in the plain. From *Chaon* she advanced towards *Ecbatan*, and on her march levelled mount *Zarcæum*, which was many furlongs in extent, filled up vallies, and in spite of nature opened a plain and easy way to *Ecbatan*, which to our author's time was called *Semiramis's road*^m. These extraordinary works, as they were lasting monuments of her conquests, not only over the rebellious *Medes*, but nature itself, kept that nation in a servile subjection and dependency to the reign of *Sardanapalus*, that is, for the space of near 1400 years (O), when *Arbaces* governor of *Media* and *Belesis* governor of *Babylon* put an end to the *Assyrian* empire in the manner we have related in the history of *Assyria*ⁿ.

Arbaces, the first king of the *Medes* after their revolt, is *Arbaces*. represented as a prince of great generosity and gratitude, as appears from his behaviour towards the mean-spirited *Babylonian Belesis*; who by a pious fraud bereaved him of the immense treasures, that were concealed in the ashes and ruins of the *Assyrian* palace, as we have elsewhere related at length^o. He is said to have subdued all *Asia*, and to have reigned twenty eight years.

He was succeeded by his son *Mandaucæ*, who reigned fifty *Mandaucæ* years, but did nothing worthy of notice, being himself as he is ^{ces.} represented, a prince of a peaceable disposition, and his subjects desirous of some respite, after the violent struggles for liberty and empire in the last reign.

Sesarmus appears next, by some called *Medidus*; he reigned *Sesarmus*. thirty years, and this is all we find of him upon record.

Artias, by some called *Artycas*, by others *Cardiccas*, reign- *Artias*. ed next. From his name some, who indulge conjectures,

^m DIODOR. Sicul. l. 2. c. 1,
^o See before, p. 284.

ⁿ See before, p. 182. & seq.

(O) These stories are of a piece with what the same author relates elsewhere, viz. that the army of *Ninus* consisted of two millions of men, at a time when the earth was not yet well peopled; that *Semiramis* employed two millions of workmen in the building of *Babylon*; that she disposed in the shape of elephants the hides of three hundred thousand black oxen, and other fables of the like nature, forged by *Ctesias*, and gravely related by *Diodorus*.

argue him to have been a great and glorious prince, the word *Arti* or *Arta* in the composition of his name denoting greatness, as it does, according to the interpretation of *Herodotus*, in that of the *Persian Artaxerxes*. All we can say is, that if he performed great things, his exploits have been long since buried in oblivion. There is a great disagreement among authors concerning the length of his reign, some allowing him fifty years, others thirty, and some only thirteen.

Arbianses.

AFTER him came *Arbianses*, in whose reign a war broke out between the *Medes* and *Cadusians*, who, at the instigation of one *Parfodes*, rising up in arms, shook off the yoke which they had for some time groaned under. *Parfodes* was by birth a *Persian*, but the chief favourite and prime minister of *Arbianses* king of the *Medes*, whom he served with great fidelity, till being highly provoked at a sentence pronounced against him by that prince, he fled with three thousand foot and a thousand horse to the *Cadusians*, where he not only withdrew his obedience to *Arbianses*, but stirred up the whole nation to a revolt. The *Cadusians*, being thus encouraged to stand up for their liberties, committed the whole management of the war to *Parfodes*, as the most proper person on all accounts to appear at the head of their army. But before he took the field *Arbianses* died after a reign of twenty years. If this *Parfodes* be the *Parfondas* mentioned by *Nicolas of Damascus*, we have already related what induced him to revolt ^p.

Artæus.

Artæus came to the crown, while the *Cadusians* were making vast preparations to invade his kingdom, and understanding that *Parfodes* was advancing towards the frontiers the head of 200,000 men, he thought it high time to curb the insolence of the rebels. And accordingly having raised an army of 800,000 men marched out with this mighty host, and engaged the rebels; but was most shamefully routed and forced to save himself by flight, leaving 50,000 of his men dead in the field of battle. Upon this victory the *Cadusians* proclaimed *Parfodes* their king, who accepting the crown inspired his new subjects with that irreconcilable hatred which he had conceived against the *Medes*, and laid the foundations of a perpetual enmity between the two nations. He is said to have solemnly conjured the *Cadusians*, even on his death bed, to wage an eternal war with the *Medes*, and never lay down their arms till that odious nation was utterly abolished, loading at the same time with curses and imprecations such of his successors, as ever should upon any terms whatsoever be reconciled with them. In pursuance of this,

^p See before, p. 285, & seq.

as we may call it, his last will, the *Cadusians* watched all opportunities of harrassing the *Medes* with inroads, and doing them what mischief they could, till the empire was transferred from them to the *Persians* ¹.

AFTER *Artæus* reigned *Artynes* twenty two years, but did nothing worth mentioning. He was succeeded by *Artibarnas* or *Artabanus*, in whose reign the *Parthians* revolting put themselves under the protection of the *Sacæ*, a people inhabiting mount *Hæmodus*, which separates *India* from *Scythia*. This occasioned a war of many years between the *Medes* and the *Sacæ*, who were then governed by queen *Zanara*, a heroine of great prowess. That princess is no less celebrated by our author for her courage and conduct in war, than for her beauty. She had, according to him, rescued her country from the tyranny of the neighbouring princes, civilized her subjects, and inured them to military discipline and the toils of war. After she had for many years harrassed the *Medes*, a peace was at last concluded between her and *Artynes* on the following conditions; that the *Parthians* should submit to the *Medes*, and the *Sacæ* and *Medes* quietly enjoy what they possessed at the beginning of the war ² (P).

Artynes.
Artibar-
nas.

HITHERTO we have dwelt on what we may safely call the fabulous history of the *Medes*, these kings, or most of them, being no where found but in the books, or rather in the imagination, of *Ctesias*, which was very fertile in the production of monsters. We now come to the genuine history of *Media*, as it has been transmitted to us by authors of a quite different character.

THE *Medes*, having thrown off the *Assyrian* yoke in the reign of *Sennacherib*, lived some time without a king, but were again brought under subjection by one of their own country, whose name was *Dejoces*. He is represented as a

The genu-
ine history
of the
Medes.

¹ DIODOR. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3. ² DIODOR. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3.

(P) This queen was, according to our author, another *Semiramis*. She excelled all of her own sex in beauty, and was inferior to none of the other in courage and wisdom; she built many cities, made considerable conquests, and raised the obscure nation of the *Sacæ* to a great pitch of glory. Whence her subjects, in gratitude for the many advantages they enjoyed by her means, erected her a monument after her death of vast dimensions, being three furlongs in breadth, and on the top of which was built a pyramid of a furlong in height. Upon this pyramid she was represented by a golden colossus, and adored by her subjects as a goddess (37).

(37) Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3.

subtle crafty man, and aiming at absolute power, and is said to have compassed his design in the following manner. The *Medes* were at that time divided into several districts, in one of which lived *Dejoces*, who, seeing all kind of licentiousness prevail over the whole country, applied himself to the administration of justice with great zeal and diligence. The *Medes* of the same district, observing the equity of his conduct, chose him for their judge; and he, aspiring to the sovereign power, performed that office with all possible regard to justice. By this means he not only acquired a great reputation in his own district, but among those also of the other divisions, who looked upon him as the only impartial judge in the whole nation. Whence such as thought themselves injured by unjust sentences, resorted from all parts to him in order to obtain justice; till at last no one would commit the decision of a difference to any other person. At last the numbers of those, who applied to him for redress, increasing in proportion to the great fame of his equity, and the whole care of administering justice being devolved upon him, he unexpectedly absented himself from the place where he used to determine differences, declaring, he would no longer perform that office, and submitting it to the judgment of his countrymen, whether it was reasonable, that he should neglect his private affairs to attend those of the public. Hereupon rapine and all manner of wickedness prevailing to such a degree, that it was not safe to live in the country, the *Medes* called a general assembly of the whole nation, to deliberate on the means of reforming the abuses that were daily becoming more frequent. Upon this occasion those who were in the interest of *Dejoces* observed, that if a stop was not put to the growth of the disorders that had already overspread the whole land, they should soon be obliged to abandon their country to a foreign enemy. They advised therefore their countrymen to appoint a king of their own nation, as the only expedient that could rescue their country from impending ruin. Their discourse was received with general approbation, and a king was resolved on. Their next deliberation was concerning the person whom they should prefer to the crown, when *Dejoces* was named to the sovereignty, and with universal applause placed on the throne.

The Medes
resolve
to create a
king.

Dejoces
absent.

THUS was *Dejoces* created king; and being vested with supreme power he threw off the mask, and commenced ty-

HERODOT. l. i. c. 95.

rant;

rant; though the rigour he practised may perhaps have been absolutely necessary to bring the nation, after some years of the Flood, anarchy, into any order or discipline.

THE first thing he did after his promotion was to command his new subjects to build him a palace suitable to his dignity, and to appoint him guards for the safety of his person. He was obeyed, and on the ground which he chose a strong and stately fabric was erected for his ordinary residence. At the same time he was allowed to choose for his guard out of the whole nation such as he thought most proper for that trust. Thus settled on the throne, he united the several districts, into which the *Medes* had been divided during the anarchy, and turned his thoughts towards building a strong city, which might be the metropolis of his new kingdom. To this also his subjects submitted, and the famous city of *Ecbatan* was built, pursuant to his orders and directions, a city, which in process of time became very famous in those parts (Q).

Dejoces, thus lodged in a magnificent and well-defended city, enacted the following laws, to be observed by all his subjects of what rank soever. That no one should be admitted to his presence, but transact all things by his servants and ministers; that none should be allowed even to see him, that were not immediately of his household; and that for any, who attended him, to laugh or spit in his presence should be accounted a great indecency, and contrary to the respect which is due to a sovereign. These laws he enjoined, that the malecontents might have no opportunity of putting in execution any evil design against his person, not doubting but those, who were debarred from seeing him, would be easily induced to think him of a superior nature to themselves. Though he kept himself thus concealed from the eyes of the

(Q), *Ecbatan* in scripture (38) is called *Achmetha*; by *Ctesias* and *Stephanus*, *Agbatan*. In the book of *Judith* it is said to have been built by *Arphaxad* king of the *Medes*; but whether *Arphaxad* and *Dejoces* be but two names of one and the same person is what we shall examine hereafter. Dr. *Prideaux* (39) tells us, upon what ground we know not, that *Ecbatan* was only enlarged and beautified by *Dejoces*. He will perhaps have *Arbaces*, whom by an unaccountable inadvertency he confounds with *Tiglath-pileser*, to be the founder of it. *Josephus* (40) acquaints us, that the decree of *Cyrus*, about rebuilding the temple of *Jerusalem*, was found at *Ecbatan*, which plainly proves it to be the same with the *Achmetha* of scripture, where according to *Ezra* (41) the said decree was lodged.

(38) *Era*. vi. 2. (39) *Connect. of the old and new testament*, p. 26,
(40) *Joseph. Antiq.* l. xi. c. 4. (41) *Ezra*, *ubi supra*.

people, yet he was informed of every thing that happened in his dominions, maintaining to that end many emissaries in the provinces of his government, who brought him a minute account of every transaction. By this means no crime escaped either the knowledge of the prince, or the rigour of the law; and the punishment, thus treading upon the heels of the offence, kept the wicked in awe, and stemmed the course of violence and injustice.

Dejoces was so intirely taken up in civilizing his unpolished subjects, and making laws, that he never engaged in any enterprize against his neighbours, though his reign was very long, for he is said to have ruled over the whole nation of the *Medes* fifty three years[†].

Phraortes.
Year of
the Flood,
2353.
Year be-
fore Christ
646.

He was succeeded by his son *Phraortes*, who being of a warlike temper, and not satisfied with the kingdom of *Media*, which his father had left him, invaded *Persia*, and is said to have brought that nation under subjection to the *Medes*[‡]. But we are inclined to disagree with our author in this particular, and ascribe the conquest of *Persia*, not to *Phraortes*, but to his son and successor *Cyaxares* (†). However, he subdued

[†] HERODOT. I. I. C. 96. 201.

[‡] HERODOT. I. I. C. 102.

† It seems plain from scripture, that the *Persians* were not subdued by the *Medes*, till after the taking of *Nineveh*, by the joint forces of *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar*. In the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, which the *Jews* reckon to be the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*, God threatened by his prophet (42), that he would take all the families of the north and *Nebuchadnezzar* the king of *Babylon*, and bring them against *Judæa*, and against the nations round about, and utterly destroy those nations, and make them an astonishment and lasting desolation, and cause them all to drink the wine-cup of his fury; and in particular, he names the kings of *Judah* and *Egypt*, and those of *Edom*, and *Moab*, and *Ammon*, and *Tyre*, and all the kings of *Elam*, and all the kings of the *Medes*, &c. Where it is to be observed, that, in numbring the nations which were to be subdued, he omits the *Assyrians* who must consequently have been already conquered, and names the kings of *Elam* or *Persia*, as distinct from those of the *Medes*, whence we may conclude, that the *Persians* were not yet subdued by the *Medes*. In the beginning of the reign of *Zedekiah*, that is in the ninth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the same prophet foretold the approaching conquest of *Persia* by the *Medes* and their confederates: Behold, says he, I will break the bow of *Elam* — upon *Elam* will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven —

dued several of the neighbouring nations, attacking one after another, till he made himself master of almost all the upper *Asia*, lying between mount *Taurus* and the river *Halys*. Elated with the good success that attended his army, at length he invaded *Assyria*, which was now in its decline, and greatly weakened by the revolt of many nations, who, following the example of the *Medes*, had withdrawn their obedience from the *Assyrians*. *Nabuchodonosor*, or *Chyniladan*, at that time king of *Assyria*, raised a powerful army to oppose the conqueror, summoning the whole force of his wide-spreading dominions, and inviting other nations of the east to his assistance. His ambassadors were received every where with contempt, and no one people obeyed the summons. However, *Nabuchodonosor* took the field with what forces he had, and he, joining battle with *Phraortes* in the great plain of *Ragau*, defeated his cavalry, overturned his chariots, and pursuing the king to the adjacent mountains, whither he had made his retreat, took him prisoner and put him to death. After this victory he entered *Media*, took many strong holds without opposition, and pushing on his conquests stormed the famous city of *Ecbatan*, and levelled it with the ground. Flushed beyond measure by this, perhaps more than expected, success, he returned to *Nineveh*, where he feasted and revelled with those who had attended him in this expedition, for the space of 120 days^w. *Phraortes* reigned twenty two years, and was slain near the beginning of the reign of *Josiah*; for this war was made after *Phœnice*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, and *Egypt* had been conquered by *Assarbadon*, and when the *Jews* were new-

^w JUDITH. I. 16. HERODOT. I. I. C. 102.

and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of Elam shall not come—I will set my throne in Elam, and will destroy from thence the king and the princes, saith the Lord. But it shall come to pass in the latter days, that is in the reign of Cyrus) that I will bring again the captivity of Elam, saith the Lord (43).

From these words of the prophet it is manifest, that in the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, nay after the destruction of *Nineveh*, the *Persians* had kings of their own, and consequently could not be subdued by *Phraortes*, who was killed before *Nebuchadnezzar* came to the crown of *Babylon* (44).

(43) Jer. xlix. 35. &c.
ant. kingd. amend. p. 313. & seq.

(44) See Sir Isaac Newton Chron. of

ly returned from captivity, as is plain from the book of *Judith* * (Q). *

Cyaxares

I.

Year of
the Flood,

2375.

Year be-
fore Christ

624.

UPON the death of *Phraortes* his son *Cyaxares* was placed on the throne. He was a brave and enterprizing prince, and indeed such a man was, then more than ever, wanting to save the nation from impending slavery, most part of the kingdom being already possessed by the *Assyrians*. Having settled himself well in his kingdom, and brought his troops under good discipline (R), he soon recovered what the *Assyrians* had taken after their victory in the plains of *Ragau*. What he had next at heart was to avenge the death of his father by the destruction of *Nineveh*. And accordingly, having assembled all his forces, he marched out with a design to treat that city, as *Nabuchodonosor* had treated the metropolis of *Media*.

* JUDITH. iv. 3.

(Q) As *Arphaxad* is said, in the first book of *Judith* (45), to have been killed by *Nabuchodonosor*, and likewise to have built *Ecbatan*, most writers will have *Dejoces*, the founder of *Ecbatan*, and not *Phraortes*, to have carried on this unsuccessful war, and lost his life in the mountains of *Ragau* (46). The passage in *Judith*, that *Arphaxad* built a very strong city and called it *Ecbatan*, has led them astray, and made them conclude, that *Arphaxad* must be *Dejoces* who was certainly the founder of that city. But the Greek text of *Judith*, which the vulgate translates *ædificavit*, built, says only, that *Arphaxad* added new buildings to *Ecbatan*, *ἔκτισεν οὖν καὶ Ἐκβαταν*. And what can be more natural, than that the son should finish so great a work, which the father had begun, but had not been able to perfect.

* The authors in the history of *Assyria* ^a, place the death of *Arphaxad*, who is the *Phraortes* here mentioned, in the year of the Flood, 2363, before Christ, 636. It is said above that he was slain near the beginning of the reign of *Josiah*, Sir *Isaac Newton* ^b says in his 5th or 6th year. Now *Josiah* began to reign in the year of the Flood 2358, before Christ, 641 c; whence it is evident the death of *Phraortes* must have happened about the year of the Flood 2363, before Christ, 636, as fixed by the authors before, tho' here placed in the year of the Flood, 2375, before Christ, 624.

(R) He was the first, according to *Herodotus* (47), that marshalled the people of *Asia* into distinct bodies of lances, cavalry, and archers; whereas, before his time, horse, and foot, and pikemen, and archers engaged promiscuously. But this we can hardly believe, when we consider, that the nations of this part of *Asia* were engaged in continual wars, and consequently must have been more experienced in the military art.

(45) *Judith*. i. 1. (46) See *Usher's Annal. at the year of the world* 3347. ^a See before, p. 208. ^b In his chronology, p. 290, of the 4^o Edition. ^c See before, p. 99. (47) *Herodot. l. 1. c. 103.*

The *Assyrians* meeting him on the frontiers, with the remains only of that great army which had been destroyed before *Bethulia*, an engagement ensued, wherein the former were defeated and driven into *Nineveh*. *Cyaxares*, pursuing his victory, laid close siege to the city; but was soon obliged to give over the enterprize, and employ his troops in the defence of his own kingdom.

A formidable army of *Scythians*, having driven the *Cimmerians* out of *Europe*, were in full march in pursuit of their flying enemies, and ready to enter *Media*. They were come from the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, and commanded by king *Madyes* the son of *Protothyas*. This *Madyes* can be no other than *Indathyrfus* the *Scythian*, who invaded *Asia*, as *Strabo* informs us*, and, having laid waste great part of that country, advanced to the confines of *Egypt*. *Cyaxares* no sooner heard of their march, but, breaking up the siege of *Nineveh*, he advanced with all his forces against them. The two armies engaged, and the *Medes*, though encouraged by the example of their king, who on that occasion gave proofs of an extraordinary valour, were utterly routed. The conquerors, having no other enemy to contend with, over-ran not only all *Media*, but the greater part of *Upper Asia* (S).
From

* HERODOT. ubi supra.

* STRAB. l. i. prope initium.

(S) *Eusebius* tells us, that *Cyaxares* took the city of *Nineveh* before the *Scythians* invaded *Media*. But as *Herodotus* and all the prophane historians, without exception, unanimously agree in this point, that the *Scythians* broke into *Media* while he was besieging *Nineveh*, and obliged him to withdraw his troops from thence to the defence of his own kingdom, we have chosen to follow them, rather than *Eusebius*, whose authors we are unacquainted with. Touching the expedition of the *Scythians*, *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians*, being driven out by the *Scythians*, invaded and laid waste part of *Asia*, and that the *Scythians*, not satisfied with driving them from their habitations, followed them, we know not why, into far distant countries, and in this pursuit fell, as it were by chance, upon *Media*, while the *Cimmerians* were gone another way into *Lydia*. As the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians* were all of the same race and nation, which *Goropius Becanus* learnedly proves in his *Amazonica*, we are inclined to think, that this pretended expulsion of the *Cimmerians* was nothing else but the sending of a colony into *Asia*, with an army of *Scythians* to assist them in acquiring new settlements, and establishing plantations, in a foreign country. For though the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians* were but one people, yet they were distinguished in name according to their different tribes, professions, and perhaps dialects. Such another

From thence they extended their conquests into *Syria* as far as the confines of *Egypt*. But there *Psammitichus* king of that country,

expedition the same people undertook some ages after, when they were encountered by the *Romans*. For they came from the countries bordering on the lake *Mæotis*; they were then likewise assisted, as *Plutarch* informs us (48), by their neighbours the *Scythians*, and had in their army above 300,000 men, besides a great multitude of women and children. They wandered over many countries, bearing down all before them, and finally designing to settle in *Italy*, divided into several bodies to facilitate their passage thither; but were all cut off in three battles by the *Roman* consuls. Mere necessity obliged these poor nations to infest their neighbours and expose themselves to such dangers. For their country abounding more in men than in sustenance, and shut up in the north by intolerable cold, they were compelled to discharge their overgrown numbers on the southern countries, and drive others, right or wrong, from their possessions, as being entitled to what others had, because they had nothing themselves. As they were a warlike race and inured to hardships, they generally prevailed, their next neighbours giving them a free passage, that they might the sooner get rid of them, others supplying them with provisions and guides to lead them to more wealthy countries.

The first body of these, mentioned by *Herodotus*, took the way of the *Euxine* sea, which they had on their left, as mount *Caucasus* on their right. They passed through *Colchis* and *Pontus*, and arriving in *Paphlagonia* fortified the promontory, whereon *Sinope* was afterwards built by the *Greeks*. Here they left under a strong guard such as were unfit for service and great part of their baggage, and then continued their march into *Pbrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionis*, having now no mountains or deep rivers to stop their march; for the *Iris* and the *Halys* they had already passed. We shall give an account of their wars with the *Lydians* in the history of *Lydia*.

As the *Cimmerians* held their course westerly along the shore of the *Euxine* sea, so the *Scythians* took the other way, and having the *Caspian* on their left passed between that sea and the *Caucasus*, through *Albania*, *Colchene*, and other obscure nations, till they came into *Media*, where they engaged and routed *Cyaxares*, as we have said. To this overthrow of *Cyaxares*, *Tremellius* and *Junius* refer that prophecy of *Nabum*; He (that is *Cyaxares* besieging *Nineveh*) shall recount his worthies; they shall stumble in their walk (that is in the walk or perambulation of the *Scythians*, whose coming at this time into *Asia* may well be so termed, since it was rather a passing through than any settlement; for in the short space of twenty eight years they over-ran, conquered, and lost *Media*, *Affyria*, and all the upper *Asia*): they shall make haste to the wall thereof, and the defence

(48) *Plutarch. in Mario.*

country, meeting them in person, prevailed upon the barbarians, what by intreaties, what by presents, to proceed no farther, and thereby saved his country from the heavy oppression which his neighbours groaned under ^a. In this expedition the *Scythians* possessed themselves of the city of *Bethsheam*, in the territories of the tribe of *Manasseh*, on this side *Jordan*, and held it as long as they continued in *Asia*; whence it was called *Scythopolis*, or the city of the *Scythians* ^b. On their return from *Egypt*, as they passed through the land of the *Philistines*, some of the stragglers plundered the temple of *Venus* at *Ascalon*, which was believed the most antient in the world dedicated to that goddess. To avenge this attempt the goddess is said to have inflicted on those that were concerned in the sacrilege, and their posterity, the hemorrhoids; which shews, that the *Philistines* still preserved the memory of what they had formerly suffered on account of the ark. For from that time they looked, it seems, on this distemper, as a punishment from heaven attending such sacrilegious attempts, and therefore, in charging the *Scythians* with this crime, took care not to omit in their histories the punishment which their ancestors had suffered for one of the same nature ^c.

THE *Scythians* were for the space of twenty eight years masters of the *Upper Asia*, namely the two *Armenias*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and great part of *Lydia*. *Cyaxares* finding it impracticable to get rid of his troublesome guests by open force, resolved to try what might be effected by stratagem. And accordingly invited the greatest part of them to a general feast which was given in every family. Each landlord made his guests drunk, and in that condition were the *Scythians* massacred, and the kingdom delivered from a long and cruel bondage (T). The *Medes* then repossessed

^a HERODOT. l. 1. c. 104. l. 2. c. 1. & l. 7. c. 20.
CELL. p. 214.

^b SYN-

^c HERODOT. l. 1. c. 105.

shall be prepared, that is, they shall hasten to *Nineveh*, as if they intended to deliver it from the *Medes* besieging it (49).

(T) We do not find, that the *Scythians*, who escaped this bloody feast, raised any commotions in *Media*, or that they ever afterwards, either in revenge of this treachery, or on any other pretence, troubled the *Medes*. Which seems the more strange, as we know from *Herodotus* himself (50). that the army returning out of *Media* was very strong and numerous, and met with greater opposition at home than they had found abroad. We are therefore apt to be-

49) *Nabum. ii. 5.* (50) *Herodot. l. 3. c. 1.*

C c c 2

lieve,

possessed themselves of the provinces they had lost, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the *Halys*, which was their antient boundary westward *.

Cyaxares, having thus freed his country from the oppression of the *Scythians*, found himself soon after engaged in a war with the *Lydians*. The occasion of this war is thus related by *Herodotus* ^d. Upon a sedition which happened among the *Scythian nomades*, a party of them made their escape into *Media*, where they were not only entertained with great humanity by *Cyaxares*, but entrusted with the education of divers youths, whom they were to instruct in the use of the bow and the *Scythian* language. These strangers went frequently to hunt, and were ever accustomed to return with some game. But one day happening to come home with empty hands, *Cyaxares*, whom they used daily to present with some venison, treated them with most opprobrious language; this they resented, and agreed among themselves to kill one of the youths committed to their care, dress his flesh like venison, and serve it up to *Cyaxares* and his guests. They executed what they proposed, and then flying to *Sardis* implored the protection of *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*. *Cyaxares* immediately dispatched ambassadors to demand the *Scythians*, but they not being able to prevail with the king of *Lydia* to deliver them up, a war of five years ensued between the two nations with various success (U). The battle fought in the sixth

* HERODOT. l. i. c. 106.

^d HERODOT. l. i. c. 73, 74.

lieve, that the stratagem of *Cyaxares* was attended with less bloodshed than is commonly supposed. For by cutting off the chief men among them, he may have brought the others to reasonable terms. It is not improbable, that, in the space of twenty eight years, many had settled themselves so well, that they were willing to live in subjection to *Cyaxares*, provided they might peaceably enjoy what they possessed; many, who had enriched themselves with the spoils of *Asia*, were willing to return home to their wives and families with the booty, and such as were not pleased with either of these two courses might join their companions in *Lydia* and *Parthia*, or seek their fortunes in other countries. We read in scripture, that all the families of the north were with *Nebuchadnezzar*; which may well be understood of these northern nations settling in his dominions, after they were driven out of *Media* and *Lydia*. 'Tis certain, that after this expulsion of the *Scythians*, the *Babylonians*, who never before had been a match for the *Egyptians*, in all engagements with them carried the day; which may be ascribed to this new addition of forces.

(U) This *Herodotus* delivers as the occasion of a war between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one king demanding the fugitives, and the other

sixth year of this war was very remarkable on account of a total eclipse of the sun, which happened during the engagement, and had been foretold by *Thales* the *Milesian* (W). The *Medes* and *Lydians*, who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified with this unforeseen event, which they looked upon as a sign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated, and soon after concluded a peace by the mediation of *Labynetus*, that is, *Nebuchadnezzar*, king of *Babylon* and *Syennefis* king of *Cilicia*. This peace was strengthened by a marriage between *Aryenis*, the daughter of *Alyattes*, and *Astyages*, the eldest son of *Cyaxares*. Of which marriage

other refusing to deliver up such as had put themselves under his protection. But to us, we must own, it does not at all seem probable, that the *Scythians* should have sheltered themselves from their own countrymen in the dominions of either prince, considering how odious the *Scythian* name must at this time have been in both kingdoms. As to *Cyaxares*, they had particular reasons to distrust him for the treachery he had shewn towards their countrymen, as we have related above. Some writers are of opinion, that the *Scythians*, who retired into *Lydia*, were such as had escaped the massacre in *Media*, and not a new colony; which seems most likely, for that universal slaughter being fresh in their memories, it is very unlikely, that other *Scythians* would have come to settle in the very country where it had been lately perpetrated.

(W) That this eclipse fell out while *Cyaxares* the father of *Astyages* and *Alyattes* the father of *Craesus* were engaged in a battle, is confirmed by *Endemus* in his astronomical history. *Pliny* likewise (51), in speaking of eclipses, acquaints us, that *Thales* the *Milesian* was the first that foretold an eclipse of the sun; and adds, that the eclipse foretold by him happened in the fourth year of the forty eighth olympiad in the reign of *Alyattes* (and not of *Astyages* as we find in some modern copies) 170 years after the foundation of *Rome*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* (52) places this battle and the eclipse of the sun in the 50th olympiad, wherein he differs widely from *Endemus* whom he quotes and pretends to follow. The time assigned both by him and *Pliny* does not suit with the reign of *Cyaxares*, but with that of his successor *Astyages*. The sun and moon tables of *Ptolemy*, which are the same with those of *Hipparchus*, place this eclipse on the fourth year of the 44th olympiad, and on the fourth day of the *Egyptian* month *Pacon* (or the 20th day of *September*, according to the *Julian* calendar), on a sunday three hours, thirty five minutes before noon. But according to *Sir Isaac Newton* it fell upon the 28th of *May*, in the year of *Nabonassar* 163, forty seven years before the taking of *Babylon* (53), and 585 before *Christ*.

(51) *Plin. l. 1. c. 12.*(52) *Clem. Alexand. Stromat. l. 1.*(53) *Sir Isaac Newt. Chron. of antient kingd. amend. p. 316.*

was born the ensuing year *Cyaxares*, who in the book of *Daniel* is called *Darius the Mede* ^c.

Cyaxares's first care, as soon as he was disengaged from the *Lydian* war, was to resume the siege of *Nineveh*, which the irruption of the *Scythians* had obliged him to raise. Having with this view entered into a strait alliance with *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, and confirmed it by a marriage between that prince and his daughter *Amyite* (X), he returned in conjunction with the *Babylonians* before *Nineveh*, took the place, slew *Sarac* the king, and levelled that mighty city with the ground *. Thus was the proud metropolis of the *Assyrian* empire laid in ashes, pursuant to the prophecies uttered above a hundred years before †. *Wo to the bloody city,*

^c *Daniel* v. 31. * *HERODOT.* ubi supra.

(X) Some will have *Amyite* to be the daughter of *Astyages* and grand-daughter of *Cyaxares*. But *Astyages* could not at that time have a daughter marriageable, and *Nebuchadnezzar* had he married her, must have been at the time of his death at least eighty five years old, and *Astyages* much older. In the book of *Tobit* the destruction of *Nineveh* is ascribed to *Abasuerus* king of *Media* and *Nabuchodonosor* king of *Babylon*. This *Abasuerus* can be no other than *Cyaxares*, who, as *Sir Isaac Newton* shews, was called *Ach-suerus*, *Assuerus*, *Oxyares*, *Axeres*, prince *Axeres* or *Cy-Axeres*, the word *Cy* signifying a prince in the *Median* language (54). By *Nabuchodonosor* is meant *Nebuchadnezzar* the great, both these names being given by the *Babylonians* to their kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was by the *Egyptians* to theirs. That *Nabopolassar* the father of *Nebuchadnezzar* was called by both these names, is plain from the books of the *Rabbies*, and from *Josephus*. *R. Juchasin* calls *Nebuchadnezzar* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* (55); and *David Ganz* calls the father *Nebuchadnezzar* the first, and the son *Nebuchadnezzar* the second (56). *Josephus* in speaking of *Nabopolassar* sometimes calls him *Nabuchodonosor* (57) and sometimes *Nabulassar* (58), which is a contraction of *Nabopallassar*. It is certain, that the books of *Tobit* and *Judith* cannot be reconciled with any other antient writings, sacred or prophane, relating to those times, unless we allow the name of *Nabuchodonosor* to have been common to the kings of *Babylon*.

† *Sir Isaac Newton* tells us, (2) "we cannot err above a year or two, if we refer the destruction of *Nineveh*, and fall of the *Assyrian* empire to the second year of *Jeboiakim*," that is to the year of the Flood 2390, before Christ 609, as placed by the au-

(54) *Sir Isaac Newt.* ubi supra, p. 309.

(55) *Juchas.* fol. 136.

(56) *David Ganz.* at the year of the world 3285.

(57) *Joseph.*

Antiq. l. 10. c. 11.

(58) *Joseph.* contra *Apion.* l. 1.

(2) *De*

his chronology, p. 292.

it is all full of lies and robbery; he that dasheth in pieces is come up before thy face. The Lord cometh to avenge the cruelties done to Jacob and to Israel. I hear already the noise of the whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses and of the jumping chariots. The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear. The shield of his mighty men is made red: the valiant men are in scarlet. They shall seem like torches, they shall run like the lightning. God is jealous; the Lord revengeth, and is furious. The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burnt at his presence: who can stand before his indignation? and who can abide in the fierceness of his anger? Behold I am against thee, saith the Lord of hosts: I will strip thee of all thy ornaments. Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is no end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture. She is empty, and void, and waste. Nineveh is destroyed; she is overthrown; she is desolate. The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved. And Huzzab shall be led away captive; she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her, as with the voice of doves tabring upon their breasts. I see a multitude of slain; and a great number of carcases; and there is no end of their corpses: they stumble upon their corpses. Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding place of the young lions? where the lion, even the old lion, walked, and the lions whelp, and none made them afraid: where the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled

thors, in this volume (b); we must therefore, in this case, suppose Nineveh to have been destroyed in the 28th year of the reign of Cyaxares (who, as has been before observed, began his reign in the year before Christ 636) which, however contrary to the history, as above related from Herodotus, agrees nearly with the hypothesis of Sir Isaac Newton, who (c) places the destruction of Nineveh before the beginning of the Lydian war, and from whom the Chronology of the authors seems chiefly to be taken. What has been observed of the Eclipse (d), which happened at the time of the engagement, between Cyaxares and the Lydians, Vix. that it fell upon the 28th of May, in the year of Nabonassar, 163, before Christ 585, will be found no objection when it is considered that Sir Isaac places the beginning of the war with Alyattes in the year before Christ 590, twenty years after the expulsion of the Scythians, and 19 years after the destruction of Nineveh (e).

(b) See before, p. 373.
fore, p. 389, note (W).

(c) Ubi sup. p. 315.
(e) Ubi sup. p. 38, 39.

(d) See be-

his holes with prey, and his dens with ravins? The Lord shall destroy Assur. He shall depopulate the city, which was so beautiful, and turn it into a land where no man cometh, and into a desert. It shall be a dwelling place for wild-beasts, and the birds of night shall lurk therein. Behold, shall it be said, see that proud city, which was so stately and so exalted, which said in her heart, I am the only city, and besides me there is no other. All they that pass by her shall scoff at her, and shall insult her with hissings and contemptuous gestures^f (Y).

THIS victory with the destruction of *Nineveh* the Jews ascribe to the *Chaldeans*; the *Greeks* to the *Medes*; *Tobit*, *Polybistor*, *Josephus*, and *Ctesias* to both. It gave a beginning to the great successes of *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyaxares*, and laid the foundation of the two collateral empires, as we may call them, of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, which rose on the ruins of the *Assyrian* monarchy.

AFTER the reduction of *Nineveh*, the two conquerors prosecuting their victory led the confederate army against *Pharaoh Necho* king of *Egypt*, who had some time before routed the king of *Assyria* and taken *Carchemish*. *Pharaoh* met them near the *Euphrates*, was defeated, and forced to abandon whatever he had formerly taken from the *Assyrians*^h; for what had once belonged to them, *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar* looked upon now as theirs by right of conquest (Z).

After

^f NAHUM iii. 1. ii. 1, 2. & seq. ^g ZEPHAN. ii. 13. 15.
^h 2 Kings xxiv. 7. Jerem. xlvi. 2. EUPOL. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 35.

(Y) On the ruins of the old *Nineveh* another city was raised, which for a long time bore the same name, but never attained to the grandeur and glory of the former. It is now called *Mosul* (60), and situated on the west side of the *Tigris*, where was antiently only a part of the suburbs of old *Nineveh*; for the city itself stood on the east side of the river. The circuit of *Nineveh* was, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (61), 480 furlongs, that is, sixty of our miles. Hence it is said by *Jonah* (62) to be a city of three days journey, that is, in compass. For twenty miles is as much as a man can well walk in one day. *Strabo* (63) tells us, that it was much bigger than *Babylon*, and in the same place says, that the circuit of *Babylon* was 385 furlongs, that is 48 of our miles. The other twelve miles make it, as *Strabo* says, much bigger than *Babylon*. We have already fixed the æra of its destruction.

(Z) From this time the *Jewish* computation of the years of *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign begins, that is, from the end of the

(60) *Thevenot*. Part. 2. l. 1. c. 11. p. 50. (61) *Diodor.*
Sicul. l. 2. p. 65. (62) *Jonah.* iii. 3. (63) *Strabo* l. 16. p. 737.
third

After this victory they seized on the important place of *Carchemish*, reduced all *Cæle-syria* and *Phænice*, and then with an army of *Babylonians*, *Medes*, *Syrians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, to the number of 10,000 chariots, 180,000 foot, and 120,000 horse, invaded and laid waste *Samaria*, *Galilee*, *Scythopolis*, &c. and at last besieged *Jerusalem*, and took king *Jeboiakim* prisoner¹. Enriched with the spoils of the conquered nations, they divided their forces, *Nebuchadnezzar* pursuing his conquests in the west, and *Cyaxares* falling upon the *Assyrian* provinces of *Armenia*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, which he subdued with great slaughter of the inhabitants. After this they united their forces once more, and, by the reduction of *Persis* (A) and *Susiana*, accomplished the conquest of the *Assyrian* empire.

THE prophet *Ezekiel* * enumerates the chief nations that were subdued and slaughtered by the two conquerors, *Cyax-*

¹ 2 Kings xxiv. 12. Daniel i. 1. & 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. * Ezek. xxxii.

third year of *Jeboiakim*, and therefore the fourth year of *Jeboiakim*, when *Nebuchadnezzar* was by his father taken into partnership of the empire, is according to the *Jews* (64) the first year of his reign. But according to the *Babylonian* computation his reign is not reckoned to begin till his father's death, which happened two years after. As both these computations are found in scripture, we thought it necessary to say thus much in order to reconcile them. We must further observe, that as the *Chaldean* astronomers counted the reigns of their kings by the years of *Nabonassar*, beginning with the month *Tboth*; so the *Jews* counted the reigns of their kings by the years of *Moses*, beginning with the month *Nisan*; insomuch, that if any king began his reign but a few days before the first of the month *Nisan*, those few days were reckoned a whole year, and the beginning of this month was accounted the beginning of his second year (65).

(A) While the *Assyrians* reigned at *Nineveh*, *Persia* was divided into several kingdoms. Amongst others there was a kingdom of *Elam*, which flourished in the days of *Hezekiah*, *Manasseh*, *Josiah*, and *Jeboiakim*, kings of *Judah*, and fell in the reign of *Zedekiah* (66). This kingdom seems to have been very powerful, and to have waged war with the king of *Touran* or *Scythia*, beyond the river *Oxus*, with various success, and at length to have been subdued by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*; which confirms what we have said before, viz that the *Persians* were not subdued by *Phraortes*, as *Herodotus* would have it, but by *Cyaxares*, in conjunction with the *Babylonians*.

(64) *Jerem.* xxv. 1. (65) *Sir Isaac Newt. ubi supra. p.* 296.

(66) *Jerem.* xxv. 25. and xlix. 34. *Ezek.* xxxii. 24.

ares and Nebuchadnezzar, *Asbur* is there and all her company, viz. in *Hades*, or the lower parts of the earth, where the dead bodies lay buried, his graves are about him : all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which caused their terror in the land of the living. There is *Elam* and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which are gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth, which caused their terror in the land of the living : yet have they born their shame with them that go down into the pit.--- There is *Meshech*, *Tubal*, and all her multitude (viz. the *Scythians*) ; her graves are round about him : all of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword, though they caused their terror in the land of the living.---There is *Edom*, her kings, and all her princes, which with their might are laid by them that were slain by the sword.---There be the princes of the north all of them, and all the *Zidonians*, which with their terror are gone down with the slain. By the princes of the north are meant such as were on the north of *Judæa*, namely the princes of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, who fell in the wars which *Cyaxares* waged in reducing those provinces after the destruction of *Nineveh*.

Cyaxares, having thus erected the kingdom of *Media* into a powerful empire, and shared the new acquisitions with his *Babylonian* ally, died in the fortieth year of his reign ¹, and was succeeded by his son

Astyages.
Year of
the Flood,
2415.
Year be-
fore Christ
584.

Astyages, who in scripture is called *Abasuerus* ^m. This prince had by *Aryenis*, the daughter of *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*, *Cyaxares* II. called in scripture *Darius the Mede*, and who was sixty two years old at the taking of *Babylon* ⁿ. The same year that *Cyaxares* was born, *Astyages* gave his daughter *Mandane*, whom he had by a former wife, to *Cambyfes* a *Persian*; from which marriage sprang *Cyrus*, the founder of the *Persian* monarchy, and the restorer of the *Jews* to their country, to their temple, and former condition. He was born but one year after the birth of his uncle *Cyaxares*, and consequently was in the sixty first year of his age when *Babylon* was taken. Whether his father *Cambyfes* was king of *Persia*, as *Xenophon* ^o would have it, or only a nobleman of that country, as we read in *Herodotus* ^p, is what we shall examine hereafter. Though the reign of *Astyages* was very long, having lasted thirty five years ^{*}, yet we find no particulars of it recorded in history, except his

¹ HERODOT. ubi supra.

^m Dan. ix. 1.

ⁿ Dan. v. 30, 31.

^o XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. 1.

^p HERODOT. l. 1.

^{*} HERODOT.

l. 1. c. 130.

repulsing the *Babylonians*, who, under the conduct of *Evil-merodach* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, had made an inroad into his country, as we have related at length elsewhere ¹. The victory which he gained on this occasion, was in great part owing to the valour and conduct of *Cyrus*, who attended his grandfather in this expedition, and, though at that time but sixteen years of age, signalized himself in a very particular manner ², pursuing the *Babylonian* with great slaughter quite home to his own borders. This rash, and seemingly unjust, undertaking of *Evil-merodach* laid the foundation of that animosity between the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, which ended at last in the ruin of *Babylon*. From hence we may infer, that *Evil-merodach* was not the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Amyite* the daughter of *Cyaxares*, or, as others will have it, of *Astyages*, but by some other wife, it not being likely, that they would have thus engaged in war against each other had they been so nearly related. It is still more improbable, that *Evil-merodach* should undertake such hostilities while he was on the point of marrying *Nitocris*, as is commonly reported, who was by birth a *Mede*.

Astyages, after a reign of thirty five years was succeeded by *Cyaxares* his son *Cyaxares* uncle to *Cyrus*. This prince was scarce warm on his throne, when he found himself engaged in a bloody war with *Neriglissar*, who had murdered *Evil-merodach* and usurped the crown of *Babylon*. This war was carried on with great slaughter on both sides by *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus*, during the reigns of the usurper *Neriglissar*, of his son *Laborosoarchod*, and of *Nabonadius*, the son of *Evil-merodach* and grandson of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whose time *Babylon* was taken, and the *Babylonian* empire utterly ruined. But as this war, which lasted twenty years, was entirely managed by *Cyrus*, we shall defer the relating of these important events, till the reign of that great and glorious prince, which, as he was the founder of the *Persian* monarchy, we shall reserve to the history of that empire.

As for *Cyaxares*, he is said in scripture to have taken the kingdom, after the reduction of *Babylon* and death of *Belshazzar*³. For *Cyrus*, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire only in partnership with him, though he had entirely acquired it by his own valour. Nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let him enjoy the first rank. But, the command of the army and the whole management of affairs being vested in *Cyrus*, he alone was looked upon as the su-

¹ See before, p. 337, & seq. ² XENOPH. *Cyropæd.* l. 1. ³ Dan. v. 31.

preme governor of the empire. And hence it is, that in *Ptolemy's* canon no notice is taken of *Cyaxares*, but immediately after the death of *Nabonadius*, *Cyrus* is placed there as the next successor. But that a *Mede* reigned at *Babylon* after the death of *Nabonadius*, or, as *Herodotus* calls him *Labynetus*, the last *Babylonian* king in the canon, is plain both from *Xenophon*^c and scripture: the former tells us, that after the taking of *Babylon*, *Cyrus* went to the king of the *Medes* at *Ecbatan*, and succeeded him in the kingdom: and we read in scripture, that *Babylon* was destroyed by the *Medes*^u; by the kings of the *Medes*, the captains thereof, and all the rulers thereof, and all the lands of his dominion^x; that the kingdom of *Babylon* was numbered, and finished, and broken, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*^y; first to the *Medes* under *Darius*, and then to the *Persians* under *Cyrus*: for *Darius* reigned over *Babylon* like a conqueror, not observing the laws of the *Babylonians*, but introducing the immutable laws of the conquering nations the *Medes* and *Persians*^z. In his reign the *Medes*, as we have observed elsewhere, are constantly placed before the *Persians*^a; as the *Persians*, in the reign of *Cyrus* and his successors, are placed before the *Medes*^b; which shews, that, according to scripture, a *Mede* reigned at *Babylon* between the last *Babylonish* king in *Ptolemy's* canon and *Cyrus*. This king can be no other than *Cyaxares*, as *Xenophon* calls him^c, or *Darius* the *Mede*, as he is stiled by *Daniel*. The scripture ascribes the destruction of *Babylon* chiefly to *Cyaxares*, whereof *Hierom* alleges three reasons^d; 1. because *Darius* or *Cyaxares* was the elder of the two; 2. in regard the *Medes* were at that time more famous than the *Persians*; and lastly, because the uncle ought to be preferred to the nephew. On the other hand, few of the *Greek* writers take any notice of *Cyaxares*, which we may easily account for. The *Persians*, desirous to magnify and extol *Cyrus* their countryman, gave him all the glory of that great conquest, and from them the *Greeks* borrowed their relations. Besides, *Cyrus* alone was employed in the siege of *Babylon*, *Darius* being then absent, and the confederate army under his conduct stormed the town, and put an end to the empire of *Babylon*. We may add, that as *Darius* did not reign at *Babylon* full two years, before the same

^c XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. 8. ^u Isa. xiii. 17. 19. ^a Jer. li. 11, 28. ^y Dan. v. 26, 28. ^z Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15. ^b Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15, 28. viii. 20. ^x Est. i. 3, 14, 18, 19. ^d Dan. x. 1, 20. ^c XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. i. c. 19. ^a Comment, in Dan v.

of this great conquest was spread abroad in distant countries, *Cyrus* was in the entire possession of the *Babylonian* empire, whence they looked upon him as the great hero, who had alone performed such extraordinary feats. But *Josephus* ^e, who was better informed, tells us, that *Darius* with his ally *Cyrus* destroyed the kingdom of *Babylon*. The same author adds, that this *Darius* was the son of *Astyages*, and that he was known to the *Greeks* by another name. Now if we ask the *Greeks* the name of *Astyages*'s son, *Xenophon* ^f will tell us, that he was called *Cyaxares*. As for the name of *Darius*, it was preserved in the *Darics* or *Stateres Darici*, those famous pieces of gold, which for several ages were preferred by the eastern nations to any other coin: for we are told ^g, that these were coined not by the father of *Xerxes*, but by an earlier *Darius*, the first king of the *Medes* and *Persians* that coined gold. But no *Darius*, more antient than the father of *Xerxes*, is any where said to have reigned, except this *Darius*, whom the scripture calls *Darius the Mede*.

AFTER the reduction of *Babylon*, *Cyaxares* in concert with *Cyrus* settled the affairs of their new empire, dividing it into 120 provinces ^h, which were governed by those who had distinguished themselves during the war. Over these governors were appointed three presidents, who were constantly to reside at court, and, receiving accounts of what happened in the several provinces, dispatch the king's orders to the immediate officers; so that these three principal ministers had the superintendency over, and the chief administration of, the most weighty affairs of the whole kingdom. Of these *Daniel* was appointed the chief, an honour, which he highly deserved, not only on account of his great wisdom, but likewise of his age and consummate experience; for he had now served the kings of *Babylon* full sixty five years in the quality of prime minister. As this employment advanced him to be the next person to the king, it raised no small jealousy in the other courtiers, who conspiring against him would have compassed his ruin, had he not been miraculously preserved by that providence, which is ever watching over the safety of the just. As the only thing they could lay hold of to disgrace him at court, and make him incur the king's displeasure, was the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they prevailed with *Darius* to issue out a proclamation, forbidding all persons to put up any petition whatsoever to God

^e JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 12. c. 13. ^f XENOPH. ubi supra.
^g SUIDAS in Δαριχός, HARPOCR. in Δαριχός, Scholiast. in Aristoph.
 Eccles. p. 741, 742. ^h DAN. vi. 1.

or man, except to the king, for the space of thirty days, upon pain of being cast into the lions den. Now, as *Daniel* was saying his usual prayers, with his face turned towards *Jerusalem*, he was surprized, accused, and, as the laws of the *Medes* were unalterable, condemned to be devoured by the lions. But, being miraculously delivered from their jaws, this malicious contrivance ended in the destruction of its authors, and greatly raised, as we may well imagine, *Daniel's* reputation, both with *Darius* and *Cyrus*¹. This probably happened, while *Cyrus* was in *Syria*; for after having settled his affairs at *Babylon*, and furnished the garisons with such troops as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into *Syria*, which he brought under subjection with the other adjacent countries, extending his conquests as far as the *Red sea* and the confines of *Æthiopia*. In the mean time *Darius* remained at *Babylon*, managed the civil affairs of the empire; and in this interval was *Daniel* cast into the lions den. The *Darics* were, perhaps, coined much about the same time out of the gold of the conquered *Lydians* (B). But in the reign of *Cyrus* we shall give a more distinct account of several particulars relating to his two predecessors *Cyaxares* and *Astyages*. We have hitherto supposed the former to be *Daniel's Darius the Mede*, and *Nabonadius* his *Belshazzar*; but as both these points are controverted by writers of no mean characters, before we dismiss the history of *Media* we must beg leave to offer something in our notes in defence of this our supposition, after having acquainted the reader with the sentiments of others, and the arguments they produce to support them (C).

C H A P.

¹ Dan. vi. 4, 5, 6, & seq.

(B) This piece, according to Dr. *Bernard* (67), weighed two grains more than one of our guineas; but as it had very little alloy, it may be reckoned, as the proportion of gold and silver now stands with us, to have been worth twenty five shillings.

(C) As the whole history of *Babylon*, from the death of *Nabuchadnezzar* to the reduction of that city by *Cyrus*, is overcast, we may say, with an impenetrable mist, writers are strangely puzzled to find out *Daniel's Belshazzar* among the last kings that reigned there, and equally at a loss concerning his *Darius the Mede*, who was in that kingdom succeeded by *Cyrus*. To proceed with all the perspicuity we can in so perplexed a subject, we shall first produce what we read in the prophecies of *Daniel* relating to the last kings of *Babylon*; 2. What is allowed on all hands to be certain, and is

(67) *De ponder. & mensur. antiq. p. 171.*

confirmed

confirmed by the concurrence of all the prophane historians; and lastly the various opinions of modern writers, with the arguments they alledge to support them.

The prophet *Daniel*, after mentioning what had happened in the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, relates the visions he had in the first and 3d year of *Belsazzar*, and the fatal end of that prince in the following manner (68). *Belsazzar* having made a great feast, commanded the vessels of gold and silver to be brought to him, which his father *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken out of the temple of *Jerusalem*. He drank in them, and his wives, and his concubines, and the lords of his court. In the same hour an hand appeared, and wrote over-against the candlestick on the plaister of the wall of the king's palace. The king who saw the motion of the hand, was greatly frightened, and commanded his wise-men and sooth-sayers to be sent for. But none of them being able to explain the writing, *Daniel* was immediately sent for at the suggestion of the queen, who on the alarm which that prodigy had occasioned, entered the banquetting room, and acquainted the king with the great abilities of *Daniel* in such matters. The prophet, after reproaching the king for prophaneing the holy vessels, reads the writing, and informs him, that the words, are *Mene Mene, Tekel Upbarfen*, which he thus interprets; *Mene*, God has numbered thy kingdom and finished it: *Tekel*, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting: *Peres*, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. The prophet adds, that in that night *Belsazzar*, king of the *Chaldeans*, was slain, and that *Darius the Median* took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old.

The same prophet informs us next (69), what order *Darius* established in the realm, and relates the visions which he had in the first year of *Darius*, and in the third of *Cyrus*. It is manifest, that *Daniel* speaks here of three kings succeeding each other to the crown of *Babylon*; namely, *Belsazzar*, *Darius the Mede*, and *Cyrus*. The last is well known; but the question is, who the two others were: a question which we must endeavour to solve, in order to reconcile *Daniel* and the prophane historians.

Most historians agree, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, after a reign of forty three years, (or forty five if we compute the two years which he reigned jointly with his father) was succeeded by his son *Evil-merodach*, who reigned two complete years, and was murdered in the beginning of his third by *Neriglissar*. *Neriglissar* ruled four years, and was succeeded by his son *Laborsoarchod*, who was murdered after a short reign of nine months. *Nabonadius* came to the crown next, and reigned seventeen years. In his time the city of *Babylon* was taken by *Cyrus*, and the empire overturned.

'Tis manifest, that *Belsazzar* was one of the four last kings of *Babylon*, and that he was of the race of *Nebuchadnezzar*, since in scripture he is often called his son; but authors are strangely puz-

(68) *Dan. c. v.*(69) *Dan. c. vi.*

zled to determine which of the four bears this name in *Daniel's* prophecies.

Sir *John Marsham* takes *Belshazzar* to be *Evil-Merodach* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*; he founds his opinion on the authority of scripture, where *Nebuchadnezzar* is often called the father of *Belshazzar*, and *Belshazzar* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*. Several other circumstances concur to prove, that *Evil merodach* and *Belshazzar* must be one and the same person. *Berosus* (70) represents *Evil-merodach* as a lewd and wicked prince; *Belshazzar* in scripture bears the same character. *Berosus* tells us, that *Evil merodach* was killed at a banquet by some of his lords (71); the scripture says, that *Belshazzar* was murdered at a great entertainment which he gave to 1000 of his lords. However convincing these proofs may seem and consonant to scripture, yet upon examination we shall find them to be of no force, and quite inconsistent with what we read in holy writ. The prophet *Daniel*, after relating what happened to *Belshazzar* at his grand entertainment, adds, and in that night *Belshazzar, king of the Chaldeans, was slain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom*. From these words it is plain, that immediately after the death of *Belshazzar* the kingdom was given to the Medes and Persians (72). But this did not happen upon the death of *Evil-merodach*, who was succeeded according to *Berosus* and *Megasthenes*, (73) and Sir *John Marsham* himself, by *Neriglissar* his sister's husband, who was at the head of the conspiracy against him. This objection seemed of such weight to Sir *John Marsham*, that, in order to elude it, and maintain his assertion without contradicting the scripture, he was forced to suppose *Neriglissar* to be *Darius the Mede*, and the *Medo-Persian* empire to have begun in him; a supposition which we shall confute when we come to speak of *Darius the Mede*. To what we have alleged out of *Daniel* against our learned author's system, we shall add a proof no less convincing from the prophet *Jeremiah*, who foretold (74) that all nations should serve him, (*Nebuchadnezzar*) and his son, and his son's son. If the kingdom was transferred from his son to the Medes and Persians, as Sir *John Marsham* would have it, it is manifest, that this prophecy was never fulfilled. What that author urges in defence of his opinion, viz. that *Belshazzar* was, according to scripture, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is very true, not in a literal, but more extensive, sense, wherein any descendant is called son, and any ancestor father; and that this is the style of the scripture, no body, who is conversant in the holy books, can be ignorant of.

To *Evil-merodach* succeeded, as we have hinted above, *Neriglissar*, who had married *Nebuchadnezzar's* daughter. We have not yet met with any author that ever asserted him to be *Daniel's Belshazzar*. He reigned four years, and left a son, named *Laboro-sarched* according to *Berosus*, or *Labassoarasc*, as *Megasthenes* is

(70) *Beros.* apud *Joseph.* *Antiq.* l. 10. c. 11.

(71) *Berosus*

ibid. (72) *Dan.* v. 28, 30, 31.

(73) *Berosus* & *Megasthen.* ubi

supra, & apud *Euseb.* *Præp. Evang.* l. 9.

(74) *Jer.* xxvii. 7.

pleased.



pleased to call him (75). This prince came very young to the crown, and betraying a most vicious turn of mind, was murdered by his own subjects after he had reigned only nine months (76). And this is the reason, why he is omitted in *Ptolemy's* canon, where the whole year is reckoned to the king that begins it, how soon soever he dies after. If a king died but a few days after the beginning of the month *Thoth*, he was said to have reigned that whole year; and if any other reigned in the interim, but did not live to the beginning of the said month, his name was omitted in the canon. And this was the case of *Laborsoarchod*.

But to return to our subject; *Joseph Scaliger* (77) will have *Laborsoarchod* to be *Daniel's* *Belsazzar*, and founds his opinion on the following arguments, *viz.* that he was the last of *Nebuchadnezzar's* race; that he was killed by conspirators, and that his kingdom devolved to *Nabonadius* or *Labynitus*, who was, according to *Megasthenes* (78), a stranger to the family of *Nebuchadnezzar*. He adds a circumstance out of *Daniel*, which he takes to be of great weight; the queen advised *Belsazzar* to consult *Daniel*; this queen, says he, could not be the king's wife, for his wives and concubines were at the feast; 'twas therefore the queen mother, which suits well with the character of *Nebuchadnezzar's* daughter, who was regent. If we object against this hypothesis, that *Laborsoarchod* reigned only nine months, whereas it is plain from *Daniel*, that *Belsazzar* reigned some years; his answer is, that the scripture ascribes to *Laborsoarchod* or *Belsazzar* the whole four years which the canon accounts to *Neriglissar* or *Nirichassolassar*, as he is there called, because *Neriglissar* reigned only as his guardian. And hence it is, that we hear of the first and third year of *Belsazzar* in *Daniel* (79), though *Laborsoarchod* reigned alone no more than nine months.

This opinion too is clogged with two insurmountable difficulties, which, in few words, are; 1. That it supposes *Nabonadius* to be *Darius the Mede*, a supposition which we shall plainly prove from holy writ to be false; 2. That it falsifies the prophecy of *Jeremiah* promising the empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his son, and his son's son; whereas *Laborsoarchod* was his daughter's son. This difficulty *Scaliger* seems not to have been aware of, since he takes no notice of it in solving the objections that may be brought against his opinion.

If neither *Evil-merodach*, nor *Neriglissar*, nor *Laborsoarchod* were *Daniel's* *Belsazzar*, it follows, that *Nabonadius* was the king who in scripture bears that name. This will appear more plain if we consider, 1. That he is on all hands agreed to have been the last of the *Babylonian* kings, and therefore must be the same, who in scripture is called *Belsazzar*; for immediately after the death of *Bel-*

(75) *Berosus* apud *Joseph.* contra *Appion.* l. 1. *Megasthen.* ubi supra.

(76) *Berosus* ubi supra. (77) *Scaliger* in notis ad frag. veter. Græcor. select. de emendat. tempor. l. 6. c. de Regib. Babylon. (78) *Megasth.* ubi supra. (79) *Dan.* vii. i. viii. i.

Shazzar the kingdom was given to the *Medes* and *Persians* (80). 2. That he was of the race of *Nebuchadnezzar*, for he is by *Daniel* often called his son, and in the *Chronicles* (81) it is said, that *Nebuchadnezzar* and his children or offspring reigned at *Babylon* till the kingdom of *Persia*; 3. That the nations of the east were to serve *Nebuchadnezzar*, and his son, and his son's son, according to the prophecy of *Jeremiah* (82); he must therefore have been succeeded by a son and a son's son in the crown of *Babylon*. *Evil-merodach* was his son, and of all the kings that reigned after him none but *Belshazzar* could be his son's son. For *Neriglissar* was only his daughter's husband, and *Laborsoarchod* his daughter's son. 4. *Herodotus* tells us, that the last king of *Babylon* was son to the celebrated queen *Nitocris*; and it is plain, that by *Evil-merodach* alone she could have a son, who was son's son to *Nebuchadnezzar*. This opinion seems to us the least perplexed with difficulties, and of all others the most agreeable to what we read both in scripture and in the prophane historians; and therefore we have, upon second thoughts, preferred it to that of Sir *John Marsham*, which we were inclined to embrace in our history of *Babylon*.

Authors are no less divided in their opinions touching *Daniel's Darius the Median*, than they are about his *Belshazzar*. Sir *John Marsham* (83), as we have hinted above, stands up for *Neriglissar*, and will have the *Medo-Persian* empire to have begun in him. He supposes *Neriglissar* to have been a *Mede*, for no other reason, but because he married the sister of *Evil-merodach*, whose mother was a *Mede*. We are unwilling to quarrel with him on account of this supposition, or rather conjecture; but should be glad to know how, even in this supposition, the kingdom of *Babylon* was upon the death of *Belshazzar*, that is according to him of *Evil-merodach*, divided and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. It is not more certain that *Belshazzar* was killed, than that his kingdom was given to the *Medes* and *Persians*; and this happened immediately upon the death of that king, as the words of the prophet plainly insinuate; *thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians. — In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain. And Darius the Median took the kingdom* (84). Besides, it is very plain from the whole sixth chapter of *Daniel*, that *Darius the Mede* was king of *Media*. He introduced the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, which would have been very impolitic in him, had he usurped the crown without any friends or troops to rely on, except the *Babylonians*, whose laws he trod under foot and annulled. And this, if we suppose him to be *Neriglissar*, was his case; for he introduced the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, was at war with both nations, and had no friends to depend upon except his own subjects, who naturally must have hated him, without any farther provocation, as a stranger, as an usurper, and as the murderer of their lawful prince. To this

(80) *Dan.* v. 28, 30, 31. (81) 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 20. (82) *Jer.* c, xxvii. 7. (83) *Can. Cron. Secul.* 18. (84) *Dan.* v. 28, 30, 31.

we may add, that if the *Medo-Persian* empire began in *Neriglissar*, *Cyrus* did not destroy the *Babylonian* but the *Medo-Persian* empire, which no author ever asserted. But the strongest proof, in our opinion, that can be produced against this system, and that also of *Scaliger*, who takes *Nabonadius* to be *Darius* the *Mede*, is, that *Darius* is said to have divided his empire into 120 provinces (85), which must be understood, not of the *Babylonian*, which was never so extensive but of the *Persian* empire. The latter on the conquest of *Egypt* by *Cambyfes*, and of *Thrace* and *India* by *Darius Hystaspes* had seven other provinces added to its former number. Whence in the time of *Esther* it consisted of 127 provinces. If this was the division of the *Persian* empire in her time, the former must necessarily have been of the same empire. For if the *Persian* empire from *India* to *Æthiopia* contained but 127 provinces, the empire of *Babylon* alone, which was hardly the seventh part of the other, could not contain 120. It is not therefore to be doubted, but *Darius* the *Mede* was lord not of the *Babylonian* only, but of the *Persian* empire, which cannot be said either of *Neriglissar* or *Nabonadius*.

Scaliger (86) maintains *Nabonadius* to be *Daniel's Darius*, adding, that he was by nation a *Mede*, and no ways related to *Nebuchadnezzar*, but freely elected king by the same *Babylonian* lords who put *Laborosoarchod* to death. That he was freely elected he endeavours to prove from the words of the prophet *Daniel*, saying, that he took the kingdom, which imply a free election, and not a forcible invasion. That he was a *Mede* he pretends to evince from a prophecy, which *Megasthenes* (87) relates *Nebuchadnezzar* to have uttered before his death, foretelling to the *Babylonians*, that a great calamity was to fall on them, which neither *Belus*, nor queen *Beltis* could avert; that a *Persian* mule should bring the *Babylonians* under subjection, being assisted by a *Mede*. The *Persian* mule is *Cyrus*, he being the issue of a *Persian* and a *Mede*; the *Mede*, who assisted him, was *Nabonadius*. If we ask *Scaliger* how *Nabonadius* can be said to have assisted *Cyrus* in destroying the city and kingdom of *Babylon*, since he waged war with him in defence of both, and was vanquished and killed; his answer is, that *Nabonadius* forwarded the destruction of *Babylon* by being conquered and slain, and that in this sense (if in this there be any sense) he concurred with *Cyrus* in the overturning of the *Babylonian* empire. This argument needs no answer, it is sufficiently refuted by being related. And therefore *Isaac Vossius* well observes (88), that the arguments produced by *Scaliger* to support this wild opinion are unworthy of *Scaliger*. As to his other proof, viz. that *Darius* took the kingdom; they imply, we own, no violence, on the part of *Darius*, who cannot properly be said to have stormed the town or won it by dint of arms; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though with the joint forces of the *Medes* and *Persians*. The city being thus

(85) *Dan.* vi. 1. (86) *Scal. de emendat. tem.* l. 6. (87) *Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang.* l. 9. (88) *Isaac. Voss. Chronol. Sac.* p. 144.

reduced by the troops of *Darius* and by *Cyrus* his general, *Darius*, without any farther opposition, took possession of the empire as conquered by his forces. It is not by any means probable, that the *Babylonian* lords after murdering their king should place a *Mede* on the throne, while they were at open war with that nation; nor can the division of the kingdom of *Babylon* between the *Medes* and *Persians* foretold by *Daniel* be meant of a king, who, though by nation a *Mede*, should be elected by the *Babylonians*, and peaceably enjoy the kingdom till driven out by the *Persians*. This division must have been made after the empire was destroyed and the city taken. To conclude; this system contradicts not only the prophecy of *Daniel*, touching the division of the empire between the *Babylonians* and *Medes*, but that likewise of *Jeremiah*, where it is said, that *all nations should serve him* (*Nebuchadnezzar*) *and his son, and his son's son*. If *Nabonadius* was *Darius*, who of all the kings of *Babylon* was *Nebuchadnezzar's* son's son? Since *Scaliger* could not answer this question, it was well done of him to take no notice of it, in displaying and solving, in the best manner he could, several difficulties that others might have started against his assertion. He commonly adopts the sentiments of *Berosus*; but here he even forsakes him; for *Berosus* tells us (89), that *Nabonadius* was a *Babylonian*. 'Tis true, he seems afterwards concerned for having thus slighted the authority of such an unerring guide, and is inclined to make him a *Babylonian*. But how can this be reconciled with scripture, where he is ever stiled *Darius the Median*? He has a salve for this sore too: the word *Median* or *Mede* is not, says he, the national name, as the whole tribe of *chronologers* and *interpreters*, simple well-meaning men, have imagined, but the surname of *Darius*. But it is very unlucky for *Josephus* that *Daniel* should begin his 9th chapter thus: *In the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans*. He was therefore by nation a *Mede*, and the son of a king of *Media*. But our writer seems to have been more conversant in the mangled fragments of *Berosus*, than in the books of the prophets, from which there is no appeal: and may, on that very account, richly deserve the compliments which in an ironical manner he bestows on such as are unwilling to adopt his wild notions. But we must forgive him; scorn and contradiction were the essential ingredients of his character; and had he not in most things been singular, in all peremptory, he had neither been a *Scaliger*, nor the son of *Julius*.

The difficulties we have objected against the two foregoing opinions have made other writers look for *Darius the Mede* elsewhere. They suppose, that there was one *Darius* a *Mede* king of *Persia* before *Cambyfes* the father of *Cyrus*, who was also, according to *Xenophon*, king of *Persia*. This conjecture is supported by a passage out of *Æschylus* (91), where that poet seemingly supposes the first king of *Persia* there mentioned to have been a *Mede*, who with a

(89) *Beros.* apud *Joseph.* *Antiq.* l. 10. c. 11.
Persæ, v. 761.

(90) *Æsch.*

powerful army took *Susa*. Next to him he places his son, whom he does not name, and in the third place *Cyrus*, whom he calls a happy prince. This *Darius* who took *Susa* and waged war with the *Babylonians*, they will have to be *Darius the Mede*, son of *Abasuerus*. This opinion is liable to one strong objection, namely, that *Darius* the grandfather of *Cyrus* could not be alive when *Babylon* was taken, *Cyrus* himself being then, as it is agreed on all hands, and we shall shew in the history of *Persia* sixty one years old.

Other writers, following *Xenophon's* account, maintain *Cyaxares*, the son of *Astyages* and uncle of *Cyrus*, to be *Darius the Mede*. He succeeded *Astyages* in the kingdom of *Media*, as *Cyrus* did *Cambyses* in that of *Persia*. These two kings with joint forces invaded the kingdom of *Babylon* and took the city. *Cyaxares* reigned two years at *Babylon*, and at his death *Cyrus* became master of the whole empire. This hypothesis is entirely agreeable to scripture, and free from those insurmountable difficulties, which attend the others, as is allowed even by those who reject it. Their only exception to this system is, that neither *Herodotus*, *Berosus*, nor *Megasthenes* knew of any such king as *Darius* or *Cyaxares*. I say, *Herodotus* tells us in express words, that *Astyages* was succeeded by his grandson *Cyrus*. This immediate succession of *Cyrus* to his grandfather is vouched by *Diodorus*, *Justin*, *Strabo*, *Polyænus*, *Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Justin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Hierom*, *Austin*, &c. but these, as they have only copied after *Herodotus*, add no new weight to the scale. The abovementioned writers, we own, give *Astyages* no other successor than *Cyrus*; but *Xenophon* (91) does, and likewise *Josephus* (93), forsaking herein *Berosus*, whom he often quotes, and ever follows, where his authority does not clash with scripture. *Xenophon* calls the successor of *Astyages* *Cyaxares*, and *Josephus* gives him the name of *Darius*, adding, that he overturned the kingdom of *Babylon*, being in that enterprize assisted by his nephew *Cyrus* (93), which is consonant both to scripture and chronology; whereas the contrary opinion, though perhaps not repugnant to holy writ, cannot by any means be reconciled with chronology. For if we suppose, that *Astyages* had no other successor but *Cyrus*, we must allow him to have lived a hundred years and upwards. For he gave his daughter in marriage to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as the sticklers for *Herodotus* tell us, before the siege of *Nineveh*, that is seventy three years before the reduction of *Babylon*. He must have been at that time at least thirty years old, and two years more he reigned at *Babylon*. Could we but prevail upon ourselves to believe, that *Astyages* lived to so great an age, we should willingly follow *Herodotus*, having a great respect for that venerable, and by some much injured, historian. His system is no ways repugnant to scripture, where nothing is said of *Darius the Mede*, which may not be as well applied to *Astyages* himself as to his son.

(91) *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. c. 19.*
l. 10. c. 13.

(93) *Joseph. ubi supra.*

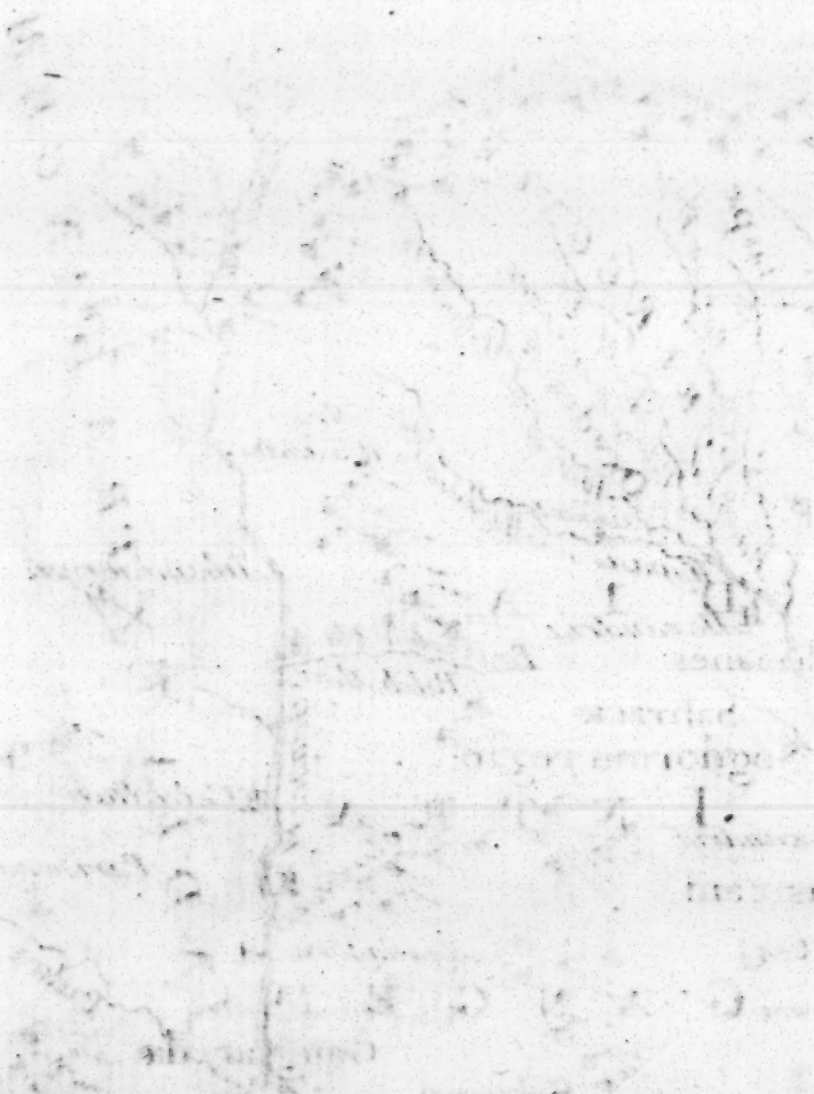
(92) *Joseph. Antiq.*

A modern writer (94), so prepossessed in favour of *Herodotus*, as not to call in question any thing that author asserts, endeavours to support his system with a passage from the 13th chap. v. 65th of *Daniel*, where it is said, *And king Assyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus of Persia received the kingdom*. His quotation is right according to the vulgate, which is the standard in the church of *Rome*; but in our bibles these words are to be found in the apocryphal history of *Bel and the Dragon* v. 1. However, we need not lay any stress upon this, seeing the same writer, who started the difficulty, has been so kind as to suggest us an answer to it. For a few lines after he launches out into great commendations of father *Tournemine*, calling him a critic of great penetration, the most learned and honest man that ever was bred in his society; and these encomiums he bestows on that very honest Jesuit for discovering, that the names of *Cyaxares*, *Assyages*, and *Abasuerus* were common to all the kings of *Media* (95). 'Tis very surprising that he should appropriate the name of *Assyages* to the grandfather of *Cyrus*, and a few lines after admire the penetration and adopt the opinion of one who will have that name to be common to all the kings that reigned in *Media*. If *F. Tournemine's* discovery be true, as perhaps it may, we should be glad to know, why the son of *Assyages* might not have bore that name as well as his father; and if he might, how will our author prove, that the abovementioned passage refers to the father and not to the son? This writer makes a conscience of forsaking *Herodotus* in the number of his kings, and at the same time does not scruple to contradict him with regard to the years of their respective reigns; for he makes *Cyaxares* reign sixty four years, whereas *Herodotus* allows him only a reign of forty: wherein he is no less at variance with himself, after laying such stress on the authority of *Herodotus*, than he is with that ancient historian. Thus much we have thought necessary to say on a subject, which has occasioned endless disputes among the learned, and hope, that the reader will not think we have trespassed on his patience, when he reflects, that we have brought within the compass of one note what has supplied matter for whole volumes.

(94) See *Lenglet. Methode pour etudier l'hist. Tom. 1. p. 322.*

(95) See *F. Tournemine dissertat. 10. ad calcem Menochii.*

THE
SOUTH
AMERICAN

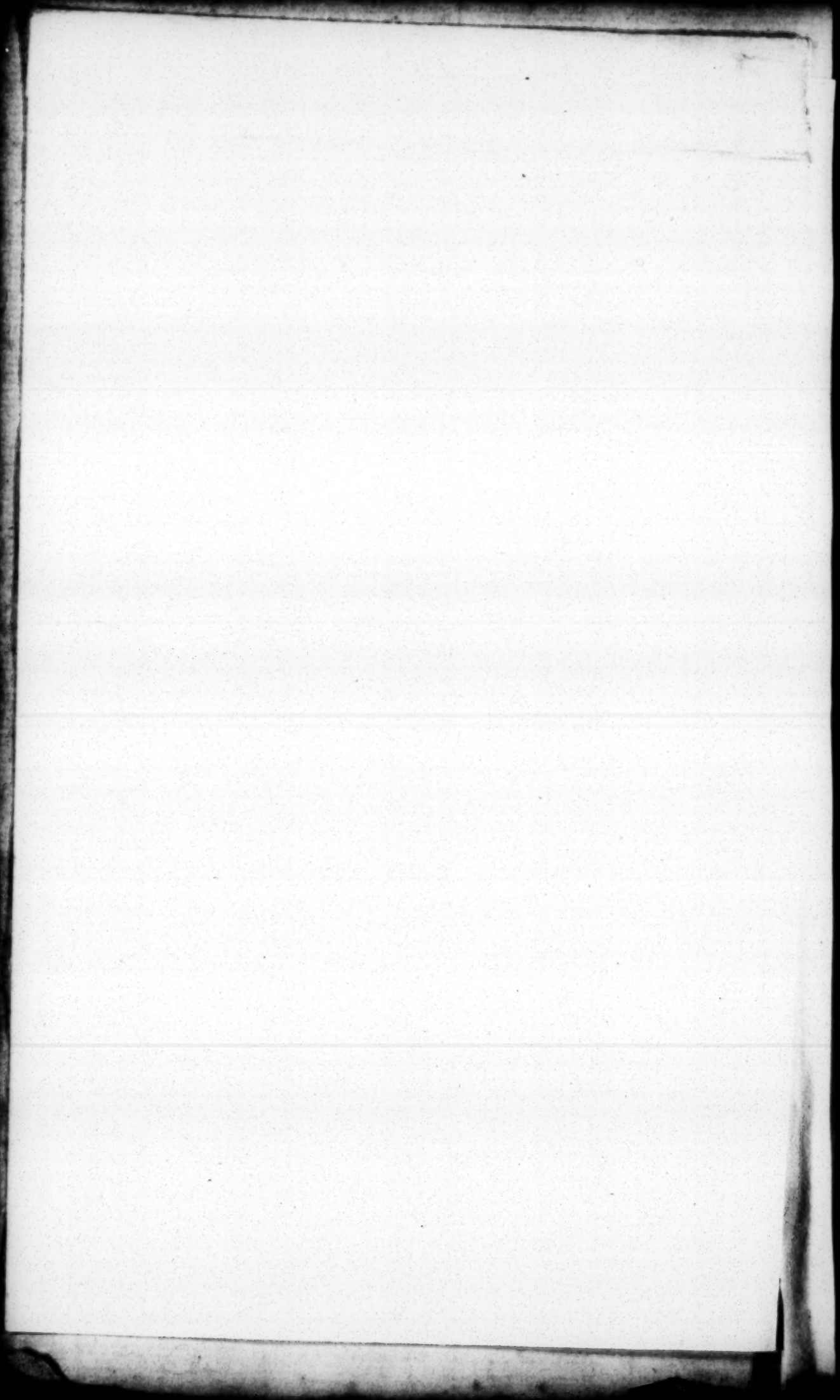




E P A R S

P E R S I A
S I V E
S H A H I S T A N





C H A P. XI.

The History of P E R S I A.

S E C T. I.

The Description of P E R S I A.

THIS country, like many others, has in different ages *Its several* been called by different names, and tho' to some the *names.* settling of these may seem a dry and useless task, yet, inasmuch as the subsequent history will be much enlightened thereby, we shall give the reader as distinct and accurate an account of them as we can. The most antient name of *Persia* is that by which it is called by *Moses*^a, viz. *Elam*, or, as some write it, *Ælam*, from *Elam* the son of *Shem*, the father of its first inhabitants. ^b *Herodotus* calls its inhabitants *Gephenes*, and in very antient times the people ^c of this country are said to have called themselves *Artai*, and the region wherein they dwelt *Artea*. In the books of ^d *Daniel*, ^e *Esdra*s, &c. we find it called *Paras*, agreeable to the *Persian* denomination of *Pars*, or *Phârs*, whereby the proper *Persia* is called at this time. It has been also called ^f *Achæmenia* and *Arfacia* from its antient kings. In ^g *Oriental* writers it is called *Agjem*, *Irân*, and *Shabistân*, that is *the dominions of the Shâh*. It is true, that, strictly speaking, *Achæmenia* and *Iran* are not general names of *Persia*, but rather of parts thereof, yet, as they are frequently used in authors to signify that country which we call *Persia*, they may well enough be comprehended in this list of names (A).

THE

^a GENES. x. 22. xiv. 1. JEREM. xxv. 25. JOSEPH. Antiq. lib. 1. c. vii. ^b Pol. cap. 17. ^c HYDE Relig. vet. Persar. p. 413. ^d vi. 28. ^e 1 ESDR. vii. 4. ^f HORAT. lib. iii. Od. 1. OVID de Arte, lib 1. v. 226. ^g HYDE ubi supr. Voyages du CHARDIN, tom. III. p. 2, 3.

*(A) The best commentators agree, that the *Elamites*, who were the ancestors of the *Persians*, were descended from *Elam* the son of

Extent.

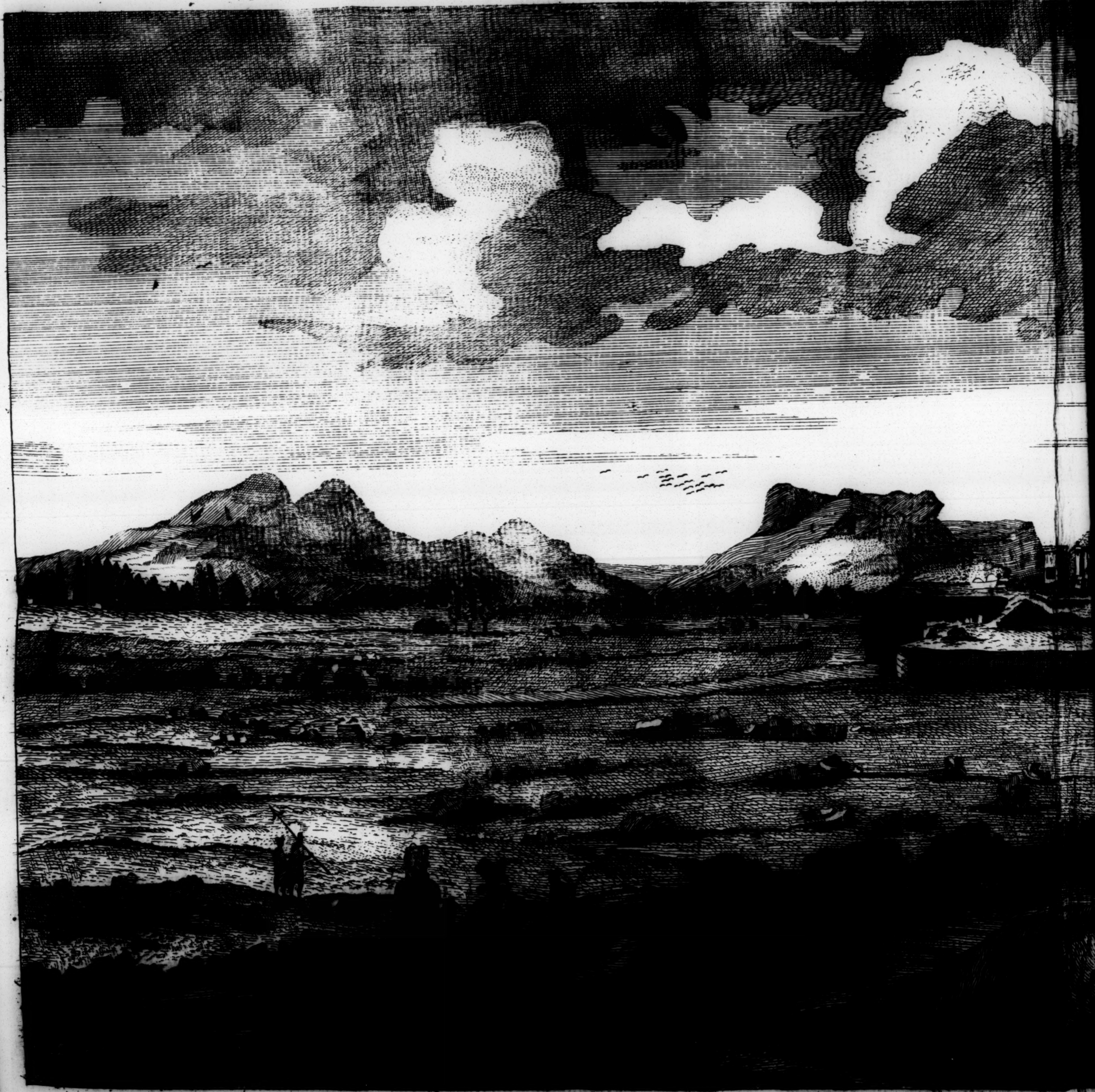
THE extent of *Perſia* has been in different ages, as its names, *Pelony*,^b bounds it thus: on the north,

^b Geogr. lib. vi. c. 4.

of *Shem*, and thus much has been asserted and proved, as the nature of the thing would admit. In our first volume (1) it is likewise allowed, that the most ancient among the inspired writers constantly intend *Perſia* when they speak of *Elam* and the kingdom of *Elam*. Thus, not to detain the reader with unnecessary questions, when the prophet *Jeremiah*, after denouncing judgments against this country, adds these words: *But it shall come to pass in the latter days that I will bring again the captivity of Elam, saith Jehovah* (2). He is always understood to mean the restoration of the kingdom of the *Perſians* by *Cyrus*, who subdued the *Babylonians*, as these had before subdued the *Perſians*, and made them subject to their empire (3). As to the word *Perſia*, the authors are not very well agreed as to its etymology or origin; some are for deriving it from the *Arabic* word *Perſ*, which signifies a horse. Some *Perſian* historians say that *Perſ* is a person, and that the *perſes* so called were the sons of *Perſ*, i. e. of the son of *Shem*; others make this *Perſ* the son of *Yerubbaal*. Some again, who seem to be nearest the truth, say that he was the son of *Elam* the son of *Shem* (4). It is evident, however, that the *Greek* word *Perſus* and the *Latin* word *Perſia* are derived from the oriental denomination, and not from this country's being conquered by *Perſus*. The name *Aras* is thought to be derived from the *Perſian* word *Art* or *Art*, which signifies strength, power, or dominion, intimating that the people of this country were distinguished by their dispositions (5). *Achæmendæ*, or (6) *Achæmenes*, by which name we, was only a part of *Perſia* (7). *Perſia* is mentioned in the Bible, yet sometimes it is used to signify *Perſia* in general, as is manifestly by (8) *Hieronymus*, who makes *Perſia* to be the name of his people *Achæmendæ*. In the *Arabic* language *Perſia* is here said, is *Perſia*, *Perſia*, i. e. the country of the *Perſians* (9). The *Arabic* gave the name of *Perſia* to *Perſia*, which in their language *Perſia* signifies *Perſia* or *Perſia*. With great modesty, they appear on every other name of themselves. Hence the distinction of *Arab* and *Arab*, as well as *Arab* as much as the *Turks* of the *Arabs* and the *Turks* of the *Arabs*. The *Perſians* themselves call their country *Perſia*, and *Iran*, for this reason; they say, that under the reign of King *Hydraspes* their empire extended all the countries between the *Caspian* sea and *China*. This monarch divided his mighty empire into

(1) p. 360. (2) *Jeremiah* xlix. 39. (3) *Psalm* lxxviii. 60. (4) *Jerem.* xlix. 39. (4) *Hydraspes* was *Perſia*. (5) *Hydraspes* was *Perſia*. (5) *Hydraspes* was *Perſia*. (6) *Hydraspes* was *Perſia*. (7) *Hydraspes* was *Perſia*. (8) *Hydraspes* was *Perſia*. (9) *Hydraspes* was *Perſia*.

A View of the Ruins of PER



PERSEPOLIS





D. Pomarade Sculp.

Media, on the east *Carmania*, on the west *Susiana*, on the south the *Persian gulph*, but this relates to *Persia* as a province. We consider it in another light, and therefore, to speak as clearly and distinctly as we may, let us first assign the boundaries of the *Persian* empire as they stood antiently, when it extended farthest, let us next settle the boundaries of the modern *Persian* empire, and thirdly, let us review the several provinces mentioned by antient writers, and, as we go on, take some account of the condition they are now in. *Boundaries*

As to the antient empire of the *Persians* it reached in length, from the *Hellepont* to the mouth of the river *Indus*, about 2800 *English* miles, in breadth, from *Pontus* to the mouth of the *Arabian gulph*, about 2000 miles¹.

THE modern *Persia*, that is the dominions of the *Persian* crown, extends in length, from the mouth of the river *Araxes* to the mouth of the river *Indus*, about 1840 of our miles, and in breadth, from the river *Oxus* to the *Persian gulph*, about 1080 of our miles, bounded thus; on the north by the *Caspian sea*, the river *Oxus*, and mount *Caucasus*; on the east by the river *Indus* and the dominions of the great *Mogul*, as he is commonly called; on the south by the *Persian gulph* and the *Indian ocean*, and on the west by the dominions of the grand *Signior* (B).

IN

¹ CLUVER. Geogr. lib. v. c. 13.² CLUVER. ubi sup.

two parts, calling that on the other side of the river *Oxus* *Touran*, and this *Iran*, i. e. on the other side of the river, and on this side of the river, whence in the antient *Persian* histories *Key Iran* and *Key Touran* signified the king of *Persia* and the king of *Tartary*; at this day the *Persian* monarch is stiled *Padcha Iran*, and the grand vizier of *Persia*, *Iran Medary*, i. e. the pole of *Persia* (10).

(B) The ingenious Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that "*Persia* is the greatest empire in the world, if we consider it according to the geographical descriptions of the *Persians*; for they represent its antient boundaries to have been the four following great seas viz. the *Black-sea*, the *Red-sea*, the *Caspian-sea*, and the *Persian gulph*, and also these six rivers, almost as well known as seas, *Euphrates*, *Araxes*, *Tigris*, *Phasus*, *Oxus*, and *Indus*. It is indeed impossible to mark precisely the limits of this vast kingdom; for it is not with it as with the dominions of some petty sovereigns, where a rivulet or a pillar marks the frontier. *Persia* has on every side a space of three or four days journey utterly uninhabited, though the soil is in some places the best in the world; the *Persians* look on it as a mark of true grandeur; the leaving such deserts between great empires, hinders, say they, all disputes a-

¹ *Chardin* voy. Vol. III. p. 3.

Gedrosia. In our account of the provinces, into which the country we are speaking of was antiently divided, we shall begin with *Gedrosia*, mentioned by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and other writers¹. It is bounded on the west by *Carmania*, on the north by *Drangiana* and *Arachosia*, on the east by *Guzarat* a province of *India*, on the south by the *Indian* ocean; it is called at present *Makran*, of old it was inhabited by the *Arbitæ*, *Parfiræ*, *Musarnæi*, and the *Rhamnæ*; its principal cities were *Pasis*, *Arbis*, and *Cuni*, *Ptolemy* places here a celebrated *Emporium* called *the haven of women*. The principal modern cities are *Firbk*, *Chalak*, and the Port of *Guadal* (C).

Carmania

¹ See note (C). ² *Voyages de Tavernier*, liv. iv. ch. 1.

“bout limits, and they serve like walls to separate one kingdom, from another. The seas and rivers before mentioned are far from being the boundaries of *Persia* at this day, yet the latest *Persian* writers describe always their empire within these limits; for they insist, that of right all the countries between them belong to them, and that they want only such another brave king as *Abbas the great* to restore them to the possession of their antient territory. *Persia*, in the state I saw it, taking it from *Georgia*, i. e. from the 45th deg. of latitude to the 25th, and from the river *Indus* to the mountains of *Aranat*, that is from the 77th to the 112th degree of longitude, contains in length about 550 *Persian* leagues which make 750 *French* leagues, and in breadth about 400 (11). We have chosen to make use of the testimony of this traveller preferable to others, because he seems to have taken great pains in the description which he has given us of this country; and since it must be allowed, that his long stay therein, his great parts, and general knowledge, qualified him perfectly for such a work, if we cannot credit him, it is hard to know on whom we may rely.

(C) As it would have swelled this chapter to an excessive bulk, if we had in the text been very particular as to the respective provinces of *Persia*, so to avoid obscurity on the other hand, we have thought it necessary to add such a description of each province in these notes, as may suffice to give the reader a competent idea of its situation, extent, and productions. This being premised, let us proceed in the order observed in the text.

Tho' *Gedrosia* be constantly so called by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*, yet (12) *Diodorus Siculus*, (13) *Suidas*, and some manuscripts of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (14) read *Cedrosia*. The extent of this province

(11) *Chardin Voy. Tom. iii. p. 2.* (12) *lib. xviii. c. 6.* (13) *In verb. Κεδρωσία.* (14) *In Edit. Valesii, p. 369.*

Carmania, divided into *Carmania the desert*, and *Carmania proper*. * *Carmania the desert* is bounded on the north by *Parthia*, on the west by *Persis*, on the east by *Drangiana*, on the south by *Carmania proper*. • *Carmania proper* hath on the south the *Indian ocean*, on the west *Persis* and the gulph of *Persia*, on the east *Gedrosia*, and on the north *Carmania the desert*; it contains the modern provinces of *Khirman* and *Ormuz*, it was inhabited by the *Isaticæ*, *Zuthi*, *Gadanopydres*, *Camelobosci*, *Agdonites*, *Rhudiane*, *Ares*, *Charadæe*, *Pasargade*, *Armozet*; its ancient cities were *Carmanæ*, now *Khirman*, still a considerable place, and famous for the scymetars made there, *Alexandria* built by *Alexander the great*, *Armuza* or *Armuzum*, on the shore of the gulph, giving name to a promontory, and to the island of *Ormuz*. The modern places of note besides are *Khirman*, † *Bermazir*, *Kubestek*, and *Iasquez*, which gives name to a cape or promontory shooting into the *Persian gulph* (D).

Drangiana

* *Prot. lib. vi. c. 6.* • *lib. vi. c. 8.* † *TAVERN. Voy. l. iv. c. 1.*

cannot easily be assigned, because though in general terms its boundaries be pretty well settled, yet how to fix these at this distance of time is a question not readily resolved. Mount *Becius*, or rather a ridge of mountains, runs through the middle of this province, and from them springs the celebrated river *Arbis* or *Arabis*, which after a short course runs into the *Indian ocean*. At the mouth of this river stood the *Γυναῖκων πόλις* of *Ptolemy* (15), mentioned also by *Arrian* in his *Indian history*; who tells us, that this place was so called, because originally it was governed by women (16). The soil of this province was sandy and barren, very deficient in water, and the air intemperately hot, so that *Alexander's* army suffered excessively here, notwithstanding they built their huts with aromatic wood, and met with spices in profusion (17). *Ptolemy* mentions two islands dependent on this province, *Assea*, and *Codane* (18); *Arrian*, speaking of the voyage of *Nearebus*, tells us he observed several others (19).

(D) Though other authors speak of *Carmania* in general, yet *Ptolemy* makes not only the difference before noted in the text, but interposes the description of *Arabia Felix* between *Carmania the desert* and *Carmania proper*. As to the first, it is very truly what (20) *Ptolemy* calls it, having in it scarce a town or a village, its soil an inhospitable sand; its air hot and unhealthy, and the whole province in a manner destitute of water (21). *Carmania proper* is a better country, having in it several rivers, particularly the *Andamis*

(15) *lib. vi. c. 21.* (16) *c. xxii.* (17) *Strabo.* (18) *Ubi supra.* (19) *Hist. Indic. p. 366.* (20) *lib. vi. c. 6.* (21) *lib. vi. c. 8.*

Drangiana 1 *Drangiana*, bounded on the south by *Gedrosia*, on the east by *Arachosia*, on the north by *Aria*, on the west by *Carmania the desert*, derived its name, as some say, from the river *Drangius*, and is called by the modern *Persians* *Sigistan*; it was antiently peopled by the *Daranda* and the *Batrii*.

1 PTOL. lib. vi. c. xix.

mentioned by (22) *Pliny* and (23) *Ptolemy*, it is, however, mountainous, though with this advantage, that these mountains have mines of copper and iron; the people antiently, however, lived in no very desirable condition, if the description given us by *Pomponius Mela* be true, The *Carmanians*, said he, have neither fruits, "nor raiment, nor house, nor cattle, but cover themselves with "skins of fish, and feeding on them for the most part, the bodies "as well as heads of these people are covered with hair (24)". It may be, *Pomponius Mela* confounds the *Carmanians* with a nation inhabiting the sea coast, and called from their manner of living *Ichthyophagi*, mentioned both by (25) *Strabo* and (26) *Arrian*, and who are said not only to have fed on fish but to have erected huts with their bones. (27) *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives *Carmania* a better character. At this day this province is particularly remarkable for producing sheep which bear the finest wool in the world; they have this peculiar property, that having fed upon new grass from *January* to *May* their fleece falls off of itself, and leaves the sheep quite naked; the wool being gathered and beaten, the coarse breaks, and the fine only remains. The *Gaur*s have the whole manufacture of this wool in their hands, which consists chiefly in girdles much esteemed through the east, and in a sort of serges, which are as soft and almost as fine as silk (28). Dependent on this province is the little, but famous, island of *Ormuz*, in compass about 20 miles, stony and full of rocks, barren and destitute of all necessaries except salt, of which there is such plenty and so hard, that it is said houses are built thereof. The soil is composed of a white sand, formerly imported into *Europe*. Water (except such as after rains was preserved in cisterns) it had none, so that even in its most flourishing times, when it was the emporium of this part of the world, its inhabitants had not only their victuals, but the very water they used, from the continent; the air in summer excessively sultry, so that people were forced to live in grotts, and to lie in water (29). At present there is nothing on it but a fort; but of its antient kingdom, and of the several revolutions which happened therein, we shall not fail to treat in its proper place.

(22) *Nb.* vi. c. 23. (23) *Ubi supra.* (24) *De situ orbis.* lib. iii. c. 8. (25) *lib.* xv. (26) *Hist. Ind.* c. 29. (27) *lib.* xxiii. (28) *Tavernier in Harris's Collection, Vol. II. p. 307.* (29) *Mandelslo's Travels in Harris's collection, Vol. II. p. 118.* *Tavernier, in the same Vol. p. 347.*

Ptolemy reckons ten considerable cities in this province, the most famous of them were *Ariaspe* and *Prophthasia*, the towns now of note are [†] *Sistan*, supposed by some to be the antient city last mentioned, *Chalak*, and *Kets*. [‡] Some writers speak of a certain valley in this province called *Mulebet*, improved by a prince called *Aladin* into a paradise, though for very bad purposes (E).

Arachosia, bounded on the west by *Drangiana*, on the north by *Paropamisus*, on the east by the river *Indus*, on the south by *Gedrosia*; its modern name is not well settled, inhabited of old by the *Arimaspi*, who were afterwards called *Margyæ*, and then *Euergetæ*, the *Sydri*, *Roplutæ*, and *Eortæ*. *Ptolemy* reckons up thirteen cities in this province, Arachosia.

[†] TAVERN. voy. ubi supr.

[‡] See note (E).

(E) *Strabo* (30), *Ptolemy* (31), and *Pliny* (32), agree in calling this province *Drangiana*; *Diodorus* calls it *Drangina*, and its inhabitants *Drangi* (33). A ridge of mountains, the principal of which is called *Bagous*, runs through this country, and from thence some have fancied that there ran a river called *Drangius*, from whence this country took its name, but of this there is no certainty; the province is not large, and every where hilly, far from abounding with any rich commodities, and therefore never very famous either in antient or modern times, but chiefly at present from its being reported to have been the birth-place of *Rustan*, the celebrated hero of oriental romances. As to the valley of *Mulebet*, or paradise of *Sultan Aladin*, mentioned above; its history runs thus: A petty prince of this name caused this valley to be adorned in the most elegant manner he could contrive, furnishing it especially with airy pavilions, fine women, rich sherbets, and delicate provisions; he then shut up its entrance with a strong fort, and whenever he had any dangerous exploit to perform, for it seems he was but a kind of free-booter, he chose out some strong, able, young man, and having first got him to drink to such a degree as to lose his senses, he caused him while in that condition to be removed into this paradise of his, where having suffered him to remain for two or three days, he then directed him to be lulled asleep in the same manner, and so sent home to his own house, then, under promise of sending him for ever to dwell in that *Paradise*, the joys of which he had tasted, *Aladin* quickly drew the deluded wretch to perpetrate the most barbarous and bloody facts that could be thought of (34).

(30) *Lib. xv. p. 497.* (31) *Lib. vi. c. 19.* (32) *Lib. vi. c. 23.* (33) *Lib. xvii.* (34) *Paul. venet. ap. Purchas's pilgrim. B. iv. cb. 6. p. 317.*

we shall content ourselves with mentioning only three; *Arachatus* built on a lake of the same name by the famous *Semiramis*, who is said to have given it the name of *Caples*; *Alexandria* built by *Alexander the Great*, and by some thought to be the same with the city now called *Cabul*; *Arbana* supposed to have derived its name from some of the kings of *Parthia* called *Arbaces*. As to modern towns of note we know of none (F).

Paropamisus,

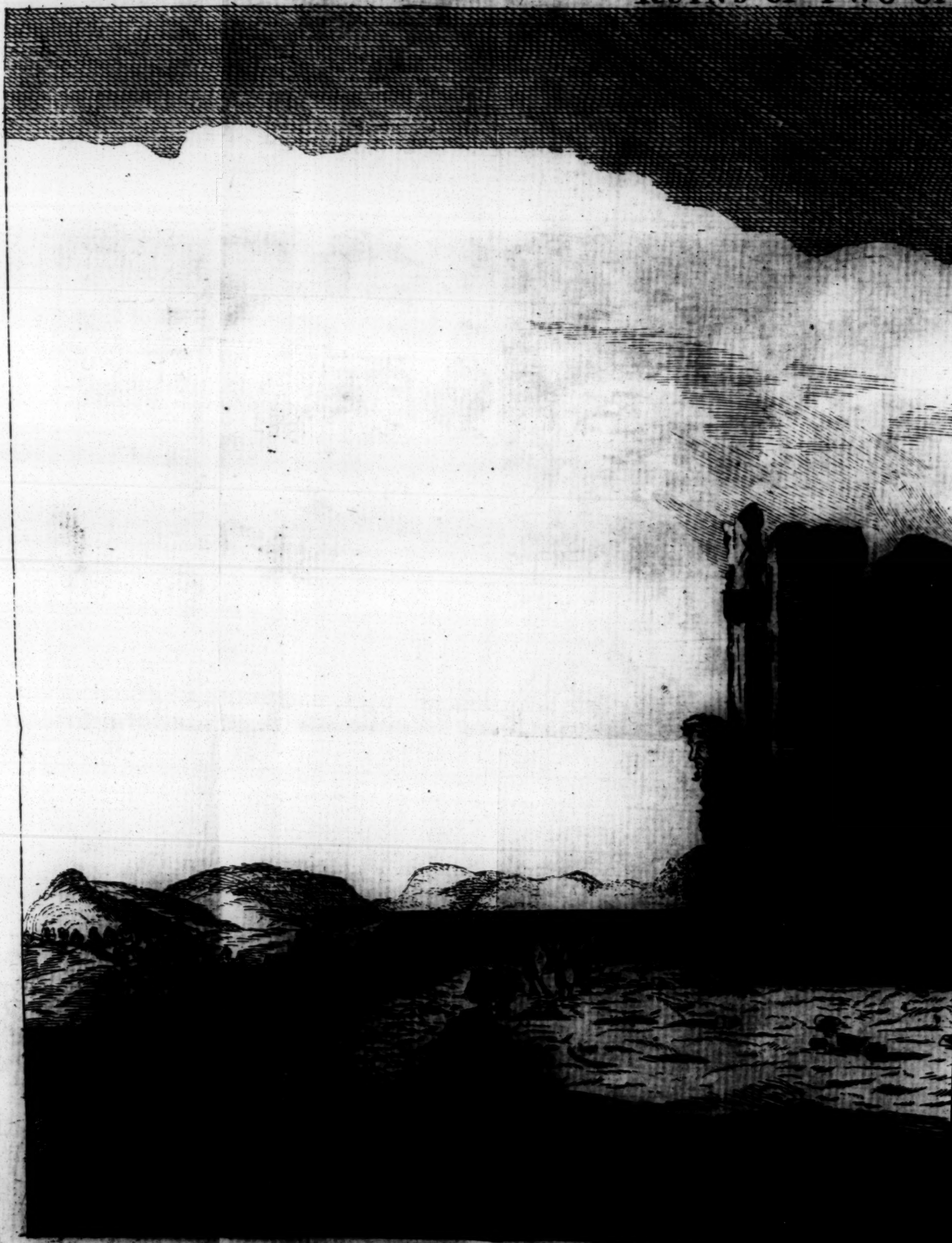
* See note (F).

(F) It is on the authority of *Monf. Tavernier* that we have told our readers there are now no towns of note in this province (35), by which we mean, none that are exactly known to stand within the limits of the ancient *Arachosia*; however, since some writers are positive, that the ancient city of *Arachatus* or rather *Arachos*, for it is a *Greek* appellation, was seated where now stands the city of *Cabul* (36), we will take this opportunity of inserting a description of that city and the parts adjacent, which may perhaps prove as useful, and must of necessity be more entertaining to our readers, than a dry recital of the conjectures of geographers relating to this province. " *Cabul* is a large city, the metropolis of the province of *Cabulistan*, or *Cabul*, and hath two castles well fortified, and because several kings have held their courts there, and many princes successively have had it for their portion, there are a great many palaces in it; it lies in 33 deg. of north latitude. The mountains about it produce plenty of *Mirobalans*, which from thence the eastern people call *Cabuly*, several sorts of drugs, and some spices, which with the iron mines in them yield a great profit to the inhabitants. In this town they maintain a great trade with *Tartary*, the country of the *Usbecks*, and the *Indies*. The *Usbecks* alone sell yearly in this town above sixty thousand horses, and the *Persians* bring hither great numbers of sheep and other cattle, by which means they are much enriched. Wine is to be had, and provisions are cheap, tho' the country about it is but cold and barren, unless in some places which are sheltered by the mountains, being rendered little the more fruitful by the two rivers that water it, and have their source in the mountains. From this province especially come the large canes of which they make halberts and lances; and they have many grounds planted with them. The inhabitants of the city and province are most of them heathens, and therefore in all towns and villages are many pagods. They reckon the months by the moons, and with great devotion celebrate the feast called *Houly*, which lasts two days, at the full moon in *February*. At this

(35) *I. iv. c. 1, p. 412.*

(36) *Heylin's cosmography, B. III. p.*

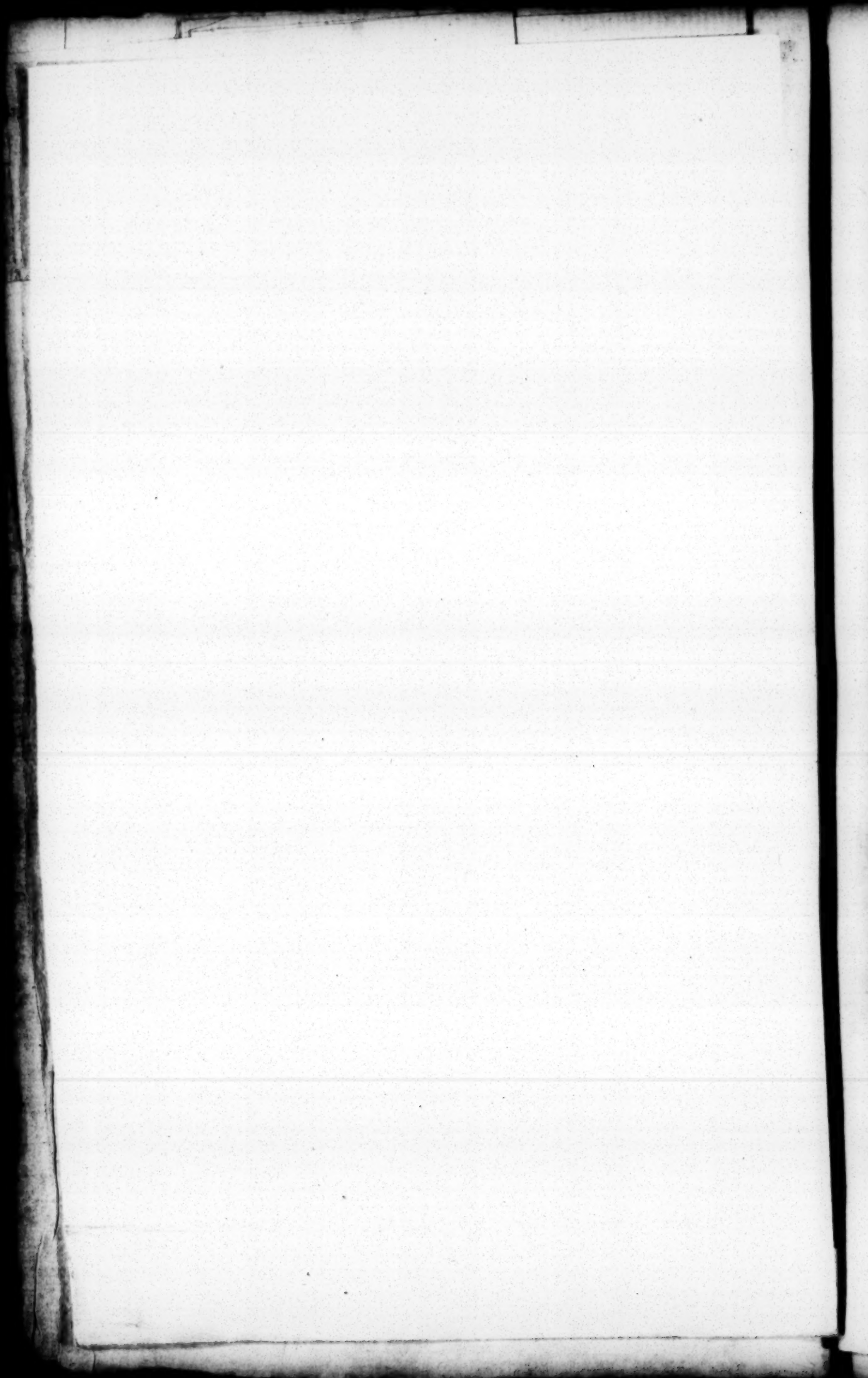
RUINS OF TWO OF



OF THE PORTICO'S



D. Pomarini Sculp.



Paropamisus, bounded on the west by *Aria*, on the north *Paropamisus* by *Bactria*, on the east by the dominions of the *Mogul*, on the south by *Arachosia*. It is called by the moderns ^a *Sab-
lestani*, including likewise the kingdom of *Candabar*; its an-
cient inhabitants were the *Bolice*, *Aristophili*, *Ambante*, *Pa-
riete* and *Perfi*; its chief cities *Ortospanum* and *Naulibis*; modern cities there are many of great note, such as *Beckfabat*,
Ashe, ^w *Bast*, strengthened with one of the finest castles in
Persia, and adorned with various beautiful *Karawanferas* (G).

^a TAVERN. Voy. ubi supr.
iii. p. 394-

^w TAVERN. Voy. Tom. I. l.

“ feast they are all cloathed in a dark red, and after they have
“ prayed in the temple, and made their oblations, they spend the
“ rest of the time in dancing by companies in the streets, to the
“ sound of trumpets, visiting their friends, and eating together
“ every tribe by itself. The Great Mogul’s revenue from this
“ country is 4 or 5 millions yearly (37)”. Yet after all it is far
from being certain, whether *Cabul* has any thing to do with the
ancient province of *Arachosia*, since *Caboulistan* lies beyond *Canda-
bar*, and is generally reckoned part of the *Mogul*’s dominions.

(G) The name of this province is differently written, generally
Paropamisus, sometimes *Paropamisus*, and again *Paropamisus* (38),
deriving this denomination from the mountain *Paropamisus*, which
is a part of *Taurus*, but was falsely stiled *Caucasus*, to flatter *Alex-
ander the Great*, that it might be said of him that he had passed that
famous ridge of mountains; a strange vanity! and scarce to be
credited, if it were not supported by the authority of writers of
the highest credit (39). The soil of this country in general is not
over-fruitful, the province being full of hills, overshadowing the
valleys so as to render them cool and pleasant. We have observed
above, that the kingdom of *Candabar* is included within the ancient
province of *Paropamisus*; this little realm hath for its capital a city
of the same name, which is looked upon to be the best fortified
place in all this part of *Asia*; as the caravans passed constantly
through it in going to, or coming from, *India*, it is consequently a
place rich and full of trade. *Tavernier* has given us an ample de-
scription of it, at the end of the 5th book of his travels; as to the
history of its princes and of the various fortunes it has sustained, we
shall give the reader a distinct view of them, when we have dedu-
ced the *Persian* history as low as to the erecting of this little king-
dom.

(37) *Tavern.* in *Harris’s collect.* Vol. II. p. 355.
Geogr. Antiq. Vol. II. c. 23. p. 719.
Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. v. c. 3.

(38) *Cellar.*
(39) *Strab.* lib. xi. p. 348.

^a *Bactriana*,

Bactria.

* *Bactriana*, or *Bactria*, now called *Chorassan*, antiently inhabited by the *Salataræ*, *Zariaspæ*, *Chomatri*, *Comi*, *Acinacæ*, *Tambyzi*, *Tbocaræ*, a powerful people, and several other nations of less note; it was in the first ages of the world a kingdom, and a very famous one too, in later times it boasted a thousand cities, the chief of these were *Bactra* and *Ebusmi*, both royal cities as *Ptolemy* tells us, *Maracanda* and *Charracharta*; its modern cities of note are also numerous, but we shall not mention them here, because we shall have occasion hereafter to consider this country more particularly.

Margiana.

Margiana, bounded on the west by *Hyrkania*, on the north by *Tartary*, on the south by *Aria*, and on the west by *Bactria*; now called *Estarabad*; it is divided from *Tartary* by the river *Oxus*, called by the modern *Persians* *Ruth-khané-kurkan*, inhabited antiently by the *Derbicæ*, the *Mas-sagetæ*, who came hither from *Scythia*, the *Parni*, the *Dabæ*, and the *Tapurni*. * Among its cities of note we may reckon *Alexandria*, one of the six cities of that name in *Persia*, afterwards called *Antiochia*, and after that *Seleucia*, *Nigæa*, or rather *Nysæa*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*; as to modern places of note, *Estarabad*, *Amul*, and *Damkau*, deserve chiefly to be mentioned (H).

Hyrkania.

* *Hyrkania*, bounded on the north by the *Caspian* sea, called sometimes *Mare Hyrcanum* from its washing the shore of this province, on the west by *Media*, on the south by *Parthia*, and on the east by *Margiana*; called now *Mazandran*, and including likewise the province of *Kylan*. The old inhabitants of this country were the *Maxeræ*, *Astabeni*, and

* PTOL. l. vi. c. xi. * TAVERN. Voy. l. iv. c. i. * CLUV. ubi supr. * PTOL. l. vi. c. 9.

(H) Many antient authors agree in commending the situation of this province, begirt, as it is, with high mountains, watered with pleasant rivers, amongst the rest with the noble river *Oxus*, so famous in *Greek* and *Latin* authors. It is likewise celebrated for its fertility in vines of such an extraordinary size, that two men can scarce fathom the trunk of one of them, bearing clusters, some of which are two cubits long. *Antiochus Soter* was so much pleased with the beauty of this country, that he not only built a magnificent city therein, but even inclosed the whole plain, watered by the rivers *Arias* and *Margue*, with a wall 1500 stadia in circuit (40). *Estarabad* its present capital is chiefly remarkable for the fine druggets and other excellent woollen goods manufactured there (41).

(40) *Strab. lib. xi. p. 516.*

(41) *Tavern. Vol. I. p. 397.*

Chrindi;

Chirind; its antient capital was called *Hyrcania* as well as the province, nor has it at this distance of time much changed its name, since it is still called *Hyrcan*. *Tambraces*, a very strong place at the time *Arsaces* began to lay the foundation of his empire. Modern places of note are *Perbabad*, a port seated on a navigable arm of the *Caspian* sea, a fine city much frequented by *Russian* merchants, as being not above a fortnight's sail from *Astracan*; *Giru*, *Telarapeset*, *Chirman*, and *Estref*, are also places of note in this country (I).

Aria,

^b Sir THOMAS HERBERT'S Travels in HARRIS'S collect. Vol. I. p. 434.

(I) Antient writers agree in representing *Hyrcania* as a country fruitful in wine, wheat, figs, and all other kinds of fruits, here and there, however, interspersed with meadows and pasture lands, and in some places with the less pleasant prospect of thick woods, abounding with wild beasts of almost every kind, even to a proverb (42). As to its present condition, nothing can be more amazing than the wide difference there is between the accounts given us by persons of credit and capacity, and who have had equal opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the things of which they discourse. The reader will the better judge of this, if he takes the trouble of comparing the following passage, extracted from the travels of the duke of *Holslein*'s ambassadors, with what we shall hereafter give him from Sir *John Chardin*, in speaking of the air of *Persia*. "It must be confessed by all those who have travelled in these parts, that the province of *Kilan* is a terrestrial paradise, abounding in silk, oil, wine, rice, tobacco, lemons, oranges, pomegranets, and all sorts of other fruits; the vines (which spread themselves with their branches up the trees) being very excellent here, being as big in compass as a man in the waist. The *Caspian* sea, as well as the rivers belonging to this province, afford to the inhabitants prodigious quantities of fish, as their pasture grounds furnish them with great store of cattle, and their forests with venison and wild fowl, which makes me admire, how *John de Laet*, who follows the footsteps of *Johannes de Persia*, could assert with so much confidence, that *Messanderan* (part of the province of *Kilan*) lies under so cold a climate, that the fruits there seldom come to full maturity, when it is confessed by all that have any right knowledge of those parts, that, among all the provinces of that vast empire, there is none that challenge prerogative for a temperate and benign air, before that of *Messanderan*, which beyond all dispute produces the best fruits of all *Persia*. *Schach Abas* was so well convinced of this point, that

Vol. IV. (42) *Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxiii.*

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" he

Aria.

• *Aria*, bounded on the north by *Margiana* and *Bactria*, on the west by *Parthia* and *Carmania the desert*, on the south by *Drangiana*, on the east by *Parapamisus*, now comprehended under the province of *Chorasan*; it was antiently inhabited by the *Nisæi*, *Astaveni*, *Musdorani*, *Cassiroæ*, *Obares*, *Elymandri*, and the *Borgi*; its principal cities of old were *Aria*, seated on the river *Arias*, mentioned by *Pliny*, thought to be the same city, which is still famous under the name of *Heri*, or *Herat*, rebuilt and splendidly adorned by the sultan *Heussen Mirza*, *Alexandria* built by *Alexander*, who settled a colony of *Macedonians* therein, *Artacanda*, called by ^d *Strabo* *Artacana*, and *itaxa* (K).

• *Parthia*,• *PTOL.* lib. vi. c. xvii.• *Geogr.* lib. xv.

“ he gave the preference in his opinion to this province before any
 “ other of all his dominions, which made him lay the foundation
 “ of the city of *Ferabatb*, his ordinary residence where he died (43).

(K) It is not easy to determine, whether *Aria* and *Ariana* were the same province, or, if they were not, how they differed: To discuss so perplexed a question here, and to endeavour to solve what to the best geographers, has appeared an inexplicable doubt, would be at once an act of vanity and rashness. It is better therefore to refer the learned reader to the authors cited at the bottom of the page, from whom he may receive all the satisfaction the nature of the thing will admit (44). In our description in the text we have followed *Ptolemy* exactly, as knowing no better guide, though we must at the same time allow, that some things there are in his description of this province which are not easily understood, such as the several fountains from whence he derives the stream of the river *Arias*, and the lake which he says it forms (45). Of the 35 cities mentioned by that author, we cannot find above five or six mentioned by any other antient writer, and of these the greatest part are found altogether in a paragraph of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (46). It was antiently a very populous country, though much subject to heats, and intermixed with deserts, heaths and forests near the mountains; however, where the heat of the sun is a little rebated, they have very fruitful plains, which among other things produce grapes, the wine of which hath so strong a body as to keep fourscore or a hundred years, without diminution of colour or flavour. The antient city of *Aria*, now known by the name of *Heri* or *Herat*, is still large and populous. Sir *Thomas Herbert* in his travels tells us, that when he was there he found it under a gover-

(43) *Harris's Collect.* Vol. II. p. 101.(44) *Cellar. Geograph.**Antiq.* lib. iii. c. xxii. p. 721. *Cassub.* in *Strab.* lib. xv. p. 720.(45) *lib.* vi. c. 17.(46) *lib.* xiii.

* *Parthia*, bounded on the west by *Media*, on the north *Parthia*. by *Hyrkania*, on the east by *Aria*, on the south by *Carmania* the desert, surrounded with mountains, which serve it for boundaries on every side, at this day called *Erak* or *Arak*, and to distinguish it from *Chaldæa*, which is likewise called *Erak*, this is stiled *Erac-Agami*.

THE antient *Parthians*† are said to have been originally *Scythians*, who, banished from their own country, settled here and assumed this name, which in their own, that is in the *Scythian* language, signified *exiles*. *Ptolemy* reckons 25 large cities with this province, and it must certainly have been very populous, since many cities and 2000 villages were destroyed by earth-quakes. Its capital was *Hecatompylos*, so called from its having a hundred gates, a noble and magnificent place, and so lucky as some think, to remain still the capital of *Persia*, under the name of *Hispahan*, or rather *Spauhawn*. Modern towns of note are ‡ *Toucheran*, *Hamadan*, a very considerable place, and especially noted for great herds of cattle fed in its neighbourhood, producing great quantities of butter, cheese, and hides, *Chachan*, *Com*, *Casbin*, &c. (L).
Persis

* PROL. lib. vi. c. 5.
Voy. l'iv. c. 1.

† CLUV. ubi supr.

‡ TAVERN.

nor of its own, and adds, that the adjoining country abounds with roses, of which they make a water much stronger in its smell than that made in *Europe*. There are likewise, says another eminent traveller, admirable tapestries made in the neighbourhood of this place, such as transcend not only the tapestries of *Europe*, but even those that come from the rest of the *Persian* looms (47).

(L) The mighty reputation which the kings of *Parthia* by their military virtues obtained will oblige us to speak hereafter of this province, more accurately, than in this general description of the *Persian* dominions it was proper for us to do. As to what we have advanced concerning the origin of the *Parthians*, it may not be amiss to give the reader here the words of that author, on whose authority we took it. "The *Parthians* (says he) are also derived from the *Scythians*; for they were exiles of that country, as their very name testifies. For in the *Scythian* language banished men are called *Parthians*. These, in like manner with the *Bactrians*, being by civil wars driven out of *Scythia*, first fixed themselves by stealth in the country adjoining to *Hyrkania*, and afterwards obtained by force more extended dominions (48)." Though in later ages *Parthia* became the mistress of her neighbours, and shared

(47) Harris's Coll. Vol. I. p. 435.

(48) Isidor. Origin. ix.

^b *Persis*, bounded on the north by *Media*, on the west by *Susiana*,

^b PTOL. lib. vi. c. 4.

with *Rome* the empire of the world, yet under the antient *Persian*, and even under the *Macedonian* monarchs, it was so little considered, that it remained an adjunct of *Hyrkania*, and was not made a particular province. It is not easy to fix the derivation of the capital of *Parthia*; in antient time, *Polybius* says, that it was called *Hecatompylos*, because all the roads through the *Parthian* dominion centered here (49). *Curtius* says it was built by the *Greeks*, but by whom, or at what time, he informs us not (50). It should seem that *Hecatompylos* is rather a *Greek* interpretation of the true name of this city, than the real name thereof, but then what name this was in the *Parthian* language we pretend not to say, it not having been recorded by any author we have met with.

In respect to what has been observed in the text of *Spauharwn's* being founded on the ruins of the antient *Hecatompylos*, there are many authorities to bear us out, though I do not find any certain grounds whereon to found this opinion (51). It is unanimously acknowledged, that the present city is of no great antiquity, and the two parts into which it is divided preserve the names of two contiguous towns from the junction of which it was formed. These are *Heider*, and *Neamet Olabi*. The inhabitants of these places, notwithstanding their neighbourhood, bore a mortal hatred to each other, which they have transmitted to their successors, who, tho' they live in the same city, shew notwithstanding, on all public occasions, a warm and inveterate antipathy one towards the other. Some indeed ascribe this enmity to another cause, they say, that *Heider* and *Neamet Olabi* are the names of two princes who reigned antiently over *Persia*, and who divided their subjects into two parties, which are said to have subsisted ever since, not only in *Spauharwn*, but in all the towns of *Persia*. Such as say this, however, own that the city we are speaking of was composed of two distinct towns, called by them *Deredechte* and *Jayhara*. It may be wondered, that magistrates in the course of ages have not subdued these unnatural feuds. An enquiry into the cause would be impertinent here, if the answer were not short, they have been always indulged by the magistrates, because these quarrels bring them gain (52). It is not very clear at what time the towns before mentioned were united, or when this city received the name by which it is now known. Some say this happened before the reign of the famous *Timurhec*, corruptly called *Tamerlane*, who destroyed it twice. Certain it is, that *Spauharwn* owes the glory it now possesses to the great *Shâb Abas*, who, after the conquests of the kingdoms of *Lar*

(49) lib. x. c. 25. (50) lib. vi. c. 11. (51) *Herbert's Travels in Harris's Collect. Vol. I. p. 431. Holstein Ambassadors Travels in the same Collection, Vol. II. p. 79. Careri Voyag. tom. ii. p. 85. (52) Tavernier, Voyag. tom. i. l. iv. c. 5. p. 434. Chardin, tom. ii. p. 6. Careri, ubi supr. Le Brun, Voyag. tom. i. p. 197.*

fiava, on the east by the *Garmanias*, on the south by the *Persian*

and *Ormus*, charmed with the situation of this place, made it the capital of his empire, between the year 1620 and 1628. There is perhaps no city in the world, the name of which is so differently written as this of the capital of *Persia* (53). Among *Europeans* it is usually written *Hispahan*, or *Ispahan*, it is also called *Spaba*, *Spachia*, *Aspaban*, *Izpaan*, and *Spabon*; the *Nubias* geographer calls it *Ashabawon*, and the *Persians* themselves pronounce it, as it is written in the text, *Spauhawn*, which orthography we have taken the freedom to introduce, since the best writers are divided on this head. *Tavernier* and *Sir John Chardin* write it *Ispahan*, *Dr. Gemelli Careri*, *Spabon*, *M. Le Brun*, *Spaban*; but all these authors agree that the inhabitants pronounce it as settled by us. The etymology of the word is no less difficult to be discovered, than the manner in which it should be wrote. Before the time of *Tamerlane* it is said to have been called *Sipaban*, from the prodigious number of its inhabitants, *Sipa*, in the old *Persic* and *Usbeque* language, signifying an army, and the plural thereof *Sipaban* consequently signifying armies. Another derivation there is from an *Arabic* word signifying a battalion (54), but it is time to quit these dry enquiries for something more useful, as well as more entertaining, since in the description of *Persia* it would be an unpardonable fault to omit an exact account of its capital, especially since we are furnished with such noble materials, as are to be found in the travels of *Sir Thomas Herbert*, the *Holstein* ambassadors, *M. Tavernier*, *Sir John Chardin*, *Dr. Gemelli Careri*, *M. Le Brun*, and others; *Chardin* and *Le Brun* having each of them given us a copious description thereof, adorned with copper plates, from whence it is as easy to form a just idea of it as of *London* or *Paris*. All who speak of *Spauhawn* are agreed, that nothing can be more beautiful in nature than the situation thereof: it stands in a plain spacious and fertile, surrounded with mountains, which defend it alike from the sultry heats of summer, and the piercing winds of the winter season; through this plain run several rivers which water *Spauhawn*, and contribute alike to ornament and use. The first of these is the river *Zenderoud*, over which there are three fine bridges; this river takes its rise in the mountains of *Jayabat*, three days journey from the city, and is but a small stream of itself; but *Abas* the Great cut a channel, whereby he brought a brisker and more considerable stream to fall into this river, that it might benefit his capital the more, and by this contrivance the *Zenderoud* is as broad at *Spauhawn* in the spring, as the *Seine* is at *Paris* in the winter. The united waters of these rivers are sweet, pleasant, and wholesome,

(53) *Holstein Ambassadors travels*, *Tavernier*, *Voyag. ubi supr.*
Careri. ubi supr. p. 86. (54) *Holstein Ambassadors travels ubi*
supr.

sian gulph, called now *Pârs*, or *Fars*, antiently inhabited by the

almost beyond comparifon, as indeed are all the fprings which are found in the gardens belonging to the houfes of *Spaubawn*. The river brought by *Abas* into the *Zenderoud* is called *Mabmoud*, and we fhall have occafion to fpeak both of it and the *Zenderoud* in another place. Befides thefe there are two other freams, which run very near each other, and are both comprehended under the name of *Abcorrenge*: One of thefe is pretty confiderable, its waters being at all times deep, and generally fpeaking equal, for which reafon feveral attempts have been made to bring it to enter the *Zenderoud*. King *Tabmas* in the XVIth century expended an exceffive fum of money on a project of this fort without fuccefs. *Abas* the great did the fame thing on another project, but without effect, which did not, however, difcourage *Abas* the fecond from twice endeavouring at the fame thing, in which likewife failing, it is now looked on as a thing impracticable (55). The extent of *Spaubawn* is very great, not lefs perhaps than twenty miles within the walls; they are of earth, poorly built, and fo covered with houfes and fhaded with gardens, that in many places it is a difficult thing to difcover them; which is a defect not peculiar to this city, but is fhared by moft of the great towns in *Persia*, whence many travellers have been led to represent them as not walled at all. The *Persians* themfelves are wont to fay, *Spaubawn Niffe gebon*, i. e. *Spaubawn is half the world*. It is certainly a very large and populous city, but never were there feen wider accounts than thofe which different authors give us of the number of fouls in this city. Sir *Thomas Herbert* fays, in his time there were 200,000 (56). Sir *John Chardin* fays, that fome have reckoned eleven hundred thoufand (57); but he is himfelf of opinion that it is not more populous than *London*. At a diftance the city is not eafily diftinguifhed, for the ftreets being many of them adorned with plantanes, and every houfe having its garden, the whole looks like a wood. The ftreets in general are neither broad nor convenient, there being three great evils which attend them; the firft is that being built on common fewers, thefe are frequently broke up which is very dangerous, confidering that moft people ride; the fecond is, that there are frequent wells or pits in the ftreets, which are as dangerous; the third arifes from the people's emptying all their ordure from the tops of their houfes; the latter is indeed in fome meafure qualified by the drynefs of the air, and by its being quickly removed by the peafants who carry it away to dung their grounds. Sir *John Chardin* reckons eight gates; four looking to the eaft and fouth, and four to the weft and north, viz. the gate of *Haffen-Abad*, the gate of *Joubare* called alfo the gate of *Abas*, the gate of *Seidabmedion*, the *Dervazedent* that is

(55) *Chardin. Voyag. tom. ii. p. 2, 3.*
Ubi fupr.

(56) *Ubi fupr.* (57)

the *Mesabatae*, *Rapsii*, *Hippophagi*, *Suzæi*, *Megores*, *Stabæi*. Antient cities of note were *Persepolis*, the noble metropolis of the antient *Persian* empire; *Axima*; *Marafium*, called now *Marazu*; *Toace*, the capital of a district of the same name; *Pasargada*, a noble city built by *Cyrus*, and honoured with his tomb¹. As to modern cities there are many of great

¹ TAVERN. Voyag. tom. I. l. iv. c. 1. p. 412.

the imperial gate, the gate of *Lombon*, the gate of *Tekbi*, and the gate *Deredachte*; he reckons also six posterns. Other authors say there are ten gates, but it is agreed, that there is no difficulty of entering *Spaubawn* at any hour of the day or night. Whoever has a mind to make himself perfectly master of the names of the streets, and even of the houses of this vast city, may satisfy his curiosity, and be very agreeably entertained by perusing *Chardin's* elegant description; which is at once pleasant and exact, and equally fitted to amuse and to instruct the reader. The compass of this note will not allow us so much as to abridge his curious description, we shall therefore content ourselves with mentioning only the principal things in *Spaubawn*, as they are described by that gentleman and *M. le Brun*. To begin then with the royal palace, which is three quarters of a league in circumference: It has six gates, the first called *AliKapie*, that is the gate of *Ali*. The second *Haram Kapesie*, or the gate of the *Serail*; the third *Moerbag Kapesie* the gate of the kitchen; the fourth *Gandag Kapesie*, or the garden gate, through which none passes but the king himself, and his kapaters or eunuchs who attend his women; the fifth *Ghajat-ganna Kapesie*, or the gate of the *taylors*, because those belonging to his majesty have apartments near it. The sixth *Ghanna Kapesie*, or the gate of the *secretary*. The grandees of the kingdom, when they go to pay their court, generally enter the palace by the two gates first mentioned. The *Mey-doen*, which is one of the principal ornaments of this great city: It is a grand market 710 paces long from east to west, and 210 broad from north to south. On the south side stands the royal palace, and on the north the *Nachbroechone* a building wherein are placed the king's band of music. On one side of the *Mey-doen* stands the mosque called *Sjig-lotf-olla*, so called from one of their doctors, who is reputed a saint. It has a fine dome adorned with green and blue stones encrusted with gold, having on the top a pyramid, on which are placed three balls of the same metal. On the west side of the *Mey-doen* stands the royal mosque extremely magnificent. At some distance from thence appears the gate called *Ali Kapie*; and between these stand a range of fine buildings adorned with porticoes full of shops. The middle space is taken up in a great measure with tents, under which all sorts of goods are sold; but these are taken away in the evening to make

great note, and amongst these *Chiras*, *Benaron*, *Lar*, *Bender-ubassi*, or *Gombroon*, and *Bender-congo*, are reckoned the chief (M).

Susiana,

make room for the guards, who with their great dogs attend there all night long. In this space the mountebanks erect stages, distribute their packets, and with their antick tricks divert the populace. In the middle stands a pillar, on the summit of which the prize is placed when tournaments are celebrated here; this prize consists generally in a cup of gold, or something of the same value, and none are suffered to contend for it but persons of very high quality. On the feast of *Neuroes*, or the beginning of the year, all the tents are taken away, and every thing is made clear for the more commodious celebration of the carousals which are then performed in the presence of the king, who is seated in a kind of gallery or theatre called *Talast*, very curiously adorned on the gate of *Ali*. Next to this noble market-place we ought to mention the principal street of *Spanbaton*, called *Chiaer-bag*, i. e. *four gardens*, one of the grandest ornaments of this city; the shops therein being wonderfully magnificent, and the disposition thereof in every respect convenient and pleasant. From thence runs the bridge of *Allawerdie Chan* over the river *Zender-vade*, 540 paces long, and 17 broad, built with large stones; it has three and thirty arches, some of which are founded on the sand, which is firm and stable; and through these, when it is high enough, the water flows. There are ninety three niches upon this bridge, some shut, some open, and the corners thereof are flanked with four towers. It has a wall or parapet of brick with openings at certain distances, which afford the finest prospect in the world. In the neighbourhood of this bridge are divers pleasure-houses belonging to the king, and gardens stored with fruit trees, and adorned with every thing else that can contribute to the making them worthy of their possessor. There are some other bridges, mosques, and public structures, which deserve to be particularised, if this note were not already too long: Let us conclude it then with observing that the citadel or fortress, called by the *Persians* *Tabarock*, is a very mean structure and in as mean a condition, its walls being in such a ruinous state, that though there are some cannon mounted upon them, yet they are never made use of, from an apprehension that the walls would fall if those pieces were discharged (59).

(M) This country is very frequently mentioned in antient authors, and therefore we are the better enabled to give an account of its former, as well as present state (60). Such parts of it as lie towards the north are hilly and barren, bearing neither fruit nor

(59) *Le Brun. tom. i. p. 198, &c. Chardin. tom. ii. c. 1. Careri, tom. ii. l. 1. c. 5, 6.* (60) *Strab. lib. xv. p. 501. Plin. lib. vi. c. xxvi. Herod. c. 125.*

Sufiana, bounded on the ^k north by *Affyria*, on the west *Sufiana*.
by *Chaldaea*, on the east by *Perfis*, on the south by the *Persian*
gulph

^k PTOL. lib. vi. c. 5.

corn sufficient for the use of the inhabitants; some emeralds indeed there are found, but of no great value. On the coast of the *Persian* gulph the soil is as bad, though of a different nature, being hot and sandy, and producing few other trees than *Palms*; but between these there lies a rich and pleasant region abounding with corn, fruit, and cattle, and better watered, though but by small rivers, than most of the other regions within this wide empire. The entrance of this country is narrow and difficult, defended formerly against *Alexander* the Great by *Ariobarzanes*, a noble *Persian*, who gave a check to that conqueror's progress, and immortalized his name by this gallant performance in the service of his country. As to *Persopolis* the antient capital of this province, and of the old empire of the *Persians*, *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that it was the richest city in the world at the time that it was subdued by *Alexander*; whose soldiers taking it by storm put all the men to the sword, rifled their houses, and carried off immense quantities of gold and silver, *Alexander* reserving to himself the treasures in the citadel, which had been amassing there from the time of *Cyrus*, the founder of the *Persian* empire. If this author's computation be right, he took thence a hundred and twenty thousand talents of gold; in fine, the spoil was so great, that the neighbouring countries were constrained to furnish mules and other beasts of burden, besides three thousand camels, to carry it off; for he had conceived such a dislike to the inhabitants of this city, that he was resolved to leave them nothing of value; and thus, as the same writer observes, *Persopolis*, once so famous for its magnificence, became no less remarkable for its calamity (61). Among the cities of note at this time the principal is *Schiras*, which, with the adjacent country, is thus described by a famous traveller, in his account of the road from *Spanbawn* to the *Indies*: "From thence (*i. e.* *Tebel-minar*) to *Schiras* " is an hard day's journey, especially when the snow melts, for then " the road is like a sea. The city of *Schiras*, which many will " have to be the antient *Cyropolis*, the metropolis of the province of " *Persia*, lies in 78 deg. 15 min. long. and 29 deg. 36 min. latitude. It is seated in a plain, about four leagues in extent " from north to south and about five leagues from east to west. " Upon the south-east is a lake of salt water about four leagues " in compass. The soil about it is very good and fruitful, and is " famous for the best wines in *Persia*. The city itself has nothing " handsome in it, for it looks more like a ruined town than a city. " It has no walls but a bad ditch, and the houses are built of earth

(61) *Diod. Sicul. lib. xvii. c. 68.*

gulph, believed by some to have been the land of *Havilah*, called now *Chusistan*, inhabited by the nations following, viz. the *Elymæi* and *Cossæi*. Its capital the famous city of *Susa*, the ¹ *Shushan* of the scriptures, and *Tariana*, called by *Am-
mianus*

¹ DANIEL viii. 2. NEHEM. i. 1. ESTH i. 2.

“ dried in the sun, and whitened over with lime ; so that when
 “ they are well moistened with rain, they often fall down of them-
 “ selves, only the college which *Iman Kouli Kan* built, and some of
 “ the mosques, are of brick ; and the best of these mosques, which is
 “ called *Sba Sbirague*, is kept in something better repair than ordinary
 “ out of a particular devotion ; but there is nothing worth taking
 “ notice of in it. On the north-east stands an high mountain, which
 “ is covered with several sorts of fruit trees, of which there are
 “ some orange, lemons, and cypresses, and at the foot of it a stone
 “ bridge, from whence there is a street which goes in a strait line
 “ quite through the city. This street is walled on both sides, and at
 “ certain spaces are several great gates which have neat little houses
 “ built upon them, from which is a pleasant prospect into the gar-
 “ dens planted with rows of cypresses. The streets of *Sebiras* are
 “ somewhat narrow ; but there are some fair ones, having in the
 “ midst of them lovely canals, and basons of water very pleasant.
 “ There are a great many fair covered bazars with great shops
 “ well furnished with all sorts of *Indian* and *Turkish* commodities,
 “ and every commodity has its particular bazar. In the college
 “ these are professors who have salaries for teaching theology, phi-
 “ losophy, and medicine, and 'tis said it has sometimes 500 stu-
 “ dents in it. There are in this city three or four glass-houses,
 “ where they make great and small bottles to transport the sweet
 “ waters made in this city, as also several other vessels to put their
 “ pickled fruits in, which they send in great quantities into *India*,
 “ *Sumatra*, *Batavia*, and other places. They make their glass of
 “ a white stone almost as hard as marble, which they fetch from an
 “ hill four days journey from *Sebiras*, and 'tis as clear and delicate
 “ as any glass in the world. It is wonderful how they blow their
 “ great bottles called *Caraba*, which are a finger thick, and hold
 “ near 30 quarts of wine. They have no manufactures at *Sebiras*
 “ but a few coarse painted cloths, and used only by the meaner
 “ sort. On the north-west side is the king's garden called *Bay-sba*,
 “ which is indeed well planted with fruit trees, roses, and jasmins,
 “ but for want of order it looks like a wilderness. From this gar-
 “ den to the hills is a vineyard, belonging to several persons, two
 “ leagues long and one broad, which is watered with the river
 “ *Bendemir*, which is sometimes dry in summer, because it never
 “ rains there but in spring and autumn. The wines made here
 “ are the best in all *Persia*, but they make no great quantities of
 “ them.

mianus Tarfiana ^m. The modern towns of note are ⁿ *Aba-
was, Scabar, Ram-hormus* (N).

THERE

^m Ap. CELLAR. *Geog. antiq. lib. iii. c. 19. p. 684.* ⁿ Tavern. *Voy. ubi supra.*

“ them, because they are dry and pickle good part of their grapes.
“ 'Tis an excellent stomach wine, but very strong, so that, with-
“ out spoiling the taste of it, it will carry two thirds of water.
“ They sell their wine by weight, and not by measure, and put-
“ ting it in chests send a great deal yearly to *Spaubawn* and the
“ *Indies*. The people of *Schiras* are very witty, and most of the
“ best poets in *Persia* were born here. In an antient mosque here
“ lies *Scheich Sadi*, one of the best of their poets, whom they ho-
“ nour as a saint. The soil about this city is very good and produ-
“ ces plenty of all things. They have all the fruits that we have,
“ and oranges and lemons in abundance. They have vast quanti-
“ ties of roses, from which they draw such great plenty of rose-
“ water that they furnish all the *Indies* with it. They have a
“ great deal of corn, but give much to their horses to be eaten in
“ the blade, because they say that for want of water it would ne-
“ ver come to maturity. There is a great deal of opium made at
“ *Schiras*, for round about the town are large fields sown with
“ white poppies; they have also store of capers which they send
“ into all parts (62).

(N) *Susiana*, as described by *Ptolemy*, includes the province stiled *Elymais* (63), which *Pliny* also observes to have lain within the bounds of this province, and to have been distinguished from it by the river *Eulæus* (64). It received its name from *Susa*, the capital thereof, once the royal seat of the *Persian* kings, who were wont to reside one part of the year here, and the other at *Ec-batana*. *Pliny* says, that it was founded by *Darius* the son of *Hysta-spes* (65); but this is not to be taken strictly, for certain it is, that the *Darius* he speaks of could only be its restorer, since *Strabo* positive-ly affirms, that it was built by *Tisbonus* the father of *Memnon* (66); and *Herodotus* long before says, that *Susa* was called the city of *Mem-non* (67). 'Tis difficult to determine whether in pleasantness, magni-ficence, or strength this noble city excelled; seated it was as sacred and prophane authors agree, on the river *Ulas* or *Eulæus*, called also the *Choaspes*, or rather on the confluence of these two rivers, for the *Eulæus* and the *Choaspes*, meeting at *Susa*, run together in one stream, and are afterwards stiled sometimes by one name, sometimes by the other. As to its beauty, *Diodorus* affirms, that *Alexander*, when he seized the palace here, took possession of the noblest man-

(62) *Tavern. in Harris's collection, Vol. II. p. 344.* (63) *Cellar. Geog. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 19. 5. 2. p. 682.* (64) *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 27.* (65) *ubi supr.* (66) *Geogr. lib. xv. p. 500.* (67) *Terpsich. c. 54.*

Curdistan
and Schir-
wan.

THERE are two other provinces of the *Persian* empire, which need not be described here, because they have been treated of elsewhere already. These are ° *Curdistan*, containing the antient *Assyria*, and ° *Schirwan*, of old stiled *Media*. A famous modern traveller ° tells us, that there are reckoned in the dominions of *Persia* upwards of five hundred considerable places, walled towns, and castles, about sixty thousand villages, and forty millions of souls.

Climate.

As to the air and climate of this country, considering the great extent thereof, it cannot be otherwise than varied, according to the situation of the several parts thereof, some being frozen with cold, and others burnt with heat at the same time of the year, which cannot be stiled wonderful, since it is natural, and occasioned by causes for which we can easily account. The air, where ever it is cold, is dry; but where it is extremely hot, it is sometimes moist: In order to give the reader a just notion of this, it will be necessary to observe, that all along the coast of the *Persian* gulph, from west to east, to the very mouth of the river *Indus*, the heat is for four months so excessive, that even those who are born in the country are unable to bear it, but are forced to quit their houses, and retire to the mountains; so that such as travel in these parts at that season, find none in the villages, but wretched poor creatures left there to watch the effects of the rich, at the expence of their own health. As the extreme heat of the air renders it insupportable, so it makes it also prodigiously unwholesome, strangers frequently falling sick there, and seldom escaping. The eastern provinces of *Persia*, from the river *Indus* to the borders of *Tartary*, are subject to great heats,

° CLUVER. Geog. l. v. c. 14. TAVERN. ubi supr. See before, p. 123. ° CLUVER. ubi supr. TAVERN. ubi supr. See before, p. 355, & seq. ° CHARDIN. Voy. tom. iii. p. 4.

son in the universe. Here were preserved the records of the *Persian* empire; and here were laid up the treasures of the kingdom, that they might be made use of on any emergency, and not be squandered away at the will of the prince. *Alexander* took from hence nine thousand talents of coined gold, and forty thousand talents of gold and silver bullion (68). The modern name of this celebrated city differs not much from that by which it was formerly called. The city of *Shustern* being by some travellers conceived to be built at least very near the place where of old stood *Susa* (69).

(68) *Diod. Sicul. lib. xviii. c. 66.*
j. l. iv. c. 1.

(69) *Tavern. Voyag. tom.*

but not quite so unwholesome as on the coasts of the *Indian* ocean and *Persian* gulph; but in the northern provinces, on the coast of the *Caspian* sea, the heat is full as great, and, though attended with moisture, as unwholesome as on the coast before-mentioned. From *October* to *May* there is no country in the world more pleasant than this; but the people carry in their faces indelible marks of the malign influence of their summers, looking all of them of a faint yellow, and having neither strength nor spirits, though about the end of *April* they abandon their houses, and retire to the mountains, which are five and twenty or thirty leagues from the sea. In a word, the unhealthiness of this place is so notorious, that when a person is sent to the government of *Ghilan*, it is generally looked on as a kind of disgrace, and the people at *Spauhawn* are apt to ask, whether he has robbed or murdered to deserve such a commission. But this moistness in the air is only in these parts; the rest of *Persia* enjoys a dry air, the sky being perfectly serene, and hardly so much as a cloud seen to fly therein. To say the truth, the purity of this element is the greatest blessing the inhabitants enjoy, deriving from thence a clear and florid complexion, together with an excellent habit of body. It rains seldom, but it does not follow that the heat admits of no mitigation; for in the night, though not a cloud be seen, the sky being so clear that the stars alone afford a light sufficient to travel by, yet there is a brisk wind which lasts till within an hour of morning, which gives such a coolness to the air, that a man may dispense with a tolerably warm garment. The seasons in general, and in the middle of this kingdom, happen thus; the winter, beginning in *November* and lasting till *March*, is very sharp and rude, attended with frost, and snow falling in great flakes on the mountains, but never descending on the plains. There are mountains three days journey to the west of *Spauhawn*, on which the snow lies for eight months of the year. It is said, that they find there white worms as big as one's little finger, which if crushed feel colder than the snow itself. From the month of *March* to that of *May*, there are brisk winds, from *May* to *September*, the air is serene and dry, refreshed by pleasant gales which blow in the night, at evening, and morning, and in *September* and *November* the winds blow as in spring. It is to be observed, that in summer the nights are about ten hours long, the twilight being very short, which joined to the coolness of the nights, renders the heat of the day so moderate, that this season is as supportable at *Spauhawn* as at *Paris*. The great dryness of its air exempts *Persia* from thunder and earthquakes. In the spring indeed there sometimes falls hail,
and

and as the harvest is then pretty far advanced, it does a great deal of mischief. The rainbow is seldom seen in this country, because there rise not there vapours sufficient to form it; but in the night there are seen rays of light shooting through the firmament, and followed, as it were, by a train of smoke. The winds, however brisk, seldom swell into storms or tempests; but on the other hand they are sometimes poisonous and infectious on the shore of the *Gulph*, as all travellers agree (O).

THERE

(O) As to the air and clime of *Persia*, we have chiefly followed the so often commended Sir *John Chardin*, but never without comparing what he says with what is said by other writers the most esteemed on the same subject. *M. Tavernier* and he both agree in reporting, that at *Spaubawn* it is usual to enquire whether a man has robbed or murdered who is sent to *Kilan* (70); which makes it the more strange, that intelligent persons, who have also been on the spot, should report directly the contrary, as has been remarked in a former note; yet after all some account may be given of this matter, nay, it is to be hoped, such a one as will satisfy even a critical reader. There are a few months in the year in which the account given by *Olearius* is still found strictly true; but, alas! the rest of the year the people are in a wretched condition, fly from their habitations, and scarce know where to seek for rest. It was in the best season of the year that the *Holstein* ambassadors and their retinue crossed this country, and thus, it seems, it came to pass, that they represented it as a paradise, not suspecting that at another season of the year it could be so intolerable a place as it really is. As to the insupportable heat at *Gomeroon*, all authors are agreed about it. *M. Tavernier* says, that people often find themselves struck by a south wind in such a manner, that they cry, *I burn*, and immediately fall down dead (71). *M. le Brun* says, that he was greatly incommoded therewith while he was there, and that the people assured him, that the weather was at some times so excessively sultry as to melt the seals of letters. At this time the people go in their shifts, and are continually sprinkled with cold water; nay, the interpreter, belonging to *M. le Brun* and his company, had a well in which he passed some part of the day. Among the inconveniences consequent from this malign disposition of the air, one of the most terrible is the ingendering in the arms and legs a kind of long small worms which are not to be withdrawn without great danger of breaking them, upon which a mortification ensues. Our author last mentioned has therefore just reason to say, that a severer punishment could not be inflicted even on a heinous offender than the leaving him in such a place as this; and yet, as he observes,

(70) *Chardin tom. iii. p. 7. Tavern. tom. i. l. iv. c. 1. p. 414.* (71) *Tavern. tom. i. l. v. c. 23. p. 764.*

THERE is perhaps no country in the world, which general-*Mountains.*
ly speaking, is more mountainous than *Persia*; but these
mountains are far from being advantageous, since many of
them yield neither springs nor metals, and but a few are shad-
ed with trees. It is true, that many of them are situated on
the frontiers, and serve as a kind of natural bastions or ram-
parts to this vast region, and it is very likely contribute in
other places to make the country wholesome, by sheltering
the vallies under them from excessive heat. On some of these
hills there is found a sort of mineral salt, which is sold very
cheap^r. As for particular mountains, we have already men-
tioned most of them, which deserve to be remembered, in our
description of the several provinces of *Persia*.

IN respect to rivers, it has been already observed, that, ex-*Rivers.*
cept the *Araxes*, there is not one navigable stream in all this
country. There are indeed in most of its provinces some lit-
tle rivers which run short courses, and would be more confi-
derable than they are, if through want of water the inhabi-
tants were not forced to divert their streams, by small chan-
nels, in order to fructify their grounds. An eminent travel-
ler informs us, that this was practised antiently much more
than of late years, and that from hence in a great measure
arises the mighty difference between the productions of antient
and modern *Persia*. He affirms, that a *Persian* of great qua-
lity, and who was perfectly acquainted with this matter, in-
formed him, that, within the space of 24 years, no less than
four-score channels had been choaked up and lost in the terri-
tory of *Tauris*^c. As to seas, the northern provinces of the
Persian empire lie on the *Caspian* lake or sea, of which an
ample description has been already given. On the south the
Persian shore is washed by the *Indian* ocean, and by the wa-
ters of the *Persian* gulph or gulph of *Balsora*, flowing out of
the *Indian* ocean near the isle of *Ormus*, from the south-east
to the north-west, having *Persia* on the east, and *Arabia* on
the west, it runs as high as the antient *Chaldæa*, where it re-
ceives the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* united in one stream, and
very few rivers of note besides. It may not be amiss to take

^r TAVERN. Voy. tom. i. l. iv. c. i. p. 416.
Voyag. ubi supr.

^c TAVERN.

there are many people of worth and good sense, who for the sake
of acquiring large fortunes in a short time, hazard themselves here,
and rarely live to enjoy riches when they have got them (72).

(72) *Le Brun. Voyag. tom. ii. p. 322.*

notice here, that the gulph is sometimes stiled the *red sea*, as well as the gulph of *Aden* (P)

AFTER

(P) As we have remarked, that there is not above one navigable river in *Persia*, the reader need not be surpris'd that we say so little of the several streams which water that country ; one of them we shall have occasion to speak of under the head of natural rarities, but the river *Araxes* deserves to be further considered on account of the mistakes which some writers have been guilty of in relation thereto, occasioned chiefly by the giving this name to two different rivers ; *Olearius* gives us a very distinct account of this matter, which we shall therefore recite in his own words. “ The 17th we cross'd
“ the famous river of *Aras* (*Araxes*) by the means of a bridge of
“ boats near *Tzanat*. *Q. Curtius*, speaking of this river, in two
“ different passages, and in a different sense, has not a little puzzled
“ the antient historians and geographers, who indeed for the most
“ part put it in the same province, but can't agree in the description
“ of its course ; for *Q. Curtius* in his fifth book puts it in *Persia*,
“ and says its course is to the south, whereas in his seventh book
“ he makes it pass through *Media*, and to disembogue in the *Caspian*
“ sea. *Strabo* is no less dubious, and *Raderus*, endeavouring to
“ dissolve this knot, by asserting that the river *Modus*, before it is
“ joined with the *Araxes*, has its course to the south, and after-
“ wards exonerates itself into the *Caspian* sea, is fallen into a gross
“ mistake ; for how is it to be conceived, that the river should
“ make its way through the vast mountain *Taurus*, which is so
“ many leagues in breadth, and divides not only all *Persia* but even
“ *Asia* itself, and so continue its current from *Persepolis* to the *Cas-*
“ *pian* sea ? The foundation of the whole mistake lay here, that
“ there are two rivers which bear the name of *Araxes* in *Persia*,
“ one in *Media*, the other in *Persia* ; to the last, which washes the
“ walls of *Persepolis*, (now called *Schiras*) *Q. Curtius* has left the
“ right name of *Araxes*, but has taken the liberty to impose the
“ name of *Tanais* upon the *Jaxartes*, which passes through *Scythia*,
“ as he has given the name of *Caucasus* to the eastern branch of
“ the mountain *Taurus*, but with what reason I am not able to de-
“ termine. That which passes through *Persia* is by the *Persians*
“ called *Bend Emer*, from a signal miracle there performed by *Ali*,
“ and disembogues in the ocean in the *Persian* gulph ; that which
“ we speak of now keeps its antient name, and rises out of the
“ mountains of *Armenia* behind the great *Ararat*, and being joi-
“ ned by many other rivers, the chiefest whereof are *Karasu*,
“ *Senki*, *Kerni*, and *Arpi*, it turns its chanel near *Karasu* deep
“ into the country, and afterwards near *Ordabath* falls with a great
“ noise, which is heard two leagues thence, in the plain of *Mokan*.
“ Its course there is very slow, and after having received into its
“ channel about twelve leagues above *Tzanat* the river *Cur* or *Cy-*
“ *rus* (as large a river as itself, coming northward out of *Georgia*)
“ it exonerates itself into the *Caspian* sea. This sufficiently refutes

AFTER this account of mountains and rivers, and after *Soil.* affirming that there are many of the former, and but a very few to be met with of the latter, the reader will easily comprehend, that the soil cannot be generally rich or fruitful, but on the contrary sandy and barren; however, here and there, there are vallies fruitful and pleasant enough. The earth in some places is sandy and stony, in others heavy and hard, but

“ *Ptolemy* and those who follow his footsteps, who make the *Araxes*
“ and the *Cyrus* fall by two different channels into the *Caspian* sea.
“ Thus they would have *Cyropolis* called *Scamachie*, which *Maginus*
“ would infer from the degrees of latitude given by *Ptolemy*: But
“ according to that supposition these two rivers must not be placed
“ above, but below the city towards the south, it being certain,
“ that when we travelled in those parts, we found the conflux of
“ those two rivers at 39 deg. 54 min. and the city of *Scamachie* at
“ 40 deg. 50 min. which is 13 leagues thence and under another
“ meridian. Neither is there any other river within 19 days jour-
“ ney of *Scamachie* on either side, which bears the least compar-
“ son in bigness or otherwise to this river (73)”. We should not
have introduced so long a quotation, if it had not been a matter of
consequence, as will appear in the subsequent history, where this
account will serve to rectify some points, which have hitherto con-
founded even the best authors. It is but just to add, that *M. Le*
Brau in his travels confirms precisely what this author has said (74).
As to the *Persian* gulph, it is not to be questioned, but that the
antients filed it, as well as the gulph of *Arabia*, the *Red sea*;
what renders it most remarkable now is its pearl-fishery, of which
no doubt the reader will expect some account. They fish for them
in many places of the gulph, but especially about the islands of
Babaria. This fishery produces a prodigious quantity of pearl, *Sir*
John Chardin says, more than a million in a year; the largest weigh
generally from ten to twelve grains, and if by chance any are ta-
ken of greater weight, the fishers are directed under great penalties
to bring them to the king's exchequer, which it is, however, belie-
ved they do not always do (75). This fishing is performed by di-
vers, who, being carried down to the bottom of the sea in five fa-
thom water, by the weight of a stone fixed to their toes, pick up
there all the shells they can see as fast as they can, and put them
into a basket they carry down with them on purpose, and then rise up
again to take breath, and refresh themselves with a pipe of tobacco;
those who are in the boat pull up the baskets, the divers work
but from one to eleven, and from eight to three. They fish for
pearls from the end of *June* to the end of *September*; besides the
pearl-oysters, they catch others in this sea excellent for eating (76).

(73) *Ambassadors of Holstein's Travels in Harris's Collect. II. p. 104.*

(74) *Voyag. tom. ii. p. 158.* (75) *Chardin, tom. iii. p. 31.* (76)

Tavern. in Harris's Collect. v. ii. p. 314.

every where so dry that if it be not watered it produces nothing, no not so much as grass. Rain is not wholly wanting here, but it rains, however very seldom, and not enough to keep even the best lands in a condition of bearing corn or fruits without farther help; and even in the winter the beams of the sun are so brisk and so drying, that the rain has not much effect. But wherever the soil is sufficiently moistened, either by natural or artificial means, it bears wonderfully well. If it should be asked, how this description suits with what we find recorded, in antient authors, of the luxury and profuseness of the *Persians*, such a demand is capable of various answers; for first, *Persia* is not now near so much peopled as it was heretofore, and consequently there cannot be so great a number of labourers, which must induce barrenness in a country, where the soil produces nothing without cultivation. Again, it may be said, that the alteration of government, and of religion, has in a great measure produced this difference, the antient kings of *Persia* were mild and beneficent to their subjects, whereas the *Mohammedan* princes have been always proud, overbearing, and cruel. According to the opinion of the *Persees* or *Gaurs*, it was meritorious to render barren fields fertile, whereas the *Persians*, like other *Mohammedans*, are satisfied with what good things they find, and will not give themselves the trouble to labour for posterity. They look upon life as a great road, wherein men ought to content themselves with such things as fall into their way, and, in consequence of such notions, there is no great wonder, that sterility has ensued, and that modern travellers do not speak in the same language with *Quintus Curtius*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and other such like authors. Sir *John Chardin*,^t therefore delivers it as his opinion, that if the *Turks* were to inhabit this country, it would grow still poorer than it is, whereas if the *Armenians* or the *Persees* were to become masters thereof, it would from their industry quickly recover its antient splendor. It must not, however, be imagined, that there subsists not at this day the same variety in point of fruitfulness among the provinces of this extensive country as heretofore. *Media*, *Iberia*, *Hyrkania*, and *Bactria*, are still in a great measure what they were, and surpass most of the other provinces in their Productions; as along the coasts of the *Persian* gulph the soil is still more barren, cattle less plenty, and every thing in a worse condition than any where else. Before we part with this subject, we think proper to remark, that the *Persians* are so sensible of the snow's fertilizing their land,

^t Voyage tom. iii. p. 11.

that they examine very curiously how high it rises every year, there being a stone on the top of a mountain four leagues from *Spaubawn*, between two and three foot high, over which when once the snow rises, the *Peasant*, who first brings the news to court, receives a considerable reward for his pains^u. But it is now time for us to speak more particularly of the productions of the earth.

AMONG the trees, the most common in *Persia*, we may ^{Trees.} reckon the plantane, the willow, the fir, and cornil, called by the *Arabs* *Seder*, and by the *Persians* *Conar*, from whence, probably, came the Latin *Cornus*, and thence our cornil. It is a received opinion in this country, that the plantane has a singular virtue against the plague, and all other infectious diseases, and they positively assert that there has been no contagion at *Spaubawn*, since the planting vast numbers of these trees in its streets and gardens. The tree which bears *Gall nuts* grows in several parts of *Persia*, but particularly in *Kourestan*. The trees which produce *Gums*, *Mastic*, and *Incense*, are found very commonly in most parts of *Persia*; that, however, which bears *Incense* is particularly found in *Carmania the desert*, resembling in form a large *Pear Tree*; *Turpentine Trees*, and *Almond Trees*, with the wild *Chestnut*, are common. The tree which bears *Manna* is also frequent, but there are several sorts of *Manna* in *Persia*; the best is of a yellowish colour and of a large grain, it comes from *Nichapour*, which is a part of *Bactria*. There is another sort called the *Manna* of *Tamarisk*, because it is gathered from that tree; all the different sorts of *Manna* are used to the same end in medicine, and are therefore gathered with like care, being esteemed a valuable commodity, as well as one easily disposed of. The herbs in *Persia*, especially such as are aromatic, exceed those of other countries; ^{Herbs and} roots, legumes and salleting are larger, fairer, and better ^{drugs.} tasted than elsewhere, and are eaten raw without danger of their creating any crudities in the stomach. Most of our *European* roots and legumes flourish here in great perfection, and they would certainly be more cultivated than they are, if, as in *Europe*, men were by religion restrained from eating flesh. As to drugs, *Persia* produces as many as any country in *Asia*; for, besides *Manna*, *Cassia*, *Sena*, the *Nux Vomica*, common in most provinces, gum *ammoniac*, called by the *Persians* *Ouscioe*, is found in abundance on the confines of *Parthia* towards the south. *Rhubarb* grows commonly in *Corassan* or the antient *Sogdiana*, but it is not so good as that

^u TAVERN. voyage. tom. i. l. iv. c. i. p. 414.

which is brought from the country of the *Tartars*, between the *Caspian* sea and *China*, and for this reason they endeavour to confound both under the name of *Rivend-tchini*, i. e. *rhubarb* of *China*; in *Corassan* they eat it commonly as we do beet-roots. The poppy of *Persia* is esteemed the finest in the world, not only in respect to its beauty, but because its juice is by far stronger than the juice of the same plant elsewhere. The *Persians* call this juice *Afioun*, from whence our word *opium*; the best is made in the territory of *Lingan* six miles from *Spaubawn*, though others prefer the *Afioun* of *Cazeron*, which is towards the *Persian* gulph, as being less apt to ingender crudities in the stomach. Tobacco grows all over *Persia*, especially about *Hammadan*, which is the antient *Susa*, and in *Coureston* near the *Persian* gulph, which is esteemed the finest; the *Persians* themselves, however, who are great smokers, prefer what they call *Tambacou Inglefi*, or *English* tobacco, to their own; but Sir *John Chardin* says, that this tobacco, which was no other than brazil, being kept at too high a price, the demand for it is now quite lost. Saffron is cultivated in many provinces, and especially about the *Caspian* sea and in the neighbourhood of *Hammadan*, and is much esteemed. The plant called by the *Persians* *Hiltet*, and supposed to be the *laxerpitbium* or *silphium* of *Dioscorides*, from whence drops the *Assa-fetida*, is common every where, but abounds most in *Sogdiana*: there are two sorts of it, the white and the black, the white is the least esteemed, because less strong than the black; this juice or gum is all over the east called *King*, and the *Indians* consume vast quantities of it, mixing it in all their ragouts and sauces; it has by far the strongest odour of any thing hitherto discovered, since places where it has been kept will retain its scent for whole years, and the vessels in which it is transported to *India* are so thoroughly impregnated therewith, that no other goods can be put on board them without acquiring its scent, however carefully packed up. Mummy of both sorts is a great *Persian* commodity, the first is taken from embalmed bodies, or such as are dried in the sands, the other is a precious gum which distils out of a rock; there are two mines or sources of it in *Persia*, the one in *Carmania* the desert in the country of *Sar*, which is the best; for it is certain that there is no bruise, cut, or wound, which a drachm of this precious gum will not cure in twenty four hours. The other mine is in *Corassan*, the rocks from whence it distils belong to the king, and all that issues from thence is for his use, they are inclosed with walls, the gates of which are secured by the seals of the five principal officers

officers in the province; once a year each mine is opened in their presence, and all the mummy that is then found, or at least the greatest part of it, is sent to the king's treasure. It derives its name from the *Persian* word *Moum*, which signifies literally *an unguent*; the *Hebrews* and the *Arabs* make use of the same term: the *Persians* say, that the prophet *Daniel* taught them the use and preparation of mummy. Cotton is very common over all *Persia*, but there is a tree which somewhat resembles it, but is by far more rare, which produces a sort of silk very fine and soft, and of which many uses are made. Galbanum is likewise common in this country, together with the vegetable alkali, and many other drugs which do not deserve to be mentioned here *.

IN speaking of the fruits of *Persia*, melons certainly claim *Fruits.* the first place, they have above twenty sorts of them here, the first are called *Guermec*, i. e. *forced by heat*; they are round and small, a spring fruit, insipid in the mouth, and consequently no way pleasant, the people, however, fancy them prodigiously wholesome, and on their first coming in eat, for a fortnight or three weeks together, twelve or thirteen pound weight each day; nay an author of good credit and a physician says, that some eat thirty pounds of them at a meal without feeling any inconvenience therefrom. For four months in the year, in which melons are common, the common people eat hardly any thing else, and Sir *John Chardin* says that they eat more of them in *Spauhawn* in a day than throughout all *France* in a month; the best grow about a little borough called *Craguerde* on the borders of *Tartary*, from whence, though it be thirty days journey, they are brought to *Spauhawn* for the use of the king. The people in general are so fond of melons, that they take great pains to preserve them in certain repositories during the last months of the year, and even till the *guermec* are again in season. After the melon the raisin deserves our notice, of which there are twelve or fourteen sorts in *Persia*, the most esteemed are the violet, the red, and the black, they are so large that one of them is a good mouthful; they preserve grapes all the winter in *Persia*, putting them up in paper bags on the vines, in order to preserve them from the birds. In *Courdestan*, and about *Sultania* where they have abundance of violets, they mingle their leaves with the dry raisins, which at once give them a fine taste, and render them the more wholesome; the best grapes in the neighbourhood of *Spau-*

* TAVERN. voyag. tom. i. liv. c. 2. p. 418. CHARDIN. tom. iii p. 12. CARRI. tom. ii. p. 209.

bawn are found on the vines belonging to the *Gaurs* or antient *Persians*, for they, being permitted by their religion to drink wine, take the more pains in cultivating these trees, which for the same reason are neglected by the *Mohammedan Persians*. The dates of *Persia* are without comparison the richest in the world, their syrup being sweeter and more pleasant than virgin honey, the best grow in *Coureston*, *Sistan*, about *Persepelis*, and the shore of the *Persian* gulph, and particularly at *Jaron*, a town in the road between *Schiras* and *Lar*; strangers, however, ought to eat very moderately of this fruit, otherwise it is apt to overheat the blood, sometimes to such a degree as to create ulcers, but the inhabitants never feel any such inconvenience. Dates grow in clusters on the palm-tree, which is the highest of all fruit-bearing trees, and has no branches but at the very top; it produces fruit at fifteen years growth, and continues bearing till it is two hundred years old. All our *European* fruits grow in great perfection here; their apricots are excellent and of several sorts, nectarines and peaches weigh sometimes sixteen or eighteen ounces each, they break easily, and what is very extraordinary, the stone opens at the same time the peach is broke, and discovers a kernel extremely white, and of a taste the most delicious that can be imagined. The *Persian* pomegranates grow of several colours and in the highest perfection, some of them weighing a full pound; to sum up all, it may not be amiss to mention the particular places where the several kinds of fruit are held most excellent; apples and pears grow to the highest perfection in *Iberia*, dates in *Carmania*, pomegranates about *Schiras*, oranges in *Hyrkania*, and all sorts of things in *Bactria*, which produces finer and fairer fruit than any other country in the world; but it is particularly renowned for its onions, at once prodigiously large, and sweet as apples; pistaches, almonds, hazels, filberds, and figs abound, and Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that, at an entertainment near *Spaubawn*, he saw fifty several kinds of fruit provided for one desert w.

Grain.

THE grain most common in *Persia* is wheat, which is wonderfully fair and clean, as for barley, rice, and millet, they make bread of them in some places, as in *Courdestan*, when their wheat bread is exhausted before the return of harvest. They do not cultivate in this country either oats or rye, except where the *Armenians* are settled, who make great use of the latter in *Lent*. Rice is the universal aliment of all sorts of people in *Persia*; for this reason they are extremely

^w CHARDIN. tom. iii. p. 23, TAVERN. ubi supr. CARERI, ubi supr.

careful in its cultivation; for after they have sown it in the same manner with other grain, they in three months time transplant it root by root into fields which are well watered, otherwise it would never attain that perfection in which we find it there, since it is softer, sooner boiled, and more delicious to the taste, than the same grain in any other part of the world: it may be its taste is in some measure heightened by a practice they make use of to give it a glossy whiteness, viz. by cleansing it after its being beaten out of the husks with a mixture of flour and salt *.

THERE are in *Persia* all the sorts of flowers which are to *Flowers.* be found in *Europe*, but they are not equally common in all the provinces of this empire; for there are fewer sorts of them, and fewer of each sort in the southern provinces than in the rest, excessive heat being more destructive to them than frost, which is the reason that in *India* they have fewer than in *Persia*; and that those in *Persia* have more vivid and delightful colours than those either in *India* or in *Europe*. *Hyrcania* in this respect excels the rest of *Persia*, as much as *Persia* does other countries; there are there whole forests of oranges, the jessamin single and double; and there all the flowers we have in *Europe*, with many we have not, are profusely scattered by nature. The most eastern part of this country, which is called *Mazenderan*, is a perfect parterre; from *September* to the end of *April* the whole country is covered with flowers as with a carpet, and the fruits are then in their best season, the excessive heat and the malignity of the air destroying them in succeeding months. Towards *Media*, and on the northern frontiers of *Arabia*, the fields are adorned with tulips, anemonies, and ranunculusses, of the brightest red, all springing of themselves; in other places, as in the neighbourhood of *Spaubawn* jonquils grow wild, and subsist all the winter. To recite all that is said on this subject, by such as have travelled through *Persia*, would not be agreeable to the design of this work; let us content ourselves therefore with adding, that roses of uncommon beauty are frequent here, the bushes bearing often three different coloured roses on one branch, viz. yellow, yellow and black, and red. *Pietro della Valle*, who reports that the *Persians* are wont to make use of art in dying their roots, in order to give different colours to their flowers, is in this circumstance contradicted by Sir *John Chardin*, who affirms on the contrary, that their gardeners have little or no skill, and that the nobility of *Persia* are so far from being curious in such things, that they take

* CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 101.

no pleasure in walking in their gardens, however beautifully and richly adorned, but content themselves with singling out some spot or other on their first coming in, where they sit down, and smook, and drink coffee, as long as they remain there ! (Q).

*Metals or
minerals.*

METALS of all sorts are frequently found in *Persia*, especially of late years; and since the reign of *Abas the Great*, who was at immense pains to search them out, and to make the best use of mines where ever they were discovered, iron, copper, and lead are common, but of gold and silver, there are no mines open at present. As *Persia* is a very mountainous country, and as those mountains produce sulphur and salt-petre, if the inhabitants of this country were as active and inquisitive as amongst us, there is no doubt to be made, but that gold and silver both might be found in some part or other of the *Persian* dominions. In the country of *Guendamon*, near a town called *Kervan*, four leagues from *Spauhawm*, there is a silver mine, which has been formerly wrought, but through the scarcity of wood its produce has never equalled its expence; and it is therefore become a proverb in *Persia* to signify an unlucky undertaking, that it is like the mine of *Kervan*, where they lay out ten to receive nine. There were also silver mines in *Kirman* and *Maxenderan*, but they are now abandoned for the same reason. Mines of iron are found in *Hyrcania*, in the northern *Media*, in *Parthia*, and in *Bactria*, but it is not so pliable as some *European* iron. The mines of steel are the most valuable of any in this coun-

CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 26. TAVERN, tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 420. CARRERI, tom. ii. p. 3. LE BRUN, tom. i. p. 227.

(Q) Though there is scarce a province in *Persia* which does not produce wine, yet the wine of some provinces is much more esteemed than the wine of others; but *Sebiras* wine is universally allowed to be the very best in *Persia*, insomuch, that it is a common proverb there, that to live happily one must eat the bread of *Yezd*, and drink the wine of *Sebiras*. They do not make use in this country of wooden vessels, as we do, for keeping their wine, but preserve it in earthen vessels, which they take care to have well glazed, otherwise they would imbibe a great quantity of the wine. These pots are set in very handsome order in their caves or cellars, these too being as much adorned as such places will admit of, and have always a reservoir of water in the middle of them, that upon occasion people may be entertained there, and drink wine out of the reach of the sun (77).

(77) Tavern. tom. i. liv. iv. c. 2. p. 420.

try, and produce in such abundance, that Sir *John Chardin* tells us, it is not worth above sixpence a pound; this steel is so full of sulphur, that if you take of the filings thereof and cast them into the fire, they make a report as loud as gun-powder; it is so fine and close, that it is as hard as a diamond, but on the other hand it is as brittle as glass; and as the *Persian* artizans know not how to correct this, they are able to make no very valuable instruments thereof. It is to be observed, that this steel is quite a different metal from iron, which appears from hence, that by giving it too fierce a fire it may be burnt and destroyed; the *Persians* call both this and the steel of the *Indies*, *steel of Damascus*, in order to distinguish it from *European* steel. Copper is found in greatest quantity at *Sary* in the mountains of *Maxenderan*; there are also mines of it in *Bactriana*, and towards *Casbin*; it is, however, poor and not fit for use, till mingled with either *Swedish* copper or copper of *Japan*; the lead mines are towards *Kirman* and *Yezde*. Minerals are also found in *Persia* in vast abundance, sulphur and salt-petre are taken out of the mountain of *Damavend*, which separates *Hyrkania* from *Parthia*. Salt is made here by nature without the least assistance of art, as are also sulphur and allom; there are two sorts of salt in *Persia*, that found on the earth and rock salt; nothing is more common than to meet in this country with plains, sometimes ten leagues in length, covered intirely with salt, and others covered in like manner with sulphur or allom; in *Media* and at *Spauhawn* the salt is dug out of mines, and is as hard and firm as free-stone, nay in *Carmania* the desert the people actually use it as such in building their houses. Marble, free-stone, and slate, are found in great plenty about *Hamadani*; the marble is of four colours, white, black, red, and black and white; the best is found about *Tauris*, it is transparent as crystal, its colour is white mingled with a pale green, but it is so soft that some have questioned whether it be really a stone or not; in the neighbourhood of the same city they find azure, but it is not so good as that of *Tartary*. In *Hyrkania*, and especially in *Maxenderan*, the *Petroleum* or *Naphthe* is met with, of two sorts, black and white, but the richest mine in *Persia* is the *Turquoise*; there are two sorts of this precious stone, one at *Nichapour* in *Corassan*, and the other in *Phirous-Cou*, or mount *Phirous*, between *Hyrkania* and *Parthia*, four leagues journey from the *Caspian* sea; this mountain derives its name from an antient king of *Persia*, who subdued this country, and in whose time the mine was found; nay, the very stones carry his name also, for though

we call them *Turquoises*, because they come from the true and proper *Turkey*, yet throughout the east they are stiled *Firouze*. They have of late years discovered another mine of the same sort of stones, but they are by no means so valuable, but are distinguished amongst us by the name of *Turquoises* of the new rock, to difference them from those taken out of the antient mines, which belong entirely to the king, who, after selecting the most beautiful, sells the rest to merchants; the reason why these late discovered turquoises are less valued than those of the old mines is, because they are less beautiful in their colour, and what colour they have is not thoroughly fixed, but grows paler by degrees, and at last wears almost quite out^a.

*Beasts
tame and
wild.*

THE horses of *Persia* are the most beautiful in the east, though they are not so much esteemed as those of *Arabia*; they are higher than our saddle horses, and their limbs as well proportioned as can be imagined; though there are great numbers of them, yet considering how much they are used, and the great demand made for them by the subjects of the mogul on one side, and of the grand seignior on the other, they are held at a very great price, a fine horse being sometimes valued at a thousand crowns. Next to horses we may reckon mules, which are much esteemed here, and are very fine, and next to these we may justly place asses, of which they have in this country two sorts, the first bred in *Persia*, heavy and doltish as asses in other countries are, the other originally of an *Arabian* breed, the most docile and useful creature of its kind in the world; these are used wholly for the saddle, and are very frequently adorned with fine accoutrements, because of their easy manner of going, and their being very sure-footed. The clergy, that have not great benefices, affect to ride much on these *Arabian* asses; and on this account these animals also are kept at a high rate, a good ass being worth at *Spaubawn* twenty five pistoles. Camels are numerous in *Persia*, and so much in esteem that they are called *Kechty-krouch-konion*, i. e. *the ships of the earth*, because the inland trade is carried on by the help of these camels as the foreign by ships: To describe this animal particularly here would be improper, since they are rather more employed by the *Arabians* than by the *Persians*; let us content ourselves therefore with observing, that the *Persians* make use of three sorts, a smaller, a larger, and a swifter kind of camel, than

^a CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 28. TAVERN. tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 221.
CARRI, tom. ii. p. 212.

are common elsewhere. The largest camels will travel with a load of twelve or thirteen hundred weight, the swifter kind of camel is called *Reuatrie*, i. e. *the gaer*, because they trot as fast as a horse can gallop. It is worthy of notice, that these creatures are managed entirely by the voice, those who direct them making use of a kind of song, and according as they keep a quicker or slower time the camel moves brisker, or at its ordinary pace. As beef is little eat in *Persia*, their oxen are generally imployed in ploughing and other sorts of labour. Hogs are no where bred in *Persia*, if we except a province or two on the borders of the *Caspian* sea; sheep and deer are very common throughout all *Persia*, and as to the former, Sir *John Chardin* assures us, that he has seen flocks of them which covered four or five leagues of pasturage. As to beasts of chace they are not so common here as in most of the countries of *Europe*, because it is, generally speaking, devoid of wood; but in *Hyrcania* where there are woods, deer of all sorts, and gazells are found in great abundance; the gazell is a creature common throughout the east, and so many of them have been brought into *Europe* that they need not any description. As to wild beasts, there are not a great number of them in this country, for the same reason which has been before assigned with respect to beasts of chace, except in *Hyrcania*, where in the woods there are great numbers of lions, bears, tygers, leopards, &c. so that the antients spoke very truly of *Hyrcania*, when they called it the country of wild beasts. One thing, however, is to be remarked, that neither here nor throughout all *Persia* are there any wolves; but the chakal or jackal, a creature which makes a terrible noise, and which many good writers take for the *Hyæna*, is common every where, and has this peculiar quality, that it tears up dead bodies, if the graves are not carefully watched; as to insects, the dryness of the air prevents our having much to say about them; there are, however, in some provinces prodigious numbers of locusts or grass-hoppers, which come in such clouds as to obscure the air. In certain parts of the *Persian* dominions they have large black scorpions, so venomous, that such as are stung by them die in a few hours; in others they have lizards frightfully ugly, which are an ell long, and as thick as a large toad, their skins being as hard and tough as that of the sea-dog; they are said to attack and kill men sometimes, but that may be doubted. Among the reptiles of this country there is a long worm called by the inhabitants *Hazar-pey*, i. e. *thousand feet*, its whole body is stuck with small feet, with which it runs prodigiously fast; it is longer and

smaller than a caterpillar, and its bite is dangerous, and even mortal, if it gets into the ear ².

Birds.

THERE are in *Persia* all the several sorts of fowl which we have in *Europe*, but not in such quantities, because they are chiefly bred and taken care of by the *Armenians*, who have frequently capons fatted to such a degree, that they are killed for nothing but their grease. There are, however, vast numbers of pigeons, wild and tame; and as the dung of pigeons is the best manure for melons, they keep great flocks all over the kingdom, so that it may be on just grounds presumed, that no country in the world has such a number of pigeon-houses; they are most of them six times as large as any we have in *Europe*, they are built of brick and plaistered on the outside, every thing being disposed in the most convenient manner possible for the preservation of these creatures. In the neighbourhood of *Spanbawn* they reckon more than three thousand of these pigeon-houses, chiefly erected for the preservation of the dung, which is sold for about three pence the dozen pound. The *Persians* call this manure *Tchalgous*, i. e. *enlivening*; it is a great diversion among the lower sort of people in town and country to catch pigeons, though it be forbidden; for this purpose they have pigeons so taught, that flying in one flock, they surround such wild ones as they find in a field and bring them back with them to their masters. People who follow this trade are called *kastor-perron*, or *pigeon-stealers*, and there are some so addicted to it, that they will lie out whole days in the very depth of winter, in order to carry on this foolish and wicked employment; for, under the notion of wild pigeons, they take every body's pigeons they can find. The partridge of this country are the largest and finest in the world, being generally of the size of our fowls; as to water-fowl, they have geese, ducks, cranes, herons, and many other sorts, but they are more plenty in the northern than the southern provinces; the singing-birds here are of the same kinds we have in *Europe*; the nightingale is heard here all the year, but chiefly in the spring; they have also martlets, which learn whatever words are taught them, and another bird of the same size, called by them *Noura*, which chatters continually, and repeats very pleasantly whatever it hears. As to birds of a larger size, the most considerable is the *Pelican*, called by the *Persians* *Tacab*, i. e. *water-carrier*, and also *Misc*. i. e. *sheep*, because it is as large as one of these animals; its feathers are white and soft like those of a goose,

² CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 32. TAVERN. tom. i l. iv. c. 3. p. 423. CARRERI, tom. ii. p. 215.

its head is much larger in proportion than its body, and its beak from eighteen to twenty inches long, and as thick as ones arm, under this beak it has a sack or pouch, in which it preserves a quantity of water for moistening its food ; it usually rests this long beak on its back, which would otherwise incommode it very much. The *Pelican* lives chiefly upon fish, in taking of which it shews an admirable contrivance, by placing its beak in such a manner under the water, as to catch them as it were in a net ; when it opens its throat, the passage is large enough for a lamb ; it is called *the water-carrier*, because in *Arabia* and other places where water is hard to be had, it makes its nest at a great distance from streams or wells, foreseeing that there will be less danger of disturbance in such places, though this situation obliges the bird to fly sometimes two days journey for a supply of water for her young, which she brings in the sack before-mentioned ; and hence the fable of the antients of the pelican's tearing her breast open to feed her young. There are in *Persia* various birds of prey, and in the mountains, about fifteen or twenty leagues from *Schiras*, there are some of the largest and finest in the world. The people take great pains in teaching them to fly at game, and the king has generally eight hundred of these birds, each of which has a person to attend it. The *Persian* lords are likewise great lovers of falconry, and even the common people practise it much ; for neither this, nor shooting, nor hunting with dogs, is forbid to the meanest man in *Persia* ^b.

WE shall divide the fishes of *Persia* into fresh and salt water *Fish*. fish ; as to the first, they are not very plenty, because there are no great rivers in *Persia* ; however, there are of these three kinds, those of the lakes, of the rivers, and of the *Kerises* or subterraneous passages ; those in the lakes are carps and shads ; the river-fish is chiefly barbel, which is also the sort of fish commonly met with in the subterraneous channels ; they are very large, but they are by no means good, and their eggs are particularly dangerous, which is generally attributed to their never beholding the light of the sun, but living altogether in these foul and cold streams. There are in the river at *Spashawn* a great number of crabs which crawl up the trees, and live night and day under the leaves, whence they are taken, and are esteemed a very delicious food. As to sea-fish, no country is better served ; the *Caspian* sea, as we have seen before, contains very fine fish on one side, and

^b CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 38. TAVERN. tom. i. l. iv. c. 3. p. 225. CARRI, tom. ii. p. 214.

the *Persian* gulph on the other is believed to have more fish in it than any other sea in the world; they fish there twice a day, morning and evening, and such fish as are not sold by ten o'clock in the morning, or before sun-set, are thrown back into the sea. There are taken on the coasts of this gulph a sort of fish, for which they have no particular name, its flesh is of a red colour, very delicious, and some of them weigh two or three hundred pounds; its flesh will take salt like beef, but it cannot be kept long, because the salt in this country is very corrosive; for which reason, whenever they intend to keep either fish or flesh, the inhabitants content themselves either with drying it in the air, or by the help of smoke^c.

Natural
rarities.

As we have now examined the productions of the air, earth, and waters of *Persia*, we are next to speak of the natural rarities which are to be found in this large empire. Of these the first we are to take notice of is a certain poisonous shrub or plant, called by the *Arabians* *Ghark*, by the *Persians* *Gulbad Samour*, i. e. *the wind-poisoning flower*; it flowers like the thistle, and has pods filled with a thick white liquor of the consistence of cream, sharp and sour to the taste; it is affirmed, that wherever the wind blows over a member of these plants, as it does frequently in *Carmania the desert*, it thence contracts a poisonous quality, which proves mortal to the next that respire it^d. There is likewise another shrub in the same country, viz. *Carmania the desert*, singularly noxious, it is called *Kerzehre*, i. e. *asses poison*, because those creatures are apt to eat of its fruit which generally proves mortal. The very water that washes its roots is likewise held to be poisonous, the trunk of this shrub is as large as one's leg, and it sometimes grows to the height of six feet; its bark is remarkably rough, and of a bright green colour, its leaves perfectly round, with a rising point in the middle; it bears a sort of flower exactly resembling the rose, of a kind of flesh-colour, whence it is apprehended, that the *Greeks* called it *Rhododendron*, the *Arabians* as well as the *Persians* call it the gall or poison of an ass. Some are of opinion, that it is the *Nerium* of our herbalists, and the same plant that is called in *French* *Rosage*^e. The goats, both wild and tame, which feed on the shore of the *Persian* gulph, afford the bezoar, so much esteemed in medicine, but the very best is taken out of these creatures in the province of *Corassan* or *Bactria*, and

^c CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 44. TAVERN. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 11, p. 424. CARERI, tom. ii. p. 210.

^d CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 13.

^e CHARDIN, ubi supra.

is thought to excel by far the bezoar of *Golconda* and the rest of the *Indies*. The naturalists in *Persia* give it as their opinion, that the more dry and hard the food is, on which the animal lives, the more salutiferous and efficacious the bezoar found in it proves. *Corassan* and the coasts of the *Persian* gulph are allowed to produce the dryest herbage in the world. It is no fable what has been reported, as to the formation of bezoar, for there is generally found in the core of such balls, lumps, or stones as it grows in, a little sprig of bramble or other bush, round which by a continual accession of matter the ball of bezoar is formed; this stone is here found in sheep as well as in goats, but it is not so in the *Indies*. Its very name is of oriental extract, and should be wrote *Pe-zaor*, i. e. *poison killing*, for the eastern people held it heretofore to be one of the strongest counter-poisons; quacks, however, were those who commended it most, and its virtues were rather taken upon trust, than supported by experience: the number of the credulous, however being great, raised its price very high; but of late years it is much sunk in its reputation, as well in the east as in *Europe*, it being now regarded chiefly as a sudorific, and thought no very extraordinary thing in that class. The manner of giving it in *Persia* is thus, they either scrape or powder it, and put about two or three grains for a dose into a spoonful of rose-water. While it was dear, it was often counterfeited, and the materials made use of to this end were, generally speaking, resin and *Spanish* wax. It may not be amiss to observe, that the polish which bezoar stones generally have, is artificial, for when they are taken out of the creature, their outside is of a rough greenish hue, just as the stone appears within it. The *Abmelec*, i. e. *water of locusts*, or *grasshoppers*, is a bird which deserves to be described better perhaps than most others of which travellers have given us an account, because the facts relating to it are not only strange in themselves, but are also so well and so distinctly attested, that, however surprising they may seem, we cannot but afford them our belief. The food of this creature is the locust, or grasshopper. It is of the size of an ordinary hen, its feathers black, its wings large, and its flesh of a greyish colour; they fly generally in great flocks, as the starlings are wont to do with us; but the thing which renders these birds wonderful is, that they are so fond of the water of a certain fountain in *Corassan*, or *Bactria*, that wherever that water is carried, they follow; on which account it is carefully preserved; for wherever the locusts fall, the *Armenian*

! CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 19.

priests,

priests, who are provided with this water, bring a quantity of it, and place it in jars, or pour it into little channels in the fields, the next day whole troops of these birds arrive, and quickly deliver the people from the locusts^s (R). The river *Mahmoudker*, i. e. *Mahmoud the deaf*, is a noble natural rarity. At some distance from *Spaubawn* there is a range of rocks, plain and equal for a considerable space, except that here and there they have openings, like the embrasures in bastions, through which the winds pass with surprising velocity; through these rocks falls the river we mentioned into a noble basin, partly wrought by the water itself, and partly formed by art. As one ascends the mountain, certain natural chinks shew the water at the bottom of it, like a sleeping lake covered with rocks and mountains; it is thought to be of unfathomable depth, and when stones are thrown into it, they make a most amazing noise, whence this river derives its name. After its descent from the basin before mentioned, it

^s CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 40. TAVERN. tom. i. l. iv. c. 3. p. 426.

(R) Sir *John Chardin* has given us in his description of *Persia* the following passage from an antient traveller in relation to this bird. "In *Cyprus*, about the time that the corn was ripe for the sickle, the earth produced such a quantity of cavalettes or locusts, that they obscured sometimes the splendor of the sun. Wherever these came they burnt and eat up all; for this there was no remedy, since as fast as they were destroyed the earth produced more; God, however, raised them up a means for their deliverance, which happened thus. In *Persia*, near the city of *Cuerch*, there is a fountain of water, which has a wonderful property of destroying these insects; for a pitcher full of this, being carried in the open air, without passing through house or vault, and being set on a high place, certain birds which follow it, and fly and cry after the men who carry it from the fountain, come to the place where it is fixed; these birds are red and black, and fly in great flocks together like starlings, the *Turks* and *Persians* call them *Musulians*. These birds no sooner came to *Cyprus*, but they destroyed the locusts with which the island was infested; but if the water be spilt or lost, these creatures immediately disappear, which accident fell out when the *Turks* took this island, for one of them going up into the steeple of *Famagusta*, and finding there a pitcher of this water, he, fancying that it contained gold or silver, or some precious thing, broke it, and spilt what was therein, since which the *Cypriots* have been as much tormented as ever by the locusts" (77).

(77) *Voyag. de Villamont*. p. 97. ap. *Chardin*, tom. iii. p. 40.

rouls

rouls along the plain, till at last it falls into the river *Zenderoud*; some are of opinion, that this river does not derive its water from springs, but from the snow on the tops of the mountains, which, melting gradually, distills through the chinks of the rocks into the vast lake before mentioned; and this they think, is in some measure proved from the acrimonious taste of these waters, which is, however, lost after it joins the *Zenderoud*^h. Under a certain mountain called *Tagte-Rustan*, so called from the ruins of a building on the summit thereof, supposed to have been erected by the giant *Rustan*, there runs a grotto, which deserves a place among the natural rarities of *Persia*; from the top of this grotto there distills through the whole mountain, in two or three places, fresh water, which falling into proper receptacles, forms two or three distinct streams, which issue from thence to water the plain. In this grotto, about the beginning of *April*, a great number of *Indians* assemble to celebrate a feast in honour of a hermit or saint of theirs, who lived long here, and the whole cave is full of shreds or rags of peoples garments, who have come hither to be cured of their diseases, and have found relief. Not far from hence there is a mountain, where they pick up a sort of blue stones, very hard and shining, which they make use of in adorning their mosques, tombs, and other public buildings. We might add a multitude of other articles of this nature, if the description of *Persia* did not already begin to swell under our hands; though we have used all the caution in our power to prevent its containing any thing, which may not be useful and instructive, as well as entertaining, to the reader. Let us now pass to the artificial rarities visible in *Persia*.

To begin then with the antient *Persepolis*, the ruins of which still testify the truth of what some antient writers have affirmed, that in the day of its prosperity it was one of the most august cities in the world; nay, when we consider all things, when we compare the descriptions of travellers one with another; when we consider what is recorded of other cities, and what is still to be seen of those that were most famed; we shall be induced to confess, that the *Persian* empire in all its grandeur could boast of nothing more glorious, nor have left any thing more astonishing to posterity, than the preport and ruins of this city. Should we pretend to give a full account of these noble remains, it would extend much farther than it is reasonable this chapter should go. We are

^h CHARDIN, tom. ii. p. 2.
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ⁱ LE BRUN, tom. i. p. 246.
L 11 writing

writing a geographical description of *Persia*; we ought to omit nothing that may give the reader a distinct idea of this country, or which may enable him to understand thoroughly that history which is to follow; but in doing this we are to remember, that this geographical description and this history are but sections of a far greater work, and therefore we must have a care that it be of a piece, and not resemble a statue, with the body and arms of a man, and the hands, or even the finger, of a giant. For this reason we think ourselves obliged to contract the many diffusive accounts, which we have read of the ruins of *Persopolis*, within a reasonable compass, giving the reader such an account as may enable him to conceive how grand and how magnificent they are, and at the same time how useful fine draughts and exact relations of them may be, towards settling many points of antient history, and giving us just notions of the spirit and genius of that nation, whose capital this was. In doing this we shall not involve ourselves in the disputes of travellers, or attempt to decide whether *Le Brun* be in the right in his criticisms, or rather invectives, against *Sir John Chardin*, our business is to give a succinct prospect of what has been said of *Persopolis*, by authors antient and modern, and therefore to this let us come without farther preface (S).

THE

(S) In order to give the reader some idea of the difficulty we have met with in collecting this article, we shall here give him a concise account of such authors as have written on this subject, and whose descriptions we have perused. The first is *Sir Thomas Herbert*, who in his travels has a long relation, not only of what himself saw at *Persopolis*, but of what has been said by antient authors on that head. He has given us also a specimen of the characters which are to be seen in the tablets belonging to these ruins, which agrees perfectly well with the drawings of *Le Brun*. He has likewise inserted his conjectures concerning these antiquities, which are neither improbable nor injudicious, but as we shall be obliged to mention most of these from *M. Le Brun*, it would be unnecessary to trouble the reader with them here, we shall therefore add only to what we have already said concerning the remarks of our worthy countryman, that the draught which he has left us of these ruins is far from being exact, and can hardly be said to bear any resemblance to the accurate descriptions of *Chardin* and *Le Brun* (79). Prior in point of time to *Sir Thomas Herbert*, but far inferior to him in every other respect, is the concise description of these remains of antiquity given by our countryman *Mr. Geofry Duckett*, who in 1568 passed

(79) *Sir Thomas Herbert's travels in Harris's collect. Vol. I. p. 429.*
this

THE plain in which this famous city stood is one of the finest in *Persia*, and indeed in all the east; its length is eighteen or nineteen leagues, its breadth in some places two, in others

this way. The main of what he says may be reduced to this, that *Persopolis* was 12 miles broad from gate to gate, whether this deserves any credit, or whether it was the slip of an inadvertent author, as well as heedless observer, we presume not to determine (80). *John Albert de Mandelsloe*, who observed these ruins in the year 1638, has left us a better description of them than most of the writers who went before him, and as there is something very plain and instructive in what he has left us on this subject, it cannot but be agreeable to the reader to compare what he has said with what we have recorded in the text. "The foundation or ground-work, on which this vast structure was erected, is raised 22 geometrical feet, having at each of its four corners a pair of stairs of white marble of 95 steps, so flat and broad that twelve horses may go up conveniently together abreast. Before you come to the main body of the structure itself you pass through a square, where you see the ruins of a wall and the remainders of two great gates, each of which have a horse harnessed and saddled after a very antic manner, carved on one side, and on the other two creatures resembling a horse, except that they have wings on each side, and the head is crowned, and like that of a lion. On the one side you see the ruins of 19 pillars of white and black marble, the least of which are 8, and some 10 ells high without the bases, but whether they had been intended for the support of some large hall, or were built purely in the air is not to be distinguished at this time". The same author, speaking of some unintelligible characters engraven on a square pillar, tells us, there are twelve lines of them so well proportioned and nicely engraven, that they carry not in them the least mark of barbarity, but seem rather to have been wrought in a nice well-judging age; he complains of the rudeness of the inhabitants, who, without the least regard to so noble and so antient a palace, carry away large quantities of marble and other stone, for the quicker dispatch of common and private buildings; he also deplores the want of perfect draughts of these wonderful fragments of the antient magnificence of *Persia* (81). Sir *John Chardin* in the year 1674, took a view of these ruins, examined them with great care and pains, as appears from the large and particular account of them inserted in the second volume of his travels; it is true, *M. Le Brun*, who stayed there a much longer time than he, and who had consequently a better opportunity of studying and describing what he saw than this gentle-

(80) *Account of Mr. Geofry Duckett's Travels in Harris's collect. Vol. I. p. 526.* (81) *J. A. Mandelsloe's travels in Harris's collect. Vol. I.*

others four, and in some places six ; it is watered by the great river *Araxes* or *Bendemir*, and by a multitude of rivulets besides. Within the compass of this plain, there are between a thousand and fifteen hundred villages, without reckoning those

man had, attacks him very warmly on the head of his description ; but whoever reads, with calmness and candour, what Sir *John Chardin*, with great perspicuity and without the least affectation of learning, has delivered on this head, will be of opinion, that how much nicer and more exact soever the descriptions of *M. Le Brun* may be, yet both the narration and the cuts of Sir *John Chardin* are excellent in their kind, and serve to communicate to us a multitude of useful particulars which are no where else recorded (82). Dr. *Gemelli Carreri* has written a whole chapter under the title of a description of the palace of *Darius*, and the ruins of the antient *Persepolis* ; it is concise as all his descriptions are, and the observations he makes are short and weighty, according to the custom of *Italian* authors. He has illustrated his narration with a few prints, which serve to give a competent idea of the magnificence of this antient city, and to demonstrate the conformity there is between the several accounts of these ruins contained in the works of intelligent writers (83). *M. Le Brun*, who arrogates to himself a great superiority over all the writers on this subject, spent a long time in surveying, measuring, and drawing views of these fragments of antiquity, he has taken up upwards of thirty folio pages in describing what he saw, and remarking on the intentions of those who designed the several figures, of which he has given us copies which are certainly very useful, as well as very beautiful ornaments to his book. Besides, he has written a long dissertation on the difference between his account and that of Sir *John Chardin*, wherein the antiquities of *Persepolis* are farther explained (84). From these materials a very copious description, and very curious observations, might have been thrown together, especially when we consider, that, besides travellers, several other writers of great eminence have left us their thoughts on this subject, such as the most judicious Dr. *Hyde* in his learned book of the religion of the antient *Persians*, wherein he has explained with great knowledge and learning some of the enigmatical figures represented on the walls and pillars of these antient buildings (85) ; but it is our business to hint only where the curious and inquisitive reader may be informed at large, as to all the extraordinary particulars relating to these monuments of the *Persian* glory, our description being no more than the out lines of a regular dissertation on this head, for which what has been said above, and what we have advanced in this note, will, we hope, serve for a sufficient apology.

(82) *Chardin voyag. tom. ii. p. 140—197.* (83) *Carreri voyag tom ii p. 246.* (84) *Le Brun. voyag. tom. ii. p. 285.*
 (85) *Hyde. Hist. relig. vet. pers. p. 344.*

in the mountains, all adorned with pleasant gardens, and planted with shady trees. The entrance of this plain on the west side has received as much grandeur from nature, as the city it covers could do from industry or art. It consists of a range of mountains steep and high, four leagues in length and about two miles broad, forming two flat banks, with a rising terrace in the middle, the summit of which is perfectly plain and even, all of native rock. In this there are such openings, and the terraces are so fine, and so even, that one would be tempted to think the whole the work of art, if the great extent and prodigious elevation thereof did not convince one, that it is a wonder too great for ought but nature to produce. Undoubtedly these banks were the very places where the advanced guards from *Persepolis* took post, and from which *Alexander* found it so difficult to dislodge them. One cannot from hence descry the ruins of the city, because the banks are too high to be overlooked, but one can perceive on every side the ruins of walls and of edifices, which heretofore adorned the range of mountains, of which we are speaking. On the west and on the north this city is defended in the like manner, so that, considering the height and evenness of these banks, one may safely say, with a late ingenious traveller, that there is not in the world a place so fortified by nature ^k. The antient palace of the kings of *Persia*, called by the inhabitants *Chil-minar*, i. e. *forty columns*, is situated at the foot of the mountain; the walls of this superb building are still standing on their sides, and it has the mountain on the east. The front is in extent six hundred paces from north to south, and three hundred and ninety from east to west, quite to the rock, without any stair-case on that side, till one comes to the mountain, where, by the help of certain ragged stones, it is easy to get to the lowest part of the wall, where it is not above eighteen feet seven inches in height, and in some places not so high. This curtain is four hundred and ten paces in length, on the north, and one and twenty foot high in some places; but in most thirty quite to the mountain, where there is still a corner of the wall, and in the middle an entrance, by which one may get up to the top by broken pieces of the rock. One finds also before the west side several rocks, which rise towards the north, till they are even with the wall, appearing like a kind of platform, extending eighty paces before it. It seems, as if there had been a stair-case antiently on this side, and some buildings without this curtain, the rocks being very smooth in many places. On the top of this edifice there is a

^k CHARDIN. tom. ii. p. 141. LE BRUN. tom. ii. p. 261.

platform

platform of 400 paces, which extends itself in the middle of the front-wall, quite to the mountain. Along this wall, and all the three sides, runs a pavement of two stones joined together, which fill up a space eight foot broad; part of these stones are eight, nine, and ten feet long, and six in breadth, but the rest are smaller. The principal stair-case is not placed in the middle of the front, but much nearer the north end than the south, being six hundred paces distant from this, and only a hundred and sixty five from that; this stair-case is composed of two flights of stairs, forty two feet asunder at bottom. Its depth is 25 feet 7 inches to the wall, from whence proceed the steps, which are as long as the stair-case is deep within five inches; each of these steps is four inches high, and fourteen in breadth, so that nothing can be more commodious. There are fifty five on the north side, and fifty three on the south, but the latter are not so whole as the former. Ascending thus high, one meets with a landing-place, fifty one feet four inches broad, proportioned exactly to the breadth of the stair-case; the stones of this landing-place are of an extraordinary size. The two flights of the stair-case are separated by the wall of the front, but in such a manner, that they decline from each other to the middle, and incline towards each other from the middle to the top, which has a wonderful effect on the eye, and suits perfectly well with that magnificence which reigns throughout every other part of the building.

THE upper part of this stair-case consists of 48 steps on one side and on the other, some of which are damaged, notwithstanding they are cut in the rock. At the top of these there is another landing-place, between the flights of stairs, 75 feet broad, paved with great stones, some 13 or 14 feet long, and 7 or 8 broad¹ (T).

To

¹ LE BRUN, ubi supr. CHARDIN, ubi supr.

(T) In the description in our text we have adhered pretty closely to M. *Le Brun*, and that for many reasons; first because his profession, which was that of a painter, rendered him more capable of describing minutely, and of designing exactly, all the wonders of *Persepolis*, than any former traveller, whom either business or curiosity had led that way. Secondly, this gentleman had, as we have more than once hinted, determined with himself to consider more attentively, and to examine more nicely, these relics of *Persian* architecture, than any other author had done. Thirdly, he had not only all the authors we have mentioned in our last note, but Mons.
Chardin's

To speak now of what is to be seen when one is amongst these ruins. The first thing that salutes the eye in a strait line, 42 feet distant from the front before described, are two great porticoes and two columns. The pavement of the first is much damaged by time, and the second is sunk five feet lower than the former, these porticoes are 22 feet 4 inches in depth, and 13 feet 4 inches in breadth. One sees in the front of each pilaster a large figure cut in bass-relief, 22 feet in length from its fore to its hind feet, and 14 feet and a half

Chardin's curious plans to direct him, and it may be to correct him, in his notions on this head. Fourthly, there is such an agreement, in material points at least, between his accounts and those of *Chardin*, notwithstanding his affecting on all occasions to quarrel with that gentleman's sentiments, that we did not think it at all necessary to trouble the reader with any particulars of a dispute of no great importance in itself, and which, though prosecuted with warmth, seems to have been commenced out of vanity. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the fame of these ruins has, for the two or three last centuries, been so great, and the desires of the *Virtuosi* to see exact plans of them so strong, that some have ventured to publish the conceptions of their own brains for the antiquities of *Chilminar*. Such was the view of *Persepolis* sent into the world by *Sebastian Serlio* an *Italian* architect, in his account of noble buildings antient and modern, since therein are found just forty columns adorned with chapiters of the *Corinthian* order, which no traveller ever had the happiness to see. In the voyages of *John Struys*, amongst a multitude of other strange things and temerarious assertions, we have a wild description of these ruins, and a wilder plan, said in the title page of the book to be drawn by the author's own hand, which, if it were, he certainly drew by guess; since it is not only quite different from the plans published by others, but contains also such palpable mistakes, as never could have been committed by an eye-witness of these noble works, especially one who looked on them with a design of describing them to the rest of mankind. We are not, however, to fancy, that wherever travellers differ in their accounts, one of them must be mistaken. *M. Le Brun* and *Sir John Chardin* vary very little in what they say, relating to the pillars yet standing at *Persepolis*; but there is a considerable difference on this head between what they say and what we find recorded in the writings of *Figueras*, *Herbert*, and *Thevenot*, all of whom testify nearly to the same point. Time and the barbarity of the modern *Persians*, who make very little account of these ruins, have made considerable alterations since they were first described; and it is very probable, that whoever sees them twenty years hence, will find them not exactly answerable to what is said of them by *M. Le Brun* (86).

(86) *Le Brun. Voyag. tom. ii. p. 152.*

high. The heads of these animals are entirely destroyed, their breasts and feet project from the pilaster, and their bodies are very much damaged. Those of the first portico front towards the stair-case, and those of the second which have wings on their bodies towards the mountains. One sees above the pilasters certain characters, but they are so small and so high that one can make nothing of them. The first portico is still 39 feet high, and the second 28. The bases of the pilasters are five feet two inches high. The animals are not carved out of one stone, but out of three joined together for that purpose. In the present condition it is not easy to decide what they were intended for, tho' many authors have given the world their conjectures, of which the reader will find some account in the authors cited at the bottom of the foregoing pages, and will judge for himself which is the most probable of those taken notice of there.

THE two columns which stand between the two porticoes are more entire than any other part of the ruins. They are of white marble, fluted, and wonderfully beautiful, that is as to their chapters and other ornaments, for as to their bases they are covered with earth; they are 26 feet from the first portico, and 56 from the second, 14 feet in circumference, and 54 high. There were certainly two others between these and the last portico, of which there are still some remains, great pieces of marble lying about half buried in the earth: 52 feet from the last mentioned portico southward, there is a large cistern cut out of a whole stone, 20 feet long, 17 feet 5 inches broad, and three feet above the earth. From thence to the wall there is a space of about 150 paces, in which one finds nothing but broken pieces of stone, and the remains of a column which appears to have been unfluted, and therein differs from all the rest; it is about two feet in compass and 12 and a half long: from it to the mountain, there is nothing to be met with but wild heaps of broken stones.

TURNING from these porticoes to the south, one sees at the distance of 172 feet another stair-case, consisting of two flights of steps in the same manner as the former, one fronting towards the east, the other towards the west. The wall is still about six feet 7 inches high, but in the middle 'tis almost entirely ruined. The extent is 83 feet of the east flight of stairs, and it is evident enough from the lowermost of them, that they were adorned with figures in bas-relief. On the top of the stair-case are still some foliages, visible with figures in bas-relief of a lion tearing a bull, larger than the life. The stair-case is half buried in earth, and one sees certain small figures on the wall, on both sides. The west flight consists of

of 28 steps; the other having suffered more by the accession of the earth, has now but 18, each 17 feet long, three inches high, 14 inches and a half broad. There are many of these towards the top broken, and two or three entirely destroyed, tho' cut out of the rock. At the end of the landing-place, from the stair-case, there is another front whereon there are three rows of small figures, one above another; of the first row there is nothing now to be seen but the parts below the girdle, the rest being destroyed by time; the second row, which is the best preserved, has notwithstanding received great injuries; and as to the third, there is nothing now above ground but their heads. These figures are two feet nine inches high, and the wall, of which there is still five feet three inches above ground, is 98 feet in extent from the first step to its left corner, where there is another stair-case, the steps of which are exactly of the same size with those before described. From what remains of the inner wall it appears, that it also was covered with small figures. At the end of the stair-case there is another wall, which extends 90 feet beyond the landing-place; the corner turns a little to the south, and goes no farther, because the earth is there at the same height; returning to the west flight of steps of the stair-case before mentioned, we meet with a wall 45 feet in length, beyond the bottom of the stair-case, with an interval of 67 feet to the west front. This Side like the former is adorned with three rows of figures, and a lion tearing a bull or an ass, with a horn in its forehead; between these animals and the figures, there is a square space filled with characters, of which the highest are quite effaced; the figures on this side are fairer than on the other, the ground being less elevated; there are 25 steps here. The wall from the stair-case westward extends quite to the front; but beyond the stair-case is unadorned with figures.

At the step of the stair-case, between the two flights of stairs, there is an open place, paved with very large stones between the stair-case and the first columns, which are 22 feet and two inches distant; they stand in two rows, each consisting of six columns, of which there is only one remaining entire, eight bases, and some broken pieces of the rest. There are six rows of columns 70 feet eight inches distant from these, each row consisting of six columns. These thirty six columns are 22 feet two inches one from the other as the former are. There are still seven of these entire, with the bases of all the rest, but much broken and defaced. Of those which are left, there is one of the first row, one of the second, two of the third, and one of each of the rest. One finds, between these columns and those before mention-

ed, several large stones, heretofore part of some subterraneous building. Seventy feet eight inches west from these columns, towards the front of the stair-case, there were 12 columns more, disposed in two rows, of which there are only five remaining. The bases of seven more are visible, and the ground is covered with ruins of those which are decayed. One can discover, however, among the fragments of those ornaments, which lie half interred, that each of these columns was surmounted by the figure of a camel kneeling. To the south of these columns stands the edifice most elevated of any in these ruins, but it is necessary for us to observe, that on the east there are still discernible two rows of columns, consisting of six each, of which the bases of four or five remain still above the earth, and in all appearance these were opposed to other rows of columns which were in the front. Advancing still towards the mountains, one finds the ruins of many buildings, consisting of porticoes, passages, and windows, the porticoes are adorned with figures, and these ruins take up a great space; but to return to the edifice spoken of before, it extends 118 feet from the columns; and the wall of its front is yet five feet seven inches high, composed of one row of stones only, some of which are eight feet broad, extending from east to west 113 feet. There is before the edifice certain stone foundations still visible, but what end they served cannot be guessed, since there is no stair-case on this side. This wall is adorned with no sort of ornament as the rest are; there are, however, two stair-cases, one on the north, the other on the south-side, but almost entirely ruined; on the landing-place, however, we still discover the remains of porticoes which an earthquake threw down; all the rest of the building, which consists of great and little porticoes, is entirely ruined, the ground covered with the fragments is about 147 feet in length, and nearly square. On the north there are two porticoes, and three niches or windows walled up, and on the south a portico and four windows open. There are two other porticoes, which are not covered, on the west, with two openings; and a third to the east, with three niches or windows walled up. Six of these openings are without cornices, and there remains but half a one to the east. One sees under the two porticoes on the north, on each side, the figure of a man, and of two women from their knees upwards, their legs being covered with earth; under one of those on the west side, there is the figure of a man fighting with a bull, which has a horn in its forehead, the man holds this with his left

left hand, and strikes a poignard into the belly of the beast with his right; on the other side the figures are the same, excepting only, that the man holds the horn with his right hand, and stabs the beast with his left. In the second portico there is the figure of a man holding a beast, resembling either a deer or a lion, by such a horn in its forehead, and with wings upon his back. Under the portico to the north, the same figures are visible, only the man combats here a true lion, which he holds by the mane; these figures have half their legs buried under the earth. On both sides of the portico towards the south, there is the figure of a man, with an ornament on his head resembling a crown, attended by two women, one of whom holds an umbrella over his head, and the other has some ensign of authority in her hand. Above these figures are three niches full of characters. On the pilasters of the first portico, which are out of their places, and lie near the flight of stairs last mentioned, there are two men, each armed with a lance, which the one holds with both hands, the other only in his left; one of these only is entire. Behind this edifice one finds another of much the same kind, except that it is 38 feet longer, with a niche or window blocked up, and another open, with two stones standing up, one on the right hand, the other on the left: Of these, that towards the east is broken, the other towards the west is still 28 feet high. There is on the top of this stone three niches or tablets full of characters, and a fourth below which seems to have been cut after the rest. The like inscriptions are seen in the niches or windows before mentioned, each tablet consisting of one stone only. To the south there are two flights of stairs, the one to the east, the other to the west; but of these only five steps are remaining; and on the wings, as well as on the wall which separates them, there are still visible some small figures and foliages, though half buried in the ground: a hundred feet from thence to the south, the last ruins are found of these edifices, consisting chiefly of porticoes and enclosed spaces of ground, and between these two heaps of ruins another stair-case, of which only seven steps are remaining, which serve, however, to shew that antiently they were adorned with figures and foliages. On the east side of this stair-case there are certain subterraneous passages, in which the inhabitants imagine great treasures are hid. *M. Le Brun* entered them, as several travellers have done before, but was quickly obliged to return without making any discoveries, the passages being so narrow, and so dark, and moist, that it was impossible to go far. However, even these experiments are sufficient to shew, that the con-

jectures of the inhabitants are very indifferently founded, since from the structure of these vaults we are left to judge they were rather intended for carrying off water, or some such like purpose, than to be made the repositories of royal treasures ^m.

THERE would be no difficulty in following *M. Le Brun's* description much farther, or in adding thereto his particular delineations of the pillars, niches, and figures spoken of before; but for the reasons already given we shall stop here, that we may have room to say somewhat as to the conjectures of the learned, concerning these remains of the magnificence of antient times. The processions delineated on the walls, the vases in the hands of many of the figures, the several tablets of unknown characters, and the many hieroglyphical representations, which are still seen in these ruins, have led some great men into an opinion, that this antient structure was a temple, dedicated to the deities worshipped in *Persia*. Others, with much greater reason, have delivered it as their sentiment, that these ruins are what remain of the antient palace of *Persepolis*, which they think strongly confirmed by the description left us by antient authors of that noble pile of building. As to the figures in procession, those who adhere to this notion say, that they represent a birth-day feast of one of the *Persian* emperors, when his courtiers were wont to bring him presents; as to the inscriptions, they are, generally speaking illegible by the *Perses* or antient *Persians* themselves, so that hardly any argument can be deduced from them. The hieroglyphics might as well serve for ornaments to a palace as to a temple, and, it may be, were some of the spoils of *Egypt*, brought thence by *Cambyse's* army, led by *Smerdis* the *Magian*. However this be, certain it is, that the habits of these figures agree perfectly well with the descriptions of the old *Median* and *Persian* robes, as they are recorded in *Greek* writers. On the whole, therefore, it may be presumed, that whatever this edifice was, it was actually erected by the kings of the first race, since nothing seen there carries the aspect of later times; but whether *Cyrus* was the founder, or whether this palace was begun by *Darius*, and finished by *Xerxes*, is a point not easily, if at all, to be determined. From a view of the figures visible on the walls, pillars, &c. it seems probable to us, that they were enigmatical representations, at least for the most part, of the course of the heavenly bodies, and of the effects produced by them; but of this, and of the reasons which in-

^m *LE BRUN*, Vol. ii. p. 268.

cline us to believe it, we shall take occasion to discourse more largely in our section on the religion of the antient *Persians*. The traditions of the natives in respect to these antiquities are generally represented by travellers, as confused, extravagant and not to be depended on. This may, however, in some measure arise from their want of acquaintance with oriental history, which is not always so fabulous and incoherent as it is represented to be; there is, and there ever will be, a wide difference between the narrative style of these eastern nations, and that in use amongst us; but as we shall elsewhere shew, even in respect to these ruins, certainty may be deduced, as well from the hyperbolical relations of eastern writers, as from the artful memoirs of some of our western historians (V).

AT

(V) In this note we intend to examine, in as short a compass as possible, what antient writers have delivered concerning the city and palace of *Persepolis*; to begin then with what is said by *Diodorus the Sicilian* on this subject: He relates, that, after passing the river *Araxes*, *Alexander* met with near 800 *Greeks*, most of them old men, some having their hands, others their feet, some their ears, and some their noses, cut off, which had been done by the *Persians* of that district; which so incensed him, especially against the inhabitants of *Persepolis*, that he called, says our author, the *Macedonians* together and told them, "That *Persepolis*, the metropolis of *Persia*, of all the cities of *Asia*, had done most mischief to the *Grecians*, and therefore he gave it up to the plunder and spoil of the soldiers, except the king's palace. This was the richest city of any under the sun, and for many ages all the private houses were full of all sorts of wealth, and whatever was desirable. The *Macedonians* therefore, forcing into the city, put all the men to the sword, and rifled and carried away every man's goods and estate, amongst which was abundance of rich and costly furniture, and ornaments of all sorts. In this place was hurried away here and there vast quantities of silver, and no less of gold, great numbers of rich garments, some of purple, others embroidered with gold, all which became a plentiful prey to the ravenous soldiers. And thus the royal seat of the *Persians*, once famous throughout the world, was now exposed to scorn and contempt, and rifled from top to bottom. For, though every place was full of rich spoil, yet the covetousness of the *Macedonians* was insatiably still thirsting after more. And they were so eager in plundering, that they fought one with another with drawn swords, and many who were conceived to have got a greater share than the rest, were killed in the quarrel. Some things that were of extraordinary value they divided with their swords, and each took a share; others in
" rage

AT two leagues distance from these ruins, there is a famous mountain, seated between two of the finest plains in the

“ rage cut off the hands of such as laid hold upon a thing that
 “ was in dispute. They first ravished the women, as they were
 “ in their jewels and rich attire, and then sold them for slaves.
 “ So that by how much *Persepolis* excelled all the other cities in
 “ glory and worldly felicity, by so much more was the measure of
 “ their misery and calamity. Then *Alexander* seized upon all the
 “ treasures in the citadel, which was a vast quantity of gold and
 “ silver, of the public revenues that had been heaping up, and de-
 “ posited there from the time of *Cyrus*, the first king of *Persia*,
 “ to that day. For there was found an hundred and twenty thou-
 “ sand talents, reckoning the gold after the rate of silver. Part
 “ of this treasure he took for the use of the war, and ordered
 “ another part of it to be treasured up at *Susa*. To this purpose,
 “ he ordered, that a multitude of mules, both for draught and
 “ carriage, and three thousand camels with pack-saddles should be
 “ brought out of *Babylon*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Susa*, and with these
 “ he conveyed all the treasures to the several places he had ap-
 “ pointed. For, by reason of his great hatred to the inhabitants,
 “ he was resolved not to trust them with any thing, but utterly
 “ to ruin and destroy *Persepolis*: Of whose palace in regard of its
 “ stately structure, we conceive it will not be impertinent if we
 “ say something. This stately fabric or citadel was surrounded
 “ with a treble wall: the first was sixteen cubits high, adorned
 “ with many sumptuous buildings, and lofty turrets. The second
 “ was like to the first, but as high again. The third was drawn
 “ like a quadrant four square, sixty cubits high, all of the hard-
 “ est marble, and so cemented as to continue to the latest time.
 “ On the four sides are brazen gates, near to which there are cur-
 “ tains or pallisades of the same metal, twenty cubits high, these
 “ were raised as well to strike the beholder with terror, as for the
 “ strengthening and security of the place. On the east side of the
 “ citadel, about four hundred feet distant, stood a mount called
 “ the *royal mount*, for here are all the sepulchres of the kings,
 “ many apartments and little cells being cut into the midst of the
 “ rock; into which cells there is made no direct passage, but the
 “ coffins with the dead bodies are by machines hoisted up, and so
 “ let down into these vaults. In this citadel were many stately
 “ lodgings, both for the king and his soldiers, of excellent
 “ workmanship, and treasury chambers most commodiously con-
 “ trived for the laying up of money. Here *Alexander* made a
 “ sumptuous feast for the entertainment of his friends, in com-
 “ moration of his victory, and offered magnificent sacrifices to the
 “ gods. At this feast were entertained whores who prostituted their
 “ bodies for hire, where the cups went so high, and the reins were
 “ so let loose to drunkenness and debauchery, that many were both
 “ drunk

the world, and which is called by the inhabitants by several names ; sometimes they style it *Kabreston Gauron*, i. e. *the sepulchres*

“ drunk and mad. Among the rest there was at that time a
 “ courtesan, called *Thais*, an *Athenian*, that said *Alexander* would
 “ perform the most glorious act of any that ever he had done,
 “ if while he was feasting with them he would burn the palace,
 “ and so the glory and renown of *Persia* might be said to be
 “ brought to nothing in a moment by the hands of women. This
 “ spreading abroad, and coming to the ears of the young men,
 “ (who commonly make little use of reason when drink is in their
 “ heads) presently one cries out, *Come on, bring us firebrands*, and
 “ so incited the rest to fire the citadel, to revenge that impiety
 “ the *Persians* had committed in destroying the temples of the *Gre-*
 “ *cians*. At this others with joy set up a shout, but said, that so
 “ brave an exploit belonged only to *Alexander* to perform. The
 “ king stirred up at these words embraced the motion, upon which
 “ as many as were present left their cups and leaped from the
 “ table, and said, that they would now celebrate a victorious fes-
 “ tival to *Bacchus*. Hereupon multitudes of firebrands were pre-
 “ sently got together, and all the women that played upon musi-
 “ cal instruments, which were at the feast, were called for ; and
 “ then the king with songs, pipes, and flutes, bravely led the way
 “ to this noble expedition, contrived and managed by this whore,
 “ *Thais*, who next after the king, threw the first firebrand into the
 “ palace. This precedent was presently followed by the rest, so
 “ that in a very short time, the whole fabric by the violence of
 “ the fire was consumed to ashes (87)”. We have transcribed this
 long passage to avoid a multitude of quotations, since several au-
 thors have either copied *Diodorus*, or the authors made use of by
 him. *Plutarch*, in his life of *Alexander*, gives us an account of
 this transaction, little different from that which we have just seen ;
 indeed he speaks less confidently of the story of *Thais* than *Dio-*
dorus does, whence some have suspected the truth of it, and whe-
 ther *Thais* had any concern therein or no. *Arrian* says, that *Alex-*
ander seized at *Passargada* on the money which had been laid up
 there by *Cyrus*, and then adds, “ the royal palace of the *Persian*
 “ monarchs he burnt, much against the will of *Parmenio*, who
 “ intreated him to leave it untouched, not only because it was im-
 “ proper to spoil and destroy what he had gained by his valour,
 “ but that he would thereby disoblige the *Asiatics*, and render
 “ them less benevolent to him ; for they would then suppose that
 “ he would not keep *Asia* in his possession, but abandon it as soon as
 “ it was conquered and laid waste. To which *Alexander* made an-
 “ swer, that he was resolved to revenge the antient injuries his
 “ country had received by the *Persians* ; who, when they arrived

(87) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. c. 3.*

“ with

sepulchres of the Gaurs ; sometimes Nachs Rustan, the pictures of Rustan ; and sometimes Takt Rustan, i. e. the throne of

“ with their army in *Græce*, subverted *Athens*, burnt their temples,
 “ and committed many other barbarous devastations there. But
 “ this, in my opinion, seems to have been no prudent or politic
 “ action in *Alexander*, and was no revenge upon the *Persians* at
 “ all (88)”. *Strabo* speaks very concisely on this subject, his words
 are these ; “ *Alexander* destroyed the temple of *Persepolis* in re-
 “ venge of the injuries done the *Greeks*, whose cities and temples
 “ the *Persians* had formerly destroyed with fire and sword (89)”.
Curcius has nothing singular upon this head, except the following
 observation. “ The city of *Persepolis* was so far from being re-
 “ built, that unless the river *Araxes* ran near it, there had not been
 “ the least sign left to have guessed where it stood ; that it was
 “ situated twenty stadia from the banks of this river, the inhabi-
 “ tants rather believe than know with any certainty (90)”. In
 this point, however, he seems to have been mistaken ; for first,
 he is the only author who says that *Persepolis* was ruined. *Dio-
 dorus* says indeed that it was plundered ; but as to burning and
 destroying, what he relates is confined to the palace ; besides, af-
 ter the death of *Alexander*, he informs us, that *Antigonus*, taking
 five thousand talents of silver out of the treasury at *Ecbatana*,
 marched into *Persia*, and after twenty days arrived at its capital
Persepolis (91). *Arrian* also speaks of this city as still standing af-
 ter the destruction of the palace ; and, if we may believe the au-
 thor of the book of *Maccabees*, it continued a great and noble
 city. What he says on this subject, stands thus in our translation.
 “ About that time came *Antiochus* with dishonour out of the coun-
 “ try of *Persia*. For he had entered the city called *Persepolis*, and
 “ went about to rob the temple, and to hold the city, whereupon
 “ the multitude, running to defend themselves with their weapons,
 “ put them to flight ; and so it happened, that *Antiochus*, being
 “ put to flight of the inhabitants, returned with shame (92). In
 the first book of *Maccabees*, there is still a more extraordinary
 passage in respect to the point before us. “ About that time, says
 “ the author, king *Antiochus*, travelling through the high countries,
 “ heard say, that *Elymais*, in the country of *Persia*, was a city greatly
 “ renowned for riches, silver, and gold ; and that there was in it
 “ a very rich temple, wherein were coverings of gold, and breast-
 “ plates, and shields which *Alexander*, son of *Philip*, the *Macedo-
 nian* king, who reigned first among the *Greeks*, had left there.
 “ Wherefore he came and sought to take the city, and to spoil
 “ it ; but he was not able, because they of the city, having had

(88) *Exped. Alex. lib. iii. c. 18.*

(89) *Geogr. lib. xv. p. 730.*

(90) *Curt. lib. v. c. 7.*

(91) *Diod. Sicul. lib. xix. c. 3.*

(92) 2 *Mac. c. ix. ver. 1.*

of *Rustan*. This *Rustan*, as we have observed before, is the *Hercules* of the east, or rather the *Amadis*, for the stories they tell of him are alike fabulous and romantic. Our business, however, is not with them, but with the mountain, which is one entire rock, harder and capable of a better polish than marble; it is levelled by art, its sides are perfectly perpendicular, so that it looks like a large wall, and upon it there are figures represented in bas-relief, with great skill and beauty. The first of these, which is about the height of a pike from the ground, represents a combat between two knights, mounted on horseback, each of them having an iron mace in his left-hand. He on the right has a bonnet on his head, and holds out in his right hand a large ring of iron, of which the other knight seems to take hold with his right-hand; at the foot of each of their horses lies a man groveling on the ground. All these figures, as well of horses as of men, are gigantic; and as to the meaning of the piece, if we trust tradition and the *Persian* poets, it is thus to be understood; they say, that one of these cavaliers was *Rustan* or *Rustem*, the son of *Sal the white*, the son of *Sam*, the son of *Noramon* king of the *Indies*; the second *Rustan* or *Rustem*, the son of *Tahmour* king of *Persia*; these two princes are said to be engaged in long and bloody wars, and at last to have agreed to determine their quarrels by a combat. The manner in which this was to be performed was thus: one extended a ring of iron in his right-hand which the o-

“ warning thereof, rose up against him in battle: so he fled, and
 “ departed thence with great heaviness, and returned to *Babylon* (93)”. That this city *Elymais* was *Persopolis*, we have all the reason in the world to believe, since we are certain, that the latter is only a *Greek* appellation, and not the true name of the city; nor in all probability did the *Greeks* ever commit the *Persian* name thereof to writing. One thing we will venture to observe here, which has not hitherto been remarked by any author: it is, this; *Persopolis* or *Persapolis* signifies in *Greek* no more than the city of the *Persians*; *Elymais* signifies the same thing, as also *Pharsabad*, which Sir *John Chardin* conjectures to be its antient name in the *Persic* tongue; hence therefore, we may with probability conclude, that its most antient name was *Elymais*, derived from the antient name of *Persia*, *Elam*, that in process of time when *Persia* was called *Pharas*, this city might be stiled *Pharasabad*, and that the *Greeks* might translate either of these appellations into their own language by the word *Persopolis*; all which we submit to the curious and inquisitive reader.

(93) 1 *Mac. c. vi. ver. 1.*

ther laid hold of, it being previously agreed, that whoever could wrench from the other this iron ring, should be esteemed the conqueror, and should be obeyed for the future by him who lost it; they say too, that the king of *Persia*, who is the person represented by the figure, having a long beard, vanquished the king of the *Indies* in this engagement. Besides this ring and mace, these combatants have iron bullets hanging by chains at the sides of their horses, which it is to be supposed they let fly at each other, in the same manner as peasants sometimes fight with their flails. Joining to this figure there is another, wherein the men are represented as of a less stature than in that before described, viz. not above seven foot high; there is a person represented in the middle of the piece armed from head to foot, leaning on a naked sabre with both his hands; he is said to be the same king of the *Indies* before mentioned, because his bonnet and beard resemble those of the figure so called in the former piece; he turns his head towards five men, who have their bodies hid by the wall from the shoulders downwards, perhaps to signify that they are prisoners; behind him, there are three other men in the same position, who seem to be making signs to the five over-against them. As to this representation it is impossible to say any thing with certainty, since we are furnished with no lights by antient writers, and the traditions of the modern *Persians* on such subjects are little to be depended on; though to say the truth, the common people in *Persia* are rather more modest than elsewhere, for when they are asked about the meaning of these figures, they generally say, God knows. Nay, their men of learning content themselves with affirming, that they relate to the antient heroes of their country, without pretending to enter into particulars. At 120 paces distance from this figure, one finds the first tomb, but before one comes thither, one sees here and there on the mountain several tablets, which seem to have been designed for such representations as have been before described; whence it is evident, that the works on this mountain have been left unfinished. One sees before this first tomb the representation of a combat between a knight and a giant; but as to the meaning thereof, we know as little as of that of the former. At sixty paces from this tomb there is another, thirty paces from thence another, and at the distance of a hundred paces a fourth, which is the last. There are two inscriptions near the third tomb, one fifteen lines in length, in the character made use of in the inscriptions at the palace of *Persepolis*. There are many other curious representations carved on this mountain, some perfectly whole and
found,

found, others much defaced, either through the injuries of time and weather, or the brutal zeal of the Mohammedans, who pique themselves much on destroying images. We shall not detain the reader any longer on so obscure a subject, since our descriptions, however prolix, would never afford him the same idea he may gain at once by looking on the prints inserted in their travels by *Chardin* and *Le Brun*^a. Besides, should we run into a long discourse on the conjectures, which have been or may be made in relation to these sepulchres, it would certainly lead us far out of our road, and turn very little to the edification of the reader. On the whole therefore, we shall content ourselves with saying, that these stupendous monuments of antient magnificence are sufficient to fill us with high ideas of the wisdom and genius of the antient *Persians*, before superstition and slavery took place (X).

THE

^a Vid. *CHARDIN*, tom. ii. *LE BRUN*, tom. ii.

(X) Besides the tombs spoken of above, there are two near the ruins of the palace of *Persopolis*, which *Sir John Chardin* says, appeared to him the most curious remnants of antiquity which he beheld there. They are about six hundred paces from the columns, and in order to reach them, there is a necessity of climbing three hundred paces up the rock. These monuments are cut and hollowed into the rock. The one is on the north, over-against the great stair-case of the palace, the front is 72 feet broad, and its height about 130. The platform is square and like the landing place of a stair-case; it is about four feet deep that is cut into the mountain; on each side there are six figures finely cut, and exactly resembling those in the procession; in the wall of the palace there are four columns fronting the spectator, and exactly in the middle there appears a door, but it is only the figure of a door cut in the rock, and does not seem ever to have been designed for a passage into any cavity behind it. Over this there is another fine piece of workmanship full of figures; and on the summit there appears an altar with fire burning on it, and a reverend person holding a bow in his hand, kneeling on a kind of ascent, over-against it as if at his devotions. In the corner of the piece there is a round figure which seems to represent the sun, and in the middle, as if in the air, there is a small figure of the same person, whom we see praying below, as if he were ascending into the heavens. The other tomb, which is on the east side differs not much from this which we have described. It has four columns, a false door, and has over it an altar with fire, and a prince or high-priest praying before it, with the other decorations mentioned before. Some inconsiderable differences there are in the architecture, and in the disposition of things in this second tomb, but we do not think them of consequence enough to be mentioned here. *Sir John Chardin* tells us, that the inhabitants of the country say, that *Nembrot* or *Nimrod*

THE great perfection, which appears in these antient works and those of *Persepolis*, leaves us no room to doubt, that those

was buried in the first, and *Dar-ab*, i. e. *Darius* in the second ; but he thinks the first fabulous. And as to *Darius* being interred here, he owns it is in some measure warranted by the account given us by *Arrian* ; that *Alexander* caused the body of that unfortunate prince to be embalmed, and to be sent to his mother, that she might cause it to be interred in the tomb of his ancestors. It is allowed, that the sepulchres of the kings of *Persia* were at *Ecbatana* in *Media*, and that, at the time *Alexander* sent back *Darius's* body, that country was new conquered and in great disorder. It is not impossible therefore, that his mother might cause him to be buried at *Persepolis*. However, *Sir John Chardin* himself is of opinion, that the thing was otherwise, and that these tombs were actually closed up before the reign of *Darius* (94). It is the firm opinion of the present inhabitants of *Persia*, that in these tombs, and also in those described in the text, there are concealed great quantities of treasure and valuable effects. It must be said in favour of this vulgar notion, that it has antiquity on its side, since we know that when *Alexander* conquered this country, it was expected that mighty sums would be found in the tomb of *Cyrus* (95). As on the other hand, we know that *Josephus* (96) reports a mighty mass of money to have been laid up in the sepulchre of *David*. As we are writing here a note only, and not a dissertation, we shall not expatiate further upon this subject, but confine ourselves to these very tombs in the mountain of *Nachs Rustem*. It is certain, that not only the common people, but people of distinction and learning, concur in believing that there are vast heaps of gold, silver, and other rich things, contained in these repositories of the dead ; but at the same time they affirm this, they assert with equal confidence, that the passages within the tombs form a kind of labyrinth, out of which a man can hardly ever find his way, so that many have perished in search of these supposed mountains of riches. *Sir John Chardin*, however, tells us a story of one who actually found and bore away some of these shining spoils : he had it from the mouth of the bailiff of *Mirkaskoun*, a little town in the neighbourhood of *Persepolis*. This man informed him, that about two hundred years before, when this country was subject to a prince of its own, who resided at *Schiras*, the farmer of his revenues in this part of the country, having dissipated his effects, and not being in a condition to pay what was due from him to the royal treasury, was under the greatest dejection of mind, on the receipt of a message from the grand vizier, threatening him, in case he did not make a speedy payment, with a cruel death, and with the selling his wife and

(94) *Chardin Voyag. tom. ii. p. 166.*

lib. vi. ult. Strab. Geogr. lib. xv. c. 730.

(95) *Arrian. Exped. Alex.*

(96) *Antiq. lib. vii.*

c. 15.

children,

those who were the authors of them, might, if they had so pleased, have left marks of their skill and genius in other parts of this empire also, or at least that their successors might have done something in the same way. We have already put ourselves under such restrictions, as forbid a prolix prosecution of this hint, and therefore we shall content ourselves with remarking here, that Mr. *Le Brun* takes notice in his travels of some remains of antiquity, which he, with two *English* gentlemen, saw near a mountain a league and a half from *Schiras*, on the left of the plain. There stood here a mosque, called the mosque of the mother of *Solomon*, square, and about twenty paces from one corner to the other, having three por-

children for slaves, in order to produce the sum he was in arrear. The poor man, distracted with fear, and knowing not which way to turn him, thought of laying violent hands on himself, but checking this thought on a sudden, he said in his mind, Why should I destroy myself without attempting to throw off this load of misfortunes by some other means? in yon house of idols (so the *Mohammedans* call all places where there are figures in bas-relief) every body agrees there are vast quantities of wealth concealed, why should not I go look for it? If I succeed I shall not only pay the king, but have wherewithal to live splendidly myself all the rest of my days; and on the other hand, if I perish, I perish, death is the same thing in those tombs or here. Having taken this resolution, he provided himself with lights and with some provisions, and then essayed to enter the tombs; in this exploit he was so lucky, that he fell into a path which led him to a large square room full of pieces of gold, of which he took as many as he could carry away, and returned home on the fourth day. But as the sum he brought back was not quite sufficient to pay his debts, he determined to make another experiment, which proved as unfortunate as his first had been happy; for, by some means or other, losing his way, he perished in the mountain, and was never heard of more. Many travellers have taken great pains themselves, and where their spirits have failed, have hired others to attempt the finding out the rooms which are said to be in this mountain, but most of them have toiled in vain, though not all; for *Pietro della Valle*, an author worthy of credit, affirms, that he saw a square room, built up in the form of a tower, close on all sides except a door which was almost at the top, and altogether inaccessible; this he took to be a sepulchre. Sir *John Chardin* could find nothing like it, but he declares he does not doubt the fact, and tells us further of his own knowledge, that these subterraneous passages are really very perplexed, frequently cross each other, and are full of a moist vapour which quickly extinguishes lights (97).

ticoes exactly resembling those at *Persepolis*, the first on the east, the second on the north-west, and the third on the north-east. They are eleven feet high, and have on each pilaster the figure of a woman as big as the life, with something in her hand, in the same attitude with the figures on the wall at *Persepolis*. North-east from this ruined mosque, the same author says, there are seen on the side of the rock nine small figures, much damaged by time, and only half of them appearing above ground; and on the north-west a stone of prodigious magnitude representing a cask or tun. All the ground thereabout is covered with stones, and most of the pilasters are out of their places, which could not possibly have happened but by an earthquake; the cornice however, of the middle one is very little damaged: a quarter of a league farther, the ruins are seen of that wall, which antiently surrounded this mosque; and about a league from the mosque, the same gentleman tells us, that he saw several figures cut in the rock, divided into three tables. The first table contains three figures, one of which is represented leaning with its hand on a great sword. The second represents a man with something not unlike a turban on his head. The third figure has a mitre on its head, and, like the first, leans its hand on the guard of a great sword; they are very much broken and damaged, so that it is difficult to describe them particularly^k. For which reason we may suppose the author has omitted the descriptions of the other two tables. If we may be allowed to found any thing on the representations given us in his prints by this accurate traveller, we may with some assurance, that these figures are neither so old, nor executed near so well as those on the mountain of *Nachs Rustem*, which they resemble much more than any thing which is to be seen at *Persepolis*. Mr. *Le Brun* speaks frequently of the traditions of the inhabitants relating to such things as these; but there is no necessity of examining their accounts here, since we shall be obliged to give an ample account of these matters, when we speak of the *Persian* history, as it has been written by oriental authors. In the mean time the reader will be pleased to observe, that the foregoing relation is a direct proof of the opinion we advanced, that on a strict enquiry, other fragments of antiquity might be found in *Persia*, than those hitherto described and magnified so much.

^k *LA BRUN*. Voyag. Vol. ii. p. 299.

S E C T. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the antient PERSIANS.

THE Persians were, without all doubt, a very antient nation. Their country was first peopled by *Elam*, or as *Josephus* calls him ^a *Elymus*, the son of *Shem*; whence *Persia* is constantly called by the sacred writers *Elam*; nor does it appear, that it was known to the Jews before the captivity by any other name. The descendants of *Elam* settled first in that province, which from them was called *Elymais*, and by degrees, as their numbers increased, spread themselves into *Susiana* and other adjoining provinces; as appears from *Daniel*, who places *Susa*, the metropolis of *Susiana*, in the province of *Elam* ^b (A). All the Greek interpreters by *Elam* understand *Persia*, and in the acts the Persians are called *Elamites* ^c. Whence it is probable, that they were descended from *Elam*, of whom both the country and inhabitants borrowed their name. How this name was changed into that of *Persia* we have shewn already.

THE government of *Persia* was monarchical, and the crown hereditary. The kingdom of *Elam* seems to have been pretty powerful even in the time of *Abraham*; for *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, who was contemporary with that patriarch, is said in scripture to have invaded the *Zamzummins* and *Emims*, who were of a gigantic race, and to have taken and pillaged the cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*; though he was at last overthrown by *Abraham*, who came to the rescue of *Lot*, whom the *Elamite* had taken prisoner ^d. In the time of *Jeremiah* *Elam* must have been a great and potent kingdom, as is plain from the prophecy, where he foretels the increase of *Nebuchadnezzar's* dominions, and particularly, that he should subdue *Elam*, a kingdom on the river *Ulai*, to the eastward of the *Tigris* (B).

BUT

^a JOSEPH. antiquitat. c. 8. ^b DANIEL viii. 2. ^c ACT. ii. 9 ^d GEN. xiv. 5. DEUT. ii. 20, 21.

(A) And I saw in a vision, says the prophet, (and it came to pass, when I saw that I was at Shushan the palace, which is in the province of Elam) and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai. Shushan is without doubt the city of Susa in Susiana, which stood on the river Euleu, or as the prophet styles it, Ulai.

(B) Behold I will break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might. And upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of the

The majesty of their kings.

BUT to speak here of *Persia*, as the second of the four great empires (for of the kings who preceded *Cyrus*, we shall have occasion to give some account hereafter); the *Persian* monarchs were under no controul, but governed by their own arbitrary will and pleasure. They were revered by their subjects like deities on earth, none daring to appear before their throne, without prostrating themselves on the ground with a kind of adoration. *Spercies* and *Bulis* both *Lacedæmonians* refused to comply with this ceremony, as did also *Conon* the *Athenian*; as *Justin* informs us^e, and *Ismenias* the *Theban* declined it, as we read in *Ælian* f, by letting his ring drop from his finger, and then throwing himself on the ground to take it up. *Timagoras*, as we read in *Valerius Maximus* g, was put to death by the *Athenians* for paying this veneration to a *Persian* monarch. In the time of *Appollonius* none were allowed to appear before the king, who had not done the same honours to his image. While they were in the king's presence, they were to hold their hands, so long as their audience lasted, within their sleeves; for neglecting this ceremony *Antofaces* and *Mitraeus* were put to death, as we read in *Xenophon*, by *Cyrus* the younger. None were suffered to enter the royal palace without the sovereign's leave, except the princes who slew *Smerdis*; all others, of what rank soever, before they set foot in the palace, were obliged to acquaint the king by a messenger that they desired to attend him, and wait his royal pleasure. What respect and obedience his vassals payed him we learn from *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *Xerxes* being once in danger by sea, many at the king's desire strove who should be the first in leaping overboard to lighten the vessel and save their prince's life, at the expence of their own^h. They all lived in no less dread of the king's wrath, than of the anger of the gods; whence they looked upon the incurring his displeasure as the greatest misfortune that could befall them in life, and were ready at

^e JUSTIN, l. vi. 2. f ÆLIAN. var. histor. l. i. g VALER. MAXIMUS, l. vi. c. 3. h HERODOT. l. viii.

the heaven, and will scatter them towards all those winds, and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of *Elam* shall not come. For I will cause *Elam* to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life: and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, saith the Lord, and I will send the sword after them, till I have consumed them. And I will set my throne in *Elam*, and will destroy from thence the king and the princes, saith the Lord (1).

(1) *Jerem. xlix. 35—38.*

the least intimation given them by their prince to become their own executioners. The crown was hereditary, and bestowed on the eldest of the deceased king's lawful children. In long or dangerous expeditions, to avoid all contests, the heir apparent was named by the reigning king before he set out on his journey or march. The new king was crowned at *Pasargada*, or as *Pliny* calls it *Pasagarda*¹, by the priests, who bore a great sway in the court of *Persia*. This ceremony was performed in the temple of the goddess of war; where the king used first of all to cloath himself with the garment, which *Cyrus* the founder of the *Persian* monarchy, had wore before he was raised to the throne. Being thus attired, he used to eat some figs with a small quantity of turpentine, and drink a cup of sour milk, then * the tiara or crown was placed on his head by one of the grandees, in whose family that right was hereditary, and deemed, all over *Persia*, the greatest honour a subject could enjoy. The king's tiara was by a peculiar name called *Cidaris*, being a kind of turban rising up with a sharp point without bending; whereas the other *Persians* wore turbans bending, in token of subjection, down to their foreheads. However, the descendants of those who with *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes* slew the usurping *Mage*, were allowed to use a tiara bending to the middle of their head, and not, as that of the other subjects, reaching down to their eye-brows. Round the tiara the king wore a purple and white band or diadem; for nothing else is meant by the word *Diadem* in the antient writers, but a band of this nature wreathed round the forehead^k. This tiara with the purple and white band is the only ensign of royalty we find among the *Persian* kings of the first dynasty. The king's birth-day was kept as sacred, and celebrated with public sports and the utmost pomp and magnificence. His death was bewailed by shutting the tribunals of justice for five days; and that fire, which was worshipped in private families as a household god, was on that occasion alone extinguished^l. The king's abode was according to the season, seven months at *Babylon*, three at *Susa*, (C) and two at *Ecbatan*^m. Whence they

¹ PLIN. l. vi. c. 26. * PLUT. in Artaxerx. ^k DRUS. observat. l. xii. c. 12. BRISS. l. i. p. 44. ^l DIODOR. Sicul. l. viii. ^m ZONAR. Annal. l. i.

(C) *Susa*, called in scripture *Shushan*, was the metropolis of the province *Susiana*. It was built on the banks of the river *Eulæus*, called by *Daniel* *Ulai*, by *Memnon*, as some say, the son of *Tithonus*.

they are compared by *Ælian* ⁿ to cranes, and by *Aristotle* to the *Scythian Nomades*, who, by often shifting their abode, always enjoyed a temperate season. They likewise removed sometimes to *Pasargada*, and sometimes to *Persepolis*, which at last became their ordinary residence. The king's court or palace had many gates, and each gate a body of guards, whose duty it was not only to defend the king's person, but to give him notice of whatever they saw, or heard done in any part of the kingdom; whence they were called, some *the king's ears*, others, as *Aristotle* ^{*} informs us, *the king's eyes*. To these messengers were sent from the most remote provinces of the empire, when any thing happened worthy of the king's knowledge; and besides, they received immediate intelligence of any sudden commotion by means of fires, which were always ready at small distances from each other, and lighted when occasion required; so that they could in one day receive no-

ⁿ *ÆLIAN*. hist. natur. l. ii. c. 3.

^{*} *ARIST.* l. de mundo.

who was slain by the *Thessalians* in the *Trojan war* (2). *Strabo* (3) and *Pausanias* (4) compare the walls of *Susa* even with those of *Babylon*. *Cassiodorus* tells us, upon what authority we know not, and therefore give him no credit, that the walls of this city were cemented with gold. *Polyeetus*, as we read in *Strabo* (5), would make us believe, that it had no walls, which is no less improbable, considering the kings of *Persia* resided there three months in the year, and that great part of the royal treasures were lodged in it, as *Diodorus* informs us (6). It was called *Susa* from the many lillies which grew in that neighbourhood, says *Stephanus*, and in the *Persian* language bore that name. It is also called *Memnonia* by *Herodotus* (7) and others, from its founder *Memnon*. In scripture it is constantly named (8) *the palace*; but besides the king's palace there was, without all doubt, a city, as is plain from all the prophane writers. The city was sheltered by a high ridge of mountains from the northern winds, which rendered it very agreeable during the winter; but in summer the heat was so parching, that the inhabitants were forced to cover their houses, as *Strabo* writes, with earth two cubits deep (9). *Susa* was in antient times a wealthy and magnificent city; *Alexander* found in it 50000 talents of gold, besides jewels of an inestimable value, and an immense quantity of gold and silver vessels. Here *Abasuerus* kept his great feast, which lasted 183 days. It lies now in ruins and is known, as *Tavernier* informs us, by the name of *Schouster* or *Suster*.

- (2) *Strabo*, l. xv. p. 500. (3) *Strabo*, ubi supra. (4) *Paus.* *Messen.* c. 31. (5) *Ubi supra.* (6) *Diodor. Sic.* l. xviij. c. 66. (7) *Herodot.* l. v. c. 54. (8) *Dan.* viij. 2. *Nabem.* i. 1. *Esth.* i. 2. (9) *Strabo*, l. 15.

tice

tice of any tumult, rebellion, or invasion, in what part soever it happened of that vast empire.

THE king's palace was deemed holy, and respected as a temple. It was extremely magnificent, and furnished with utensils of an inestimable value. The walls and roof of the rooms were all covered with ivory, silver, amber, or gold. The throne was of pure gold, supported by four pillars richly set with precious stones. The king's bed was likewise of gold, and *Herodotus* * mentions a plane-tree and vine of gold presented to *Darius* by *Pythius* a *Lydian*, who after the kings of *Persia* was accounted the richest man in the world (D). The body and branches of this vine, says *Athenæus* †, were enriched with jewels of great value, and the clusters of grapes were all precious stones. It hung over the king's head as he sat on the throne. At his beds head stood always a chest or coffer containing five thousand talents, which was called the king's bolster, and another at his feet with three thousand talents ‡; adjoining to the king's palace were large gardens and parks stocked with all sorts of game for his diversion. *Tully* tells us out of *Xenophon* §, that *Cyrus* planted and cultivated one of these delicious gardens with his own hand. *Alexander* enriched them with trees and plants out of *Greece*. The *Persian* kings drank no other water but that of the river *Choaspes*, which was carried about with them in silver vessels whithersoever they went (E). ¶ They drank only *Calybonian* wine made

* HERODOT. l. vii. † ATHEN. l. xii. vide. BUD. de aff. l. iv. § BUDÆUS ubi supra. ‡ CIC. de senect. ¶ HERODOT. l. i. c. 159.

(D) *Pythius*, if we believe *Herodotus* (10), entertained at *Caene* in *Phrygia* *Xerxes* and all his army, as he was marching against *Greece*, and moreover offered him towards the charges of the war two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety three thousand pieces of gold, all bearing the stamp of his father *Darius*. *Xerxes* with no less generosity not only refused the treasures offered him, but ordered seven thousand *Darian* pieces or *Darics* to be given to *Pythius*, as a reward of his affection and good will, nor did he leave *Caene* till the sum was paid.

(E) It is matter of dispute among geographers, whether the *Choaspes* and the *Eulæus* be one and the same, or two different rivers. *Pliny* (11) distinguishes them, and says, that they both rise in *Media*, but that the *Choaspes* discharges itself into the *Pasitigris*, and the *Eulæus* into the lake *Characenus*. *Polycletus* likewise, as

(10) *Herodot. l. vii.* (11) *Plin. l. vi. c. 27.*

made at *Damascus* in *Syria*, and touched no bread but what was of the wheat of *Assos* in *Phrygia*, and their salt was brought from *Egypt*. The magnificence of their public feasts exceeds, as appears from holy writ^t, what we read of in the histories of other nations. Their table was daily served with somewhat of the product of each nation subject to them^u. Among the prisoners taken by *Parmenio* at *Damascus* were, as *Athenæus*^w informs us, 277 cooks, 29 who took care of the dishes, 17 who ministered water, 70 who had in charge the wine, 40 employed about ointments, and 66 whose province it was to prepare garlands used, according to the custom of those times, in banquets. During their repast their ears were feasted with the harmony both of vocal and instrumental music, and 300 women, of the sweetest and most melodious voices, were in constant attendance to divert the king at his unbending hours. It was likewise their province to lull him asleep with the melody and variety of their notes, and recreate his mind as soon as he awaked in the morning^x. Most of the *Persian* kings were so dissolved in pleasures, that they scarce minded any thing beside their own satisfaction. *Xer-*

^t ESTHER. i. ^u ATHEN. l. viii. ^w Idem. l. xii. ^x Idem. ibid.

we read in *Strabo* (12), supposes them to be two different streams, though he makes them disembody themselves into the same lake. On the other hand, *Salmasius* (13) takes them to be one and the same river under different names; for the *Choaspes* rising in *Media* buries itself under ground, and again appears not far from *Susa*; in *Media* he thinks it is called *Choaspes*, and in the province of *Susiana* *Eulæus*. This seems agreeable to what we read in *Ptolemy* (14), who mentions two springs of the *Eulæus* (for he no where names the *Choaspes*) one in *Media* and the other in *Susiana*. Besides, *Herodotus* tells us (15), that the *Choaspes* washed the walls of *Susa*, and that the *Persian* kings drank no other water; whence it is manifest, that the *Choaspes* and *Eulæus* are one and the same river at least at *Susa*, and even *Pliny* (16) and the other writers, who distinguish them, place the city of *Susa* on the banks of the *Eulæus*, and all the interpreters take the river *Ulai* mentioned by *Daniel* (17) to be the *Eulæus*. Nor is there any thing more common, than that the same river should be known in different places by different names; thus the *Dauube* was called by the *Latins* *Danubius* and *Ister*, the *Wejer Vierra* and *Visurgis*, the *Po Padus* and *Eridanus*, &c.

(12) *Strabo*, l. xv. p. 501. (13) *Salmas.* in *Solin.* p. 493. (14) *Ptol.* l. vi. c. 3. (15) *Herodot.* l. i. c. 153. (16) *Plin.* ubi *supra* (17) *Dan.* viii.

was not ashamed to propose, by a public edict, an ample reward to any one that should devise a new pleasure ¹. The king seldom admitted others to his table, besides his wife and mother; such as received this honour were so placed as not to see, but only be seen by, the king; for they thought it was, in some degree, a degrading of their majesty to appear subject to the same necessities with other mortals. This desire of appearing above the level of other men was what confined them within their palaces, and scarce ever suffered them to appear abroad. Their lust and voluptuousness sufficiently appears from the book of *Esther*, and *Tully* ² adds, that the revenues of whole provinces were employed on the attire of some of their favourite concubines, one city being obliged to supply them with ornaments for their hair, another for their necks, &c. Nay *Socrates* ³ mentions an ambassador, who being sent into *Persia* spent a whole day in travelling through a country which was called the *Queen's Girdle*, and another day before he reached the borders of a rich territory stiled the *Queen's Head-dress*.

THE king's children, more especially the eldest, were presently after their birth committed to the care of eunuchs. *The king's children.* At seven years old they learnt under experienced instructors to ride and hunt, which were looked upon as the most manly exercises; at the age of fourteen they were put under the discipline of four learned preceptors, of which one was to teach them prudence, another justice, the third temperance, and the fourth fortitude ⁴.

THE king's ordinary guard consisted mostly of *Persians*. *The king's guard.* *Curtius* mentions a guard which attended the king's person, consisting of 15000 men, who were called *the king's relations*; there was also a body of 10000 choice horse-men, all *Persians*, who accompanied him in all his expeditions, and were called *immortal*. His guards received no pay, but were very plentifully provided with all necessaries of life.

BUT the grandeur and magnificence of the *Persian* kings appeared no where greater than on occasion of the public sacrifices, at which they often assisted, as we shall have occasion to take notice in the next section, as also of their funerals and other religious ceremonies in use among the *Persians*. *The manners of the Persians.*

NOW to say something of the customs and manners of the antient *Persians*, they had a particular care of the education of their children above any other nation. A son was not admitted to the presence of his father, but was brought up by *How they educated their children.*

¹ *Cic. Tusc. quæst. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 2.* ² *Cic. in Ver. act. v.* ³ *SOCRAT. in PLAT. Alcibiad.* ⁴ *XENOPH. l. i. c. 11. BRISON, Polit.* women

women of the best characters, till he attained the age of five years, lest if he should die before that time his father might be too much grieved at his death. At five years old the children of such as could afford it were committed to the tuition of learned masters or *Mages*, who carefully taught them, more by examples than precepts, the practice of justice, patience, sobriety, abstinence, and all other virtues. They took great pains to implant in their breasts an aversion to all manner of vice, especially to lying and contracting debts. They learned also to ride, to shoot with bows, and fight on horse-back. This was their education till seventeen years of age, when the children of men of rank were admitted among the king's guards, and attended him at home when he went a hunting, or abroad in his warlike expeditions. They were brought up with such an awful respect to their parents, that they never offered to sit down in their presence. Every father had power of life and death over his own children, but was restrained by the laws from exercising such severity for small faults, or for one crime alone.

The miscellaneous customs of the Persians.

THE *Persians* were antiently all trained up to military exercises, but more especially to handle the bow, which they did with great dexterity, whence it is, that we find the *bow of Elam* mentioned by the prophet *Jeremiah* ^c, and the *quiver of Elam* by *Isaiah* ^d, as the arms peculiar to this nation. From the age of five years to that of twenty they taught their sons chiefly three things, as *Herodotus* informs us ^e, *to manage a horse, to use with dexterity the bow, and to speak truth*. A numerous issue was looked upon by them as the greatest blessing which the gods could bestow, and such as could shew a numerous offspring received yearly presents from the king ^f. They celebrated their birth-days with great pomp and magnificence, furnishing their tables on such occasions in a very plentiful manner, tho' at other times they lived very sparingly, at least under their first kings. In their diet they were very temperate, but were always inclined to drinking; they used even to debate the most important matters in their cups; but the master of the house, where they met to consult, proposed the same subject the next day, before they tasted any liquor, when the resolutions taken the day, before were approved or rejected ^g. When they met they saluted with a kiss on the mouth, if they were equal; on the cheek, if one was somewhat inferior to the other; but those who were of a much lower rank used to prostrate themselves on the ground, when they met or ac-

^c JER. c. xlix. 35.

^d ISA. c. xxii. 6.

^e HERODOT. l. i.

^f HERODOT. ubi supra.

^g HERODOT. ibid.

costed their superiors. They shewed most value for those that lived next to them, and very little to such as lived at a great distance, as if men were more or less worthy, in proportion as they lived at a greater or smaller distance from them ^h. No nation was ever more ready to adopt foreign customs. They no sooner conquered the *Medes*, but they assumed their dress; in war they used the *Egyptian* armour after they had subdued that kingdom; and imitated the *Greeks*, as soon as they became acquainted with them, in the worst of vices, as *Herodotus* himself owns ⁱ. They were indulged many wives, and besides as many concubines as they were able to maintain, those who had many children, being looked upon as heroes, of as great prowess, as those who had distinguished themselves in military exploits. They bore such respect to their parents that they thought it impossible a man should ever put to death his father or mother, whence no punishments were inflicted by their laws on such offenders, and if any one was indicted for committing so heinous a crime, he was always declared by the judges spurious or supposititious. To affirm a falsehood was accounted the utmost infamy, and next to that the being in debt, because it exposed a man to the necessity of lying. If any among them happened to be infected with a leprosy, or any other distemper of that nature, he was not permitted to stay within the city, nor to converse with the others, having, as they believed, drawn this punishment upon himself by committing some offence against the sun. All strangers that were subject to this distemper were expelled the country. These customs, and some others relating to their funerals, of which we shall speak in the next section, we have learned of *Herodotus*, who tells us, that he can with certainty affirm them to be true.

THE most severe punishment in use among the *Persians* *Their pu-* was that of shutting them up between two boats, which was *nishments.* done in the following manner. They made two boats on purpose, so even that the one was neither broader nor longer than the other; then they laid the offender in one of them on his back, and covered him with the other, his hands, feet, and head being left uncovered, and appearing through an opening made for that purpose. In this posture he was supplied with victuals and drink by the executioners, who even forced him, by thrusting sharp iron tools into his eyes, to eat what was necessary to support nature, lest he should starve himself, and thereby put an end to his pain. On his face, that was placed full in the sun, they poured honey,

^h Idem ibid.ⁱ HERODOT. ubi supra.

which

which inviting the flies and wasps, they tormented him no less than the swarms of worms that were bred by his excrements, and devoured his body to the very entrails. Under such a complication of unrelenting torments the unhappy offender lived many days; for *Plutarch*, who describes this cruel manner of putting to death^k, tells us, that *Mithridates*, whom *Artaxerxes* condemned to this punishment for killing his brother *Cyrus*^{*}, lived seventeen days in the utmost agony, and that the uppermost boat being taken off at his death, they found his flesh all consumed, and swarms of worms gnawing his very bowels. Such as were convicted of high treason were condemned to have their head and right-hand struck off; which sentence was, by order of *Artaxerxes*, executed even on the dead body of his brother *Cyrus*^l. But by the antient laws of *Persia* the king was restrained from putting any man to death for a single crime; and besides, the judge was to examine narrowly into the actions of the delinquent; and if his faults were found to over-balance his former services, the king was allowed to punish him at pleasure, if not, he was either pardoned, or punished less severely^m. Poisoners were pressed to death between two stones, which punishment we find inflicted upon *Gigis*, a woman greatly favoured by *Parysatis*, mother to *Artaxerxes*, for having conspired with her to poison queen *Statira*ⁿ.

THE *Persians* were beyond any other people jealous of their wives and concubines. It was death to touch any of the king's women, to speak to them, or even to come near them or their coaches as they travelled. They were allowed to marry their own sisters and daughters; thus we are told, that *Artaxerxes* married two of his daughters, *Amestris* and *Atossa*, though he had promised them to others. *Minutius Felix*^o reproaches them with marrying, or criminally conversing with, their mothers; and *Eusebius* quotes a saying of *Bardeanes*, which shews, that they were indulged by law to marry their sisters, daughters, and mothers. This incestuous custom they observed also in other countries, namely in E-

^k PLUTARCH. in vita Artaxerxis.

^l PLUTARCH, ibid.

^m HERODOT. ubi supr.

ⁿ PLUTARCH, ubi supr.

^o ARNOB.

contra gentes.

^{*} *Artaxerxes*, according to *Plutarch* (1), rewarded *Mithridates* for killing his brother *Cyrus*; but put him to this cruel death for boasting of it, being himself desirous to pass for the person who had done it.

(1) *Plutarch in vit. Artax.*

gypt, Phrygia, and Galatia, as *Eusebius* witnesses^p, where they were on that account abhorred by the inhabitants, and nick-named *Magussai*, or, *addicted to magic*^q. They were the first that introduced those amphibious animals called *Eunuchs*, which *Petronius Arbiter*^r and *Seneca*^s impute to their insatiable lechery.

THE first that caused gold and silver to be coined in *Persia* *Their mo-* was *Darius* the son of *Cyaxares*, or as he is called in scripture^{ty}.

Darius the Mede, the founder of the *Medo-Persian* monarchy (F). In his reign were coined those famous pieces of gold called *Darics*, which for many ages were preferred, being of pure gold, to all other coins throughout the east. They were stamped on one side with an archer, cloathed in a long robe, and crowned with a spiked crown, holding a bow in his left-hand, and an arrow in his right; on the other side was the effigies of *Darius*^t. To these pieces alluded *Agésilas*, when finding himself obliged to quit *Asia* in order to suppress the tumults, which *Artaxerxes* had by dint of gold stirred up in *Greece*, he said, that the king of *Persia* had driven him out of his dominions, with thirty thousand archers^u. The *Darics* were of the same weight and value with the *Attic Stater*. *Darius* seems to have learned the art and use of money of the *Lydians*, for the *Medes* had no money before they conquered *Lydia*^w; whereas *Cræsus* king of *Lydia* had coined innumerable pieces of gold called *Cræsei*; as it was not reasonable that the coin of *Lydia* should continue current after the downfall of the kingdom, we may suppose, that *Darius* recoined the *Cræsei* with his own effigies, without altering their weight or value^x. All these pieces of gold, that were afterwards coined of the same weight and value, by the succeeding kings, not only of the *Persian* but also of the *Macedonian* race, were called *Darics* from this *Darius*, in whose reign they were first coined (G).

^p EUSEB. de Præpar. Evangelic. l. vi. c. 8. ^q Idem. ibid.

^r PETRON. ARB. Satyr.

^s SENECA controver. 4. l. x.

^t PLUTARCH. in Artaxer.

^u PLUTARCH. ibid.

^w HERO-

DOT. l. i. c. 71.

^x Sir Isaac Newton's chronolog. p. 320.

(F) We are told by *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, and the scholiast of *Aristophanes* (18), that the first pieces of gold were coined not by *Darius* the father of *Xerxes*, but by a more antient *Darius*, who must necessarily have been *Darius* the son of *Cyaxares*, king of the *Medes*, since we know of no other *Darius* reigning so early in the east.

(G) In those parts of scripture that were wrote after the *Babylonish* captivity (19), these pieces are mentioned by the name of

(18) *Harpocr. Scholiast. Aristoph. p. 741, 742. Suidas in Δαριῶς.*

(19) 1 Chron. xxix. 7. Ezra. viii. 27.

Their arts,
sciences,
&c.

THERE was, it seems, no great learning among the *Persians* before the time of *Zoroastres*, whom the *Persians* call *Zerdusht* or *Zaratusht*, who flourished in the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*, and was the great mathematician and philosopher of the age he lived in. The *Mages*, being instructed in the mathematics, astronomy, and natural philosophy, partly by him, and partly by *Hystaspes* the father of *Darius*, were reputed above all others skilled in those arts. *Hystaspes* had travelled into *India*, and lived there some time among the *Brachmans*, in order to learn their mysteries and sciences, for which they were famed at that time, and on his return communicated to the *Mages* what he had learned, improving that sect not only in religion, but in all natural knowledge ¹. But this subject shall be treated more at length in the following section, we shall only add here, that this knowledge was locked up among the priests, and seldom communicated to any, except those of the royal family, whom they were bound to instruct ².

Their
trade and
navigation.

THE poverty of the antient *Persians*, and their contempt of riches, shews them to have been quite strangers to trade and commerce, which are carried on with a prospect of gain. Before the conquest of *Lydia* they had no money, nor any cloathing but skins; they used water for drink, and had neither wine nor any other thing, but what their barren country produced, as appears from the speech of *Sandamis* dissuading *Cræsus* from invading *Persia* ³. After they subdued *Lydia*, and were masters of so many rich provinces, they very likely applied their minds to trade and navigation, to supply themselves with those commodities which their country wanted, and at the same time dispose of their own productions. But as we can advance nothing with respect to their trade, warranted by good authorities, we shall dismiss this subject, and hasten to their military discipline.

¹ AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxiii.

² PLATO in Alcibiad. i.

STOBÆUS 496. CLEM. ALEXAND. in Pædagogico.

³ HERODOT. l. i. c. 71.

Adarkonim, and by the *Talmudists* are called (20) *Darkomoth*, both from the *Greek* *Δαρκωνίς*, that is *Darics*. They were probably coined by *Darius* during the two years he reigned at *Babylon*, while *Cyrus* was absent on his *Syrian*, *Egyptian*, and other expeditions. According to Dr. *Bernard* a *Daric* weighed two grains more than one of our guineas.

(20) Buxtor. Lexic. Rabbinic. p. 577.

THE *Persians* learned from their childhood to ride and handle their bow, as we have hinted above, and by the manly exercise of hunting inured themselves to the toils of war ^b. They never parted with their swords, quivers, and bows, even in time of peace, but when they went to repose, and had them even then always ready at hand ^c; which customs the *Romans*, who never used any weapons but in the field, looked upon as unbecoming a civilized nation ^d. As soon as they were able to bear arms they were obliged to enter themselves in the list of soldiers, but received no pay till the age of twenty ^e. In time of war they were all bound, on pain of death, except such as were disabled by age, to appear under their respective colours, and attend the king in his expeditions ^f (H). They used no mercenaries in the time of *Herodianus* ^g, nor maintained

^b STRABO, l. xv. ^c AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. 23. ^d OVID. Trist. l. 5. ^e STRABO, l. xv. ^f HEROD. l. iv. ^g HERODIAN. l. iii.

(H) *Herodotus* tells us, that while *Darius* was marching from *Susa* with his forces against the *Scythians*, *Oëobaxus*, a noble *Persian*, who had three sons in his army, begged, that one of his sons might be left at home to comfort him in his old age. The king received him with great demonstrations of kindness, and told him, that he would grant him more than he asked, for he designed to leave him all his sons. This answer gave the old man great joy, for he did not doubt but the king would be as good as his word. *Oëobaxus* was scarce departed, when *Darius* commanded the officers appointed for such purposes to put all his sons to death, and sent their dead mangled bodies home to their father's house (21). We have another, still more dreadful, instance of the *Persian* severity on such occasions; *Pythius* the *Lydian*, as we have hinted above, entertained with great magnificence *Xerxes* and all his army, and offered him two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety three thousand pieces of gold to defray the expences of the war which he was carrying on against *Greece*. The king was so taken with his zeal and affection, that he promised to grant him whatever he should ask. *Pythius* had then no request to make; but some time after being frightened with an eclipse of the sun, and confiding in the merit of his liberal offer, and the king's unlimited promise, entreated him to discharge the eldest of his five sons who were all in his army, that he might have some body to take care of himself in his old age and of his estate. He had no sooner uttered this request, but the king, transported with rage, and forgetful both of his own promise and the former merits of *Pythius*, comman-

(21) *Herodot.* l. iv. *Seneca, de ira* l. iii. c. 16.

tained a standing army, but were all obliged, when occasion required, to repair to their colours, returning to their respective homes when the war was at an end, without any other pay or reward, but their share of the plunder.

Their armour and discipline.

In war they wore on the head a tiara, or head-piece, so thick that it was proof against all kinds of offensive arms; on the body a coat of mail wrought in likeness of scales, and embellished with sleeves of various colours; their thighs were defended with cuisses; their shields, or rather targets, were of wicker, their javelins short, their bows of an uncommon length, their arrows of reeds; they wore short swords (H2) hanging from a belt on the right side¹. Their horses were likewise covered with armour or thick hides, as we read in *Xenophon*¹, *Curtius*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, &c. They were sure marks-men, and quicker than any other nation in discharging, especially on their flight, which was peculiar to them and the *Parthians*; however, in the time of *Procopius*, their arrows did but small execution, which he ascribes to the slackness of their bows; whereas no shield or armour was proof against the *Roman* arrows². The number of their dead they knew only when the campaign was at an end, and in the following manner. Before they took the field they passed before the king or commander in chief, each man throwing an arrow into a basket; these baskets were sealed up with the royal signet till they returned from the campaign, when they past muster in the same manner, every one taking an arrow out of the same baskets; when they were all past, the remaining arrows were counted, and from their number they reckoned the number of their dead. This antient custom conti-

¹ HERODOT. l. vii. XENOPH. l. vii. ¹ XENOPH. l. viii. c. 190. ² PROCOP. l. i. de Bell. Pers. c. 18.

ded the body of his eldest son to be cut asunder, and one part laid on the right hand of the way, and the other on the left, that the army might pass between both (22). So heinous a crime it was, according to the *Persian* discipline, to exempt one's self from the service, or even ask an exemption for others.

(H2) They wore rather daggers than swords; for *Josephus* (24) compares them to the poignards used by ruffians, and *Darius*, finding in his first engagement with *Alexander* that the length of the *Macedonian* swords did not contribute a little to the victory, caused the *Persian* swords, or *Acinaces* as the *Latins* call them, to be considerably lengthened (25).

(22) Herodot. l. vii. Seneca, de ira. l. iii. c. 17. Antiquitat. l. xx. c. 7.

(24) Joseph. (25) Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii.

nued even in the tim of *Procopius*^k. They wore over their armour great-coats of purple, but the king's was white, by which badge he was known and often aimed at by the enemies^l. They excelled all nations in horsemanship, being accustomed thereunto from their very infancy; among them it was disreputable ever to appear in public but on horse-back; on horse-back they transacted all their private and public affairs, held their assemblies, visited their friends, &c.^m. This custom in process of time began to degenerate into luxury, the *Persians* striving to outdo each other in the richness of their caparisons, their very horses, as *Dionysius* expresses itⁿ, champing the purest gold. They fought not only on horse-back, but likewise from chariots drawn by four, six, and sometimes eight horses^o. They were the first, if we believe *Xenophon*^p, that introduced the use of chariots armed with scythes (I). When they went on any expedition, their wives, mothers, children, &c. followed the camp^q, which custom was observed amongst all the eastern nations; their presence, they thought, inspired them with courage, since they were to lose at once whatever was dear to them in the world, if they did not behave as they ought. Their provisions and baggage were carried on camels, the soldiers being loaded with no other burden but that of their arms^r. In what manner they marched we learn from *Herodotus*, who describes the march of *Xerxes's* army thus^s. The baggage, whether carried by servants or beasts of burden, appeared in the front, and was followed by men of all nations, formed into a body without distinction. Between these and the rest of the army was left an interval, that they might not mix with that part where the king was. Before him marched a thousand horse-men,

^k PROCOPIUS. ubi supra. ^l HERODOTUS. l. ix. XENOPHON. l. vii. p. 136. PLUTARCHUS. in Artaxerxe. ^m XENOPHON. l. iv. p. 81. & l. viii. p. 190. JUSTINUS. l. xli. c. 3. ⁿ DIONYSIUS. de situ orbis. ^o XENOPHON. l. vi. p. 124. ^p XENOPHON. Cyropæd. l. viii. prope finem. ^q CURTIUS. l. iii. 8. 12. XENOPHON. l. iv. p. 76. ^r HERODOTUS. l. viii. ^s HERODOTUS. l. vii.

(I) *Xenophon* ascribes to *Cyrus* the invention of chariots armed with scythes (26). But *Diodorus* tells us out of *Ctesias*, that *Semiramis*, in the war which she waged with the *Bactrians*, had in her army 700 chariots armed with scythes (27), and seems to make the *Affyrian* kings the first inventers of them. Whence it is plain, both from *Xenophon* and *Diodorus*, that *Hesychius* was mistaken when he ascribed this contrivance to the *Macedonians*.

(26) *Cyropæd.* l. viii. prope finem.

(27) *Diodor. Sicul.* l. iii.

and

Their re-
views,
manner of
declaring
war, &c.

and the like number of spear-men with their spears pointing downwards. After these came ten great horses, bred in the plains of *Media* called the *Nisean plains* (K), caparisoned with rich furniture, being consecrated to *Jupiter*. The chariot of that god immediately followed, drawn by eight white horses, the driver on foot, holding the reins, no mortal being allowed to mount the seat. After *Jupiter* appeared the king in a chariot drawn by *Nissan* horses. A thousand chosen spear-men, all *Persians*, marched next to the king, and were followed by another body of horse, consisting of a thousand chosen men of the same nation. After the horse ten thousand *Persian* foot advanced, and of these one thousand armed with javelins, which, instead of the common ornaments, were embellished with pomegranates of gold. The other nine thousand had pomegranates of silver. The ten thousand foot were followed by ten thousand *Persian* horse, and at the distance of two stades. The rest of the forces advanced promiscuously. They computed the number of their forces in the following manner. Ten thousand men were crowded into as narrow a piece of ground as they possibly could, and a kind of furrow being drawn round them, they caused the like number to enter the ground, and continued so doing till the whole army was computed. When they intended to make war upon any nation they sent heralds or ambassadors to demand of them earth and water; that is, to command them to submit and acknowledge the king of *Persia* as the sovereign lord of their country (L). This manner of declaring war they borrowed

* HERODOT. l. vii.

* DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. HEROD. l. iv.

(K) The *Misean* or *Nisean* fields in *Media* are celebrated by all the antients for the large, strong, and fleet horses that were bred there (28), and which alone the *Persian* monarchs used after they were masters of that country.

(L) Some have erroneously imagined, that by this demand nothing else was meant, but that those to whom it was directed should furnish the *Persian* army with such a quantity of provisions. But the contrary is plain from all the antients, especially from *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *Darius* dispatched a messenger to *Indathyrsus* king of *Scythia* commanding him to own the king of *Persia* for his sovereign, and to present him with earth and water in token of his submission. To this message the *Scythian* returned answer, that he acknowledged no other lords but *Jupiter* his progenitor, and *Vesta* queen of the *Scythians*, and that, in stead of presenting him with earth and water, he would send him such a

(28) *Herodot. l. vii. Ammian. Mar. l. xxiii. Themistius Orat. v. &c.*
present

of the *Medes*, as *Plutarch* informs us, and the *Medes* seem to have imitated in that, as in many other things, the *Assyrians*, who, as appears from the book of *Judith* ^w, used in that manner to require an entire submission. In time of action the king was always in the center ^x, and used to encourage his men with a speech ^y. The signal was given with the sound of trumpets, and followed by an universal shout of the whole army ^z. The watch-word was in use even among them, for *Xenophon*, speaking of *Cyrus*, tells us, that his was, *Jupiter our leader and protector* ^a. The royal banner was a spread-eagle of gold, carried on the point of a long spear ^b. They reckoned those happy who died in the field, and inflicted exemplary punishments on such as abandoned their posts, or fled from their colours ^c. They used no stratagems, nor cared for any advantages that were not owing to their valour ^d, or, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* expresses it, thought it unfair and base to steal a victory ^e. They never fought in the night, unless attacked by the enemy, nor marched before the rising of the sun ^f. Duels or single combats were in use among them, as is plain from the stories of *Darius* ^g and *Polydamas* ^h. This is what we have been able to gather, from unquestionable authorities, relating to the military discipline of the antient *Persians*.

^w JUDITH. c. ii. 7. ^x XENOPH. l. i. Ἀνάβαρ. ^y STORÆUS. ser. xlii. CURT. &c. ^z CURT. l. iii. DIODOR. Sicul. l. xvii. ^a XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 137. ^b XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 136. PHILOSTRAT. Iconum. l. ii. c. 32. ^c PLUTARCH. in Artaxerx. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxiii. ^d JUSTIN. l. xi. ^e AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xvii. ^f CURT. l. v. 12. 6. ^g DIODOR. Sicul. l. xvii. ^h PAUSANIAS. in Eliac.

present as he deserved, and perhaps might make him repent of his insolence in assuming the title of his master. And accordingly he sent him sometime after a messenger to present him on his part with a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows, which *Darius* would fain have interpreted as a tacit submission, and a giving him possession of the land and water; for, said he, the mouse is bred in the earth and lives on the same food as man; a frog lives in the water; a bird may be compared to a horse, and by the arrows they seem to deliver their whole force into my hands. But *Gobryas* was of opinion, that the king of *Scythia* gave them to understand by such a present, that unless the *Persians* could ascend into the air like a bird, or conceal themselves in the earth like mice, or plunge into the fens like frogs, they should inevitably perish by those arrows (29).

(29) *Herodot. l. iv.*

As

Their
laws.

As to their laws, they are greatly commended by *Xenophon*, who prefers them to those of any other nation whatsoever¹, and observes, that other law-givers only appointed punishments for crimes committed, but did not take sufficient care to prevent men from committing them; whereas the main design of the *Persian* laws was to inspire men with a love for virtue and abhorrency of vice, so as to avoid the one and pursue the other, without regarding either punishments or rewards. To attain this end, parents were not by their laws allowed to give their children what education they pleased; but were obliged to send them to public schools, where they were educated with great care, and never suffered, till they had attained the age of seventeen, to return home to their parents. These schools were not under the care of common mercenary masters, but governed by men of the first quality and best characters, who taught them by their example the practice of all virtues; for these schools were not designed for learning of sciences, but practising of virtue. The youths were allowed no other food but bread and cresses, no other drink but water², at least from the age of seven to seventeen. Those who had not been educated in these schools were excluded from all honours and preferments³ (M). There were particular laws against ingratitude, and whoever had done any one a good office, if he did not meet with a suitable return, could bring an action against the ungrateful person, who upon conviction was punished with great severity⁴ (N). When any one went to give advice

¹ XENOPH. cyropæd. l. i. ² XENOPH. ibid. JUSTIN. l. xli. CIC. l. 5. Tusculan. quæst. ³ XENOPH. ibid. ⁴ XENOPH. ibid. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. iii. 5. THEMISTOCLES, orat. 3.

(M) These schools the *Persians* called *Liberal markets*; for they allowed no public place for buying or selling, as appears from *Cyrus's* answer to the *Lacedæmonians*, telling them, that he was not afraid of those who in the midst of their cities have a place of public resort, where they cheat one another by mutual oaths; which words, adds *Herodotus* (30), were levelled at all the *Greeks*, who in every city had some public place for buying and selling, whereas the *Persians* allow of no such places, nor any place at all of public resort.

(N) *Seneca* therefore was mistaken when he said, that laws against ingratitude were to be found among the *Macedonians* alone; *excepta Macedonum gens, says he, non est in ullâ data adversus in-*

(30) *Herodot. l. i.*

advice to the king, either of his own accord, or by the prince's order, in proposing his opinion he stood upon an ingot of gold, which he was rewarded with, if his advice was found wholesome, if otherwise, he was publicly whipt ^a.

BEFORE we close this section, we shall add some particulars, relating to the *Persian* kings, gathered from the best authors. The kings of *Persia* were above all others the most arbitrary and absolute, and looked upon their subjects, however distinguished by birth or fortune, as the meanest of slaves. None, their own children not excepted, durst address them with any other title, but that of *Lord, great king, king of kings* ^o; which high-sounding titles they seem to have borrowed from the *Assyrians*; for *Daniel* ^p in speaking to *Nubuchadnezzar*, gives him the title of *king of kings*. As the *Persians* imitated in this the haughtiness of the *Assyrians*, so did the *Parthians* that of the *Persians* ^q, and continued this style even to the time of the emperor *Constantius*, to whom *Sapor* king of *Parthia* wrote himself, *king of kings, partaker of the stars, brother of the sun and moon, &c.* But to return to the *Persian* kings, as they assumed high titles to themselves, so they bestowed no other on their subjects, by what dignity soever distinguished, but that of slaves ^r; and treated them, not in words only, but in all other respects as arrant slaves. To this spirit of slavery, which is inconsistent with true courage, *Plato* ascribes the downfall of the *Persian* monarchy ^s. This spirit of slavery prevailed to such a degree among the *Persians*, that even those who were by the king's order publicly whipt, used to return him thanks for vouchsafing to remember them ^t. Whoever betrayed the least reluctance to put in execution the king's commands, how difficult soever, was sure to forfeit his head and right arm ^u. The custom of adoring their kings, and putting them on the same level with the gods, is by *Justin* ^w fathered upon *Cyrus the great*.

^a *ÆLIAN* var. histor. l. xii. c. 12. ^o *DIO. CHRYS.* orat. 3.
de regno. *ARRIAN.* l. vi. *STRABO*, xv. *EZRA.* ^p *DAN.*
ii. 37. ^q *PLUTARCH* in *Pomp & Lucullo.* ^r *XENOPH.*
l. i. *Anabasis.* *Q. CURT.* l. v. *ARISTOT.* de Mundo. *EZRA*, c.
iv. 12. ^s *PLATO* lib. iii de Legib. ^t *STOBÆUS* serm. xii.
^u *STRABO* l. xv. p. 733. ^w *JUSTIN.* c. iv. l. xi.

gratos actio (31), that is, in no nation, except the *Macedonian*, ingratitude is actionable; where some read *Medorum* instead of *Macedonum*, but all the antient copies have *Macedonum*.

(31) *Seneca, de Benefic. l. iii. c. 6.*

None durst appear before the king without prostrating themselves on the ground; nay, they were all obliged, at what distance soever the king appeared, to pay him that adoration. Nor did they exact it only of their own vassals, but also of foreign ministers and ambassadors, the captain of the guard being charged to enquire of those, who asked admittance to the king, whether they were ready to adore him; if they refused to comply with that ceremony, they were told that the king's ears were open to such only as were willing to pay him that homage, and obliged to transact the business they were charged with, by means of the king's servants or eunuchs*. Nor did their pride and ambition stop here; they sometimes ordered the same reverence to be paid to their favourites, as appears from the history of *Haman* and *Mordecai*†; nay, even to their statues and images, for *Philostrotus* acquaints us, that in the time of *Apollonius* a golden statue of the king was presented to all those that entered *Babylon*, and that such only as adored it were admitted within the gates‡. When they appeared before the king, their common salutation was, *Live for ever**, *Let the king live for ever*. To sit in the king's chair or throne (O), to wear any part of the

* PLUTARCH. in Themist. † ESTHER iii. 2. ‡ PHILOSTRAT. l. i. de vita Apollonii. * ELIAN. var. histor. l. i. c. 32. Nehem. c. ii. 3. Daniel. c. vi. 6.

(O) 2. *Curtius* tells us (32), that when *Alexander* marched his army thro' a certain province called *Gabaza*, one of his soldiers arrived at the place, where they were to encamp, so benumbed with the excessive cold of the season and climate, that he had almost lost the use of both his limbs and senses. The king, who had likewise suffered greatly by the cold, and was then sitting by a fire which they had kindled in the open fields, no sooner saw the soldier in that pitiful condition, but starting up, and with his own hands pulling off his armour, he placed him in the chair where himself was sitting. The soldier by degrees recovered, but was very near fainting away again when he found himself seated in the royal chair, and the king standing by him. But *Alexander* encouraged him to lay aside all fear, saying, *Do not fear, O fellow soldier, but reflect how much happier is your condition under me, than that of the Persians under their king; had you rested in the Persian king's chair, it had cost you your life; to have rested in mine has saved it*. Hence it was, that *Artabanus*, as we read in *Herodotus* (33), though uncle to *Xerxes*, shewed so great reluctance to comply with his orders, when he commanded him to put on the royal robes, sit on the throne, and repose in his bed.

(32) 2. *Curt. l. viii.* (33) *Herodot. l. vii.*

apparel

apparel which he had used, (P) to look into the litter where-
in his concubines were conveyed from their habitation to the
palace (Q); to shoot in hunting, or strike at the game be-
fore the king (R), were all capital crimes ^b. Such as betrayed
any secret, which they had been trusted with by the king, or
gave intelligence to the enemies of his designs, were punished
with great severity; whence *Alexander*, as his historian tells
us ^c, could never have any notice before-hand of their de-
signs, the captives choosing rather to suffer death than betray
the designs of their prince. Nobody, of what rank soever,
appeared before the king without a present, which custom
prevails among the orientals to this day. When he went on
his progress or marched out with his army, all the inhabitants
of the countries or provinces through which he passed were
obliged to declare their vassalage by some present or other;
even the inhabitants of the villages and fields flocked to him
with their donatives, some offering sheep, oxen, corn, wine,
&c. others milk, cheese, dates, &c. every one according to
his ability ^d (S). THE

^b DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii. VAL. MAXIM. l. v. c. 36. Q.
CURT. c. xviii. FRONTIN. Stratagem. c. vi. PLUTARCH. in
Artaxerx & Themist. ^c Q. CURT. l. iv. & AMMIAN. MAR-
CELL. l. xxi. ^d ÆLIAN. var. histor. l. i. c. 31.

(P) *Plutarch* tells us (34) that one *Tiribaxus*, who was very fa-
miliar with *Artaxerxes*, whom he used to divert with his wit and
humour, having one day begged of him an old gown, obtained
what he demanded, but with this condition, that he should not
wear it, that being contrary to the laws of *Persia*. *Tiribaxus*,
not minding the king's prohibition or the laws of the realm, soon
after appeared in it at court, which the *Persians* resenting, as an af-
front against the majesty of their king, were for punishing him ac-
cording to the rigour of the law. But *Artaxerxes* saved him by
telling them, that he had commanded *Tiribaxus* to appear in that
garb as his fool.

(Q) In one of these litters *Themistocles*, who was desirous to
have a private conference with *Artaxerxes*, was conveyed to the
king's apartment, without being observed by the *Persians*, who
began to be jealous of him (35).

(R) This law was abrogated, as we read in *Plutarch*, by *Ar-
taxerxes Maccabir* (36) or *Longimanus*.

(S) We read in *Plutarch* (37) and *Ælian* (38) of one *Sineta* a
Persian, who meeting by chance *Artaxerxes* at a great distance from

(34) *Plutarch. in Artax.* (35) *Plutarch. in Artax.* (36) *Plu-
tarch. in Apophthegmat.* (37) *Plutarch. in Artaxer. & apoph-
thegmat.* (38) *Ælian. var. hist. l. i. c. 32.*

How they
administer-
ed justice.

THE Persian kings frequently heard causes themselves, both civil and criminal, and though transcendently vitious in other respects were nevertheless very tender in point of justice and equity. After hearing the merits of the cause with great attention, they took several days to consider and advise with such as were conversant in their laws, before they gave sentence. When they sat on life and death, they not only considered the crime of which the delinquent was impeached, but all the actions, whether good or bad, of his whole life; and condemned or cleared him according as his crimes or deserts prevailed (T). Their humanity and good nature even towards those, who, according to the laws, deserved death, is very remarkable. Thus *Artaxerxes Longimanus* ordered, that the turbans of the condemned persons should be struck off instead of their heads, that the strings, with which they tied them, should be cut instead of their ears, and their garments whipt instead of their persons. Beside the king there were several other judges, all men of unblemished characters, and well skilled in the laws of the king-

^e PHILOSTRAT. l. i. de vita Apollon. EPIPHAN. l. ii. c. de Manichæis. ^f EPIPHAN. l. ii. c. de Manichæis. JOSEPH. Antiquitat. l. xi. c. 3. HERODOT. l. i. ^g PLUTARCH. in Artaxerx. & apophthegmat. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxx.

his poor cottage, and having nothing else to present him with, ran to the river *Cyrus*, and filling both his hands with water, made an offering of that to the king, which was by him graciously received.

(T) To this purpose *Herodotus* tells us (39), that *Darius* having pronounced sentence of death against a corrupt judge, and afterwards finding that his former deserts over-ballanced his present crime, ordered him to be taken down from the cross and set at liberty. This does not agree with what we read in *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us, that the sentence of death, once pronounced, could not be repealed even by the king himself; for after relating how *Darius* pronounced sentence of death against *Charidemus*, he adds, that the king immediately repented, as if he had been over-hasty in a matter of the utmost consequence, but it was not in his power to undo what he had done (40). Perhaps he means nothing else but that the king could not restore him to life again; for, as both he (41) and *Xenophon* (42) inform us, the sentence was no sooner pronounced, but the criminal was hurried away to execution.

(39) *Herodot. l. vii.*
Apr. Sicul. l. xii.

(40) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xiv.*
(42) *Xenoph. l. i. 'Αναβασ p. 205.*

(41) *Dio-*
dom.

dom. These were called *royal judges*, they administered justice at stated times in different provinces, and some of them attended the king whither soever he went ^h. The king often advised with them, and in matters concerning himself referred the whole to their judgment ⁱ. They were nominated by the king, who, as that employment was for life, took great care to prefer such only as were famed for their integrity (U).

THE *Persian* kings had several wives, besides what number of concubines they pleased. *Darius* maintained as many ^{Their concubines.} as the days of the year ^k. *Artaxerxes* had by his concubines 115 children ^l. The concubines were introduced to the king, each in their turn ^m, whence some have concluded, that the antient *Persian* year consisted of 360 days, seeing that several of the *Persian* monarchs had the like number of concubines, who went to their kings in constant courses ⁿ (W).

WE

^h *Ælian* var. histor. c. xxxiv. ⁱ *Herodot.* l. iii. ^k *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xvii. ^l *Justin.* l. x. c. i. ^m *Esther*, ii. 12-15.
ⁿ See *Whiston's* theory of the earth, Book II. p. 149.

(U) *Artaxerxes* raised one to that dignity, as *Ælian* (43) informs us, who was not a *Persian*, but a *Mede* by birth, for having condemned his own son to death, according to the power which parents had in those days over their children. And *Cambyzes* being informed, that one of the Judges had received a bribe, caused him upon conviction to be flayed alive, and having covered the seat, on which he pronounced the unjust sentence, with his skin, appointed his son in his room, ordering him to sit in the same chair when he pronounced sentence (44). These judges according to *Josephus* (45) and *Zonaras* (46), were seven in number, which they gather from the commission of *Artaxerxes* to *Exra*, who was sent of the king and his seven counsellors (47).

(W) This conjecture is not altogether groundless: but we cannot help thinking it somewhat strange, that the same writer should alledge the authority of *Q. Curtius* to prove, that the antient *Persian* year contained but 360 days, when that author tells us, in express terms, that the *Persian* year consisted of 365 days; his words are, *Magos trecenti & sexaginta quinque juvenes sequebantur—diebus totius anni pares numero; quippe Persis quoque in totidem dies descriptus est annus* (48); that is, the *Magos* were followed by 365 youths, answering in number to the days of the year; for among the *Persians* too the year is divided into 365 days. But *Curtius*

(43) *Ælian.* var. histor. l. i. c. xxxiv. (44) *Herodot.* l. v. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 3. (45) *Joseph.* Antiquit. l. xi. c. 6. (46) *Zonar.* tom. I. (47) *Exra* c. vii. v. 14. (48) *Q. Curtius* iii. 3. 8. & seq.

Their re-
venues.

WE shall end this section with some account of their revenues. Each province had its peculiar treasure and treasurer, as is plain from all the antient writers, both sacred and prophane; and from the great sums, which *Alexander* found in several particular provinces or cities, we may judge of the immense treasures they possessed. In the city of *Damascus* he found 2600 talents, and silver uncoined to the value of 500 more; in *Arbela* 4000 talents, in *Susa* 40,000 and 9000 *Darics*, in *Persopolis* 120,000, in *Pasargada* 6000, in *Ecbatan* 180,000^b. These immense sums arose from the tributes which each province was yearly obliged to pay according to the assessment of *Darius Hystaspes*. For, during the reign of *Cyrus* and his son *Cambyses*, no tributes were imposed, the people voluntarily contributing, for the maintenance of the king and his army, what they thought fit; from the imposing of these taxes, and other things of the like nature, the *Persians* gave *Darius* the nick-name of *Merchant*. The sum total of the king's revenues, according to the computation of *Herodotus*^c, amounted to 14560 *Euboic* talents^d, besides other smaller sums. These revenues were gathered from the provinces of *Asia* only, but in process of time the islands and several provinces of *Europe*, with *Egypt*, *Syria*, &c. were likewise taxed, which encreased the king's revenues to such a degree, that, if we believe *Justin*^e, *Alexander*, after the conquest of *Persia*, received yearly from his subjects the sum of 300,000 talents. The *Persian* kings preserved their treasures in the following manner; they caused the gold and silver to be melted down and poured into earthen vessels, which they broke, when occasion required, and took such a quantity as seemed necessary^f. The lands of the *Persians* were free from all taxes; but other provinces, besides money, were obliged to contribute considerably, each something of their proper product, towards the maintenance of the king, and,

^a CURT. I. v. DIODOR. SIC. I. xviii. ARRIAN. I. iii. c. 16. PLUTARCH. in Alexand. ^b HERODOT. I. iii. ^c See the preface to the first volume. ^d JUSTIN. I. xiii. c. 1. ^e HERODOT. ubi supra.

in this, as in many other particulars, was certainly mistaken. since *Herodotus*, whose authority is of more weight, in speaking of the tributes which *Darius Hystaspes* laid on the provinces subject to the *Persian* empire, says, that the *Cilicians* were obliged to furnish *Darius* with 360 white horses, that is, one for every day of the year (49).

in time of war, of his army: Thus the provinces of *Syren* and *Barca* were, besides the ordinary taxes, assessed at such a quantity of corn as was sufficient to supply 120,000 men; the *Satrapa* of *Babylon* maintained the king and his court for four months, and moreover paid him a yearly tribute of 500 young eunuchs. The *Ethiopians* and adjoining people made a present every third year of two *Chenixes* (X) of gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five *Ethiopian* children, and twenty elephants teeth of the largest size. The *Colchians* or *Colchi* presented the king every fifth year with a hundred boys, and the like number of young women; the *Arabians* with a quantity of frankincense, answering the weight of 1000 talents, &c. But it is now time to dismiss this subject, and hasten to the most entertaining and important part of the *Persian* history, their religion and religious ceremonies.

S E C T. III.

Of the Religion of the PERSIANS.

THERE is hardly any subject, which hath employed the pens of authors antient or modern, that deserves to be treated with greater accuracy, or to be read with more attention, than this which we are now about to discuss. The religion of the *Persians*, if we may credit the most learned and industrious writers, is venerable from its antiquity, and worthy of admiration from its having subsisted now some thousand years, in as great or greater purity, than any other religion known to us at this day. But the accounts, which are still extant of the religion of the antient *Persians*, are far

The importance of this subject, and the difficulties which occur in treating of it.

^c HERODOT. ubi supra. STRABO, l. xv. XENOPH. l. iv. ^a *Asiatick*, p. 261. ^b HERODOT. ubi supra. ^c Vid. Hist. Relig. veter. Persar. per THOMAM HYDE, 4to. Oxon. 1700. The religion of the *Persians* by HEN. LORD, 4to. London, 1630. Relation de l'Etat present de Perse par SANSÓN, Paris, 1695. Hist. of Chaldaic Philosophy by THOMAS STANLEY, Bookii. p. 67. Folio, London, 1662. Philos. General. per THEOPH. GALEUM, lib. i. c. 5. 8vo, London, 1676. Connection of the history of the Old and New Testament, by Dean PRIDEAUX, Vol. I. p. 299. 8vo, Lond. 1729. HERBERT'S, DELLA VALLE'S, TAYLOR'S travels, &c.

(X) *Chenix* was a *Greek* measure containing such a quantity of wheat as served a man one day.

from

from corresponding exactly ; and the descriptions, which modern travellers have given us of those who profess this religion in *Persia* and *India*, even in our time, differ so widely, though not indeed in essential articles, that it requires no small degree of patience to separate the ore from the dross, and to present the reader with what is worthy of being known and believed among heaps of fables and misrepresentations (A).

It

(A) The accounts, we have of the *Persian* religion, are, as we have stated them above, of two sorts ; first, such as have been collected from books ; and these again may be divided into two classes, one extracted from the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, the other from *Oriental* historians ; the second consists of what travellers deliver from their own knowledge, concerning the doctrines and practices of the present *Persians*, who themselves affirm, and are allowed by others, to practise the religion of their ancestors with little or no variation. As to such as have drawn their materials from books, they have been, as we shall frequently have occasion to shew, prodigiously misled in their opinions, confidently enough delivered on this subject. For as to the *Greek* writers, such as *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, &c. they delivered what they had from others, and that likewise under this disadvantage, that being polytheists themselves, they of course conceived, that other nations had variety of gods as well as their own, and therefore reported, that the *Persians* worshipped the fire, because they prayed before it ; the air, because in their devotions they lifted up their eyes towards it ; and the sun, because they professed to reverence it (1) ; nor was this all, they forged, for the sake of making their histories uniform, such sacrifices and other religious rites, as seemed to them correspondent with the notions which they had framed of the *Persian* religion, and attributed them to the *Persians*. Thus *Herodotus*, speaking of the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, relates impossible things of the *Magi*, with as much boldness as if he had been an eye-witness of them. “ The country (says he) that lies about the mountain *Pangæus* is called “ *Pbillis*, on the west side extending to the river *Angites*, which “ falls into the *Strymon* itself. At their arrival the *Magi* offered “ a sacrifice of white horses to this river ; and after they had thrown “ them into the stream with a composition of various drugs, the “ army broke up, and marched to the *Nine Ways* of the *Bœotians*, “ where they found bridges prepared for their passage over the “ *Strymon*. But being informed that this place was called by the “ name of the *Nike Ways*, they took nine of the sons and daughters of the inhabitants, and buried them alive, as the manner of “ the *Persians* is. And I have heard, that *Amestris*, the wife of “ *Xerxes*, having attained to a considerable age, caused fourteen

(1) *Herodotus*, *Clio*, p. 25 *Strab. Geograph. lib. xy. Diog. Laertius*, in *Proem*.

“ children

If we had still any considerable collection of the antient *Persian* records, we should doubtless find in them what would satisfy

“ children of the best families in *Persia* to be interred alive, for “ a sacrifice of thanks to that god, who, they say, is beneath the “ earth (2).” We have shewn in the text, that the *Persians* were indeed reverencers of water as well as fire, but that they sacrificed to it, or threw any thing into a running stream, is a flat contradiction to this very notion of theirs, which consisted in preserving the purity of those elements, and not in polluting them with blood and dead carcases; and in respect to sacrifices, *Herodotus* himself in another place acknowledges as much (3). *Q. Curtius* with like hardiness describes the chariot of *Darius*, in which he appeared in the field against *Alexander*; “ it was adorned (says he) with images of “ their gods in silver and gold, the axle-tree thereof glittered “ with precious stones; upon it were two images of gold, the one “ representing *Ninus*, the other *Belus*, of a cubit stature each; “ between them was an eagle of gold displaying her wings over “ both, &c. (4)”. All this is downright fiction; *Ninus* and *Belus* were never worshipped by the *Persians*; they were not wont to erect images, or to worship them; what makes it probable, that *Curtius* was the inventor of this whole story, is this; that *Arrian* (5), an author of great accuracy, and who wrote from excellent materials, says not one word of all this; nor indeed does any other antient historian; but *Curtius* was so great a rhetorician that he could not write plainly, but, on the contrary, loaded all his descriptions with ornament, without any regard to probability or truth. As to the relations of travellers, we need not wonder that they differ about the religious opinions, rites, and ceremonies of the *Persians*, or as some call them *Persees*, since they very seldom agree exactly, even in their descriptions of less intricate things than these. As for *Henry Lord*, whose small treatise in relation to these people has been received as a kind of oracle, merely because he ventured to talk very authoritatively therein; it is scarce possible to determine from what he says, whether they are idolaters or no; he calls them so, it is true, and speaks of their worshipping the fire in an idolatrous manner; yet the better part of his book, which consists of what he heard from one of their priests, contains nothing which can justify his opinion (6). On the whole, we have thought it necessary to peruse, and shall on occasion make use of, whatever is related by *Herbert*, *Ovington*, *Tavernier*, *Thevenot*, *Chardin*, or other travellers concerning the *Persees*, their tenets and custom; but it is our happiness to follow a more capable guide than any of

(2) *Herodotus Polybimn.* p. 183. (3) *Clio.* p. 25. (4) *Q. Curt. lib. iii. cap. 3.* (5) *lib. ii. cap. 11.* (6) *Lord's history of the Persees, p. 10. 44.*

these;

satisfy us as to the primitive doctrines of their wise men ; but as these are most of them either long since destroyed, or at least are hidden from us, we must be content to follow such lights as yet remain, and where we cannot make the reader understand things as clearly as we would, it is our duty to make them, however, as clear as we can. This is certain, that the *Persians* have preserved the worship of one God, and other essential articles of true religion ^b, through a long course of ages, without suffering themselves to be drawn over by fraud, or submitting through force, to any new faith, though they have often changed their masters ; a thing singular, and in some sort commendable, if we consider how much they have been depressed, since the death of *Yezdegberd*, the last king of their own religion, and the opprobrious treatment they have met with from the *Mohammedans*, who are wont to call them and christians, with like contempt, *infidels*. Though the principles of the former, as well as the latter, are far more reasonable than the ill connected legends of the *Arabian* impostor ; and though the modern *Persians* (taking that proper name in a religious not a civil sense) are unanimously acknowledged to be as honest, as charitable, and inoffensive a people as any upon earth. So that, in God's due time, we have just reason to believe, they will at last acknowledge the truth of the gospel dispensation, and be included within the pale of the christian church (B).

WE

^b Hist. relig. veter. Pers. c. xxxiii. Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 360.

these, the very learned and judicious doctor *Thomas Hyde* ; who, from the mighty stores of various learning which he possessed, as well as from the curious observations he in his travels had made, composed his valuable history of the religion of the antient *Persians*, wherein every thing he lays down is supported by antient monuments, or by the express authority of that law which this people professed to have received from *Zerdusht*, a compendium of whose writings contained in the book *Sad-der*, the *Enchiridion* of the modern *Persees*, is annexed to the doctor's treatise (7).

(B) Since the introduction of the *Mohammedan* religion into *Persia*, the antient inhabitants have been exposed to various persecutions on account of their religion ; for the *Mohammedans* being generally speaking bigots, they are not content with giving these unhappy men always ill language, but on every occasion are stirring up

(7) *Magorum liber Sad-der Zoroastris Præcepta & Canones continens In usum Ecclesiæ Magorum & Fidelium eorum omnium.*

their

WE have heretofore shewn, that the original inhabitants *Origin of*
of *Persia* descended from *Elam* the son of *Shem*^e, and from *the Persi-*
those an *religion*.

^c Vol. I. p. 360.

their princes to oppress and destroy, under colour of religion, these
relics of the antient *Persians*. It is true, the *Mohammedan Persians*
have in all ages had among them some men of learning and genius ;
yet few or none have ever inquired thoroughly into the doctrines of
these poor people ; on the contrary, they are as ready as any to
load them with opprobrious names, and such as they no way de-
serve ; thus they call them *Nogusha*, i. e. *Zabian*, or *deserter of the*
true faith ; *Ghebri*, i. e. *infidel* ; this word is as differently spelt as
it is differently pronounced, the most usual way of writing it is
Ghaur ; they likewise stile an antient *Persian Atesh-pereft*, i. e. *fire-*
worshipper ; *Philiu* or *Caliv*, i. e. *fool* or *madman* ; the most
gentle term they make use of is *Mogh*, that is, *Magian*, but then
they frequently say that a *Mogh* is *Atesh-pereft* and *Zindik*, that is,
a fire-worshipper and a *Sadducee* ; for among other calumnies with
which they load these poor men, that of denying a future state is
one ; however, though they may amongst themselves destroy their
good name, yet with strangers their aspersions do the *Persians* no
hurt ; for they, looking on the innocence and integrity of these
poor peoples lives, cannot avoid affording them both pity and
esteem : it would be an easy matter to support all that has been
advanced in this note, by quotations from the best accounts we
have of *Persia* and the *Indies* ; but, instead of fatiguing the reader,
it may perhaps answer the same end, if we here set down the five
precepts which these *Persians* acknowledge as the rule of life, which
every *Bebedin* or *Lay-man* is bound to obey, as they are reported by
Mr. Lord.

I. “ To have shame ever with them, as a remedy against all sin ;
“ for a man would never oppress his inferiors, if he had any shame ;
“ a man would never steal, if he had any shame ; a man would
“ never bear false witness, if he had any shame ; a man would
“ never be overcome with drink, if he had any shame. But be-
“ cause this is laid aside, men are ready to commit any of these,
“ and therefore the *Bebedin* or *Lay-man* must think of shame.

II. “ To have fear always present with them, and that every
“ time the eye twinkled or closed its lids together, they should
“ stand in fear at those times of their prayers, lest they should not
“ go to heaven ; the thought of which should make them fear to
“ commit sin, for that God sees what manner of ones they are,
“ that look up towards him.

III. “ That whensoever they are to do any thing, to think
“ whether the thing be good or bad that they go about, whether
“ commanded or forbidden in the *Zundavastaw* ; if prohibited,
“ they must not do it ; if allowed by the book of religion, they
“ may embrace and prosecute the same.

IV. “ That whosoever of God’s creatures they should first be-

The Persians pretend to derive their religion from Abraham.

They were always zealous in the service of One God.

those two patriarchs, it is most probable, they derived the true religion, which at first flourished amongst them with the utmost purity, but in process of time was corrupted by an intermixture of superstitious rites and heretical opinions, at such time as the rest of the oriental nations were overspread with that deluge of false religion, which generally goes under the name of *Zabiism*. From which some affirm they were thoroughly recovered by the patriarch *Abraham*, who, they say, undertook the reformation of their religion, and having freed it as well from the pernicious doctrines they had imbibed, as from the superfluous ceremonies they had adopted, left it them once more pure and in the same condition, wherein he transmitted it to his own descendants^d. But if this were so, they were a second time corrupted and engaged, if not in idolatrous practices, yet in superstitious acts of reverence to the heavenly bodies, and in practices inconsistent with the true faith (C).

HOWEVER the splendor of their religion might be darkened with these spots, yet it was never so far obscured as to admit any degree of comparison between it and the worship of neighbouring nations (excepting the *Jews*); for the *Persians* continued zealous adorers of one all-wise and omnipotent God, whom they held to be infinite and omnipresent, so that they

^d Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. c. ii. & iii. Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 313.

“ hold in the morning, it should be a monitor to put them in mind
“ of their thanksgivings to God, that had given such good things
“ for mens service and use.

V. “ That whensoever they pray by day they should turn their
“ faces towards the sun, and whensoever they prayed by night
“ they should incline towards the moon; for that they are the two
“ great lights of heaven, and God’s two witnesses: most contrary
“ to *Lucifer*, who loveth darkness more than light.”

(C) That the *Persian* religion, as well as other religions, receded by degrees from its first principles and suffered by the introduction of some superstitions, cannot seem strange to any considerate person. The *Persians* themselves confess it, and acknowledge, that their famous law-giver *Zerdusht* came to restore their primitive doctrines, and to purge away those errors which time and the industry of *Zabian* heretics had introduced. In what these errors consisted, the superstitious ceremonies which attended them, and the pains it cost this restorer of magism to root these foolish superstitions out, will be delivered in the life of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*, which we shall give the reader at large in our history of the *Persians* from the *Oriental* writers, under the reign of that monarch in whose days he flourished; for to have inserted so long a digression here, must have rendered this chapter very prolix, and at the same time obliged us to frequent recapitulations in the subsequent history.

could



could not bear, that he should be represented by either molten or graven images, or that the creator and lord of the universe should be circumscribed within the narrow bounds of temples^c; on this account they overturned the statues and places of public worship among the *Greeks*, as unworthy of the deity, and not from any sacrilegious contempt of the gods of other countries. In the decline indeed of the antient *Persian* empire, the worship of *Venus* was introduced by one of their princes; but it was condemned by the *Magi*^f, who remained firm to this great article of their faith, *There is one God*, and took care to transmit it religiously to their posterity.

THE only objection, to which the antient and modern *Persians* have rendered themselves liable, flows from the respect which they have constantly paid to fire and to the sun: yet if this matter be seriously and impartially considered, it will be found, that there is nothing of idolatry in this respect of theirs, but that they only worship God in the fire, and not fire as a God. That they should have an extraordinary veneration for the element of fire, and make choice rather of it than of any of the rest, to be the symbol to them of the divine nature, will appear less extraordinary, if we consider, that a never-dying fire was kept on the altar of burnt-offerings at *Jerusalem*^e, that God revealed himself to *Moses* by a flame in a bush^h, and chose to testify his presence in the host of *Israel* by a pillar of fire, which went before them in the night, and which appeared only as a column of smoke in the dayⁱ. As to their veneration of the sun, it is founded in their belief, that he is the noblest creature of the Almighty visible to us, and that his throne is placed therein. Nor need we wonder, either at the mistakes of antient writers, or at the stories told us by some *Mohammedan* authors, on this head, since it was very difficult for them to get a true knowledge of the religious tenets and customs of this people, because they were forbidden by their legislator *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*, as appears from the book *Sad-der*, to teach either their antient language, or its character, to strangers, or to instruct them in their religion^k. If any further regard had been had to the sun in antient times, it would certainly have descended with the other parts of their religion to the modern *Persians*; but that it never reached them, the learned and judicious doctor *Hyde*

An account of the nature of that respect shewn by them to fire and to the sun.

^c Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. p. 3. HEROD. Clio, p. 25. ^f Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. p. 90. ^g 2 CHRON. vii. 1. LEVIT. x. 1. ^h EXOD. iii. 2. ACTS vii. 30. ⁱ EXOD. xiii. 21. NUMB. xiv. 14. NEM. ix. 12. PSALM. lxxviii. 14. 1 COR. x. 1. ^k Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. P. 5.

assures us; for an intimate friend of his being by him requested to enquire concerning the worship of *Mithra*, (so the *Persians* call the sun) he accordingly asked some of the priests of the *Persians* settled in *India*, *At what seasons, and with what ceremonies, they adored the sun?* They answered, *That they never adored the sun, or paid any sort of divine honours to that luminary, to the moon, or to the planets, but only turned themselves towards the sun when praying, because they looked on it to come nearest to the nature of fire.* the same excellent author observes, that among the precepts of *Zoroaster*, his disciples are directed to pay daily to the sun certain *Niyâsh*, i. e. *salutations*, consisting only in words (and those too addressed to God) without any mention of *Prestish*, i. e. *worship*, by bowing of the body. Yet if any custom of this sort prevails, it ought not to be interpreted as a mark of idolatrous adoration; for the *Persian Mohammedans*, who are zealous detesters of that impiety, and the *Armenians*, who dwell in *Persia*, are wont to pray in like manner, the latter making the sign of the cross, and bowing profoundly low at the sight of the rising sun¹. To say the truth, adoration, that is, prostrating or bowing the body, was even among the *Hebrews* a civil, as well as a religious, rite, or to speak more properly, the same word, viz. השתחווה *Hishtabbahaah* was used to express this act of reverence, when applied to God or man. An eminent rabbin says, that this as an act of devotion was not to be performed out of the sanctuary, that is, out of the temple²; it is forbid by the 2d commandment to be paid to idols; but as a civil rite, the *Jews* were at liberty thus to testify their respect to angels, and to persons of very high dignity. On the whole therefore, there can be no more reason to suspect these *Persians* of idolatry on this account, than any other of the *Oriental* nations, since the sun is no more than the *Kibla* of the *Persians*, as the temple of *Jerusalem* is to the *Jews* and that of *Mecca* to the *Mohammedans*, who in this respect are so scrupulous, that they have tables to determine the bearing of *Mecca*³ from whatever place they are in (D).

As

¹ Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. p. 5. & 6. ² IARCHI sup. LEVIT. xxvi. 1. ³ Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. p. 95.

(D) It may seem strange, how so odd a notion as this of the peculiar sanctity of one point of the compass ever established itself in the world, and much more, that it is become an opinion so universally received as it is at present. If the inquisitive reader would have a more exact account of this matter, than it is proper in such a note as this to give him, he may have recourse to the works of the learned

As to the notions which the *Persians* have of the sun, they ^{The Mi-} are not, as we shall see hereafter, perfectly agreed in them; ^{thra of the} some believing the throne of God placed therein, and that it ^{Persians} is the seat of paradise; others entertaining a different opinion, ^{never es-} as to paradise, but praying nevertheless towards the sun, as a ^{teemed a} symbol of the deity on account of its purity. It is farther ^{deity.} certain, that the *Persians* never called *Mithra* a god, or ascribed to it any name of the divinity; and so far from directing any petitions thereto, they constantly begin and end the ejaculations pronounced before the sun with the praises of the most high god, to whom alone their prayers are addressed. As to the fire, before whom the *Persians* worship, taking that word in an extended sense, they acknowledge nothing of divinity therein, but, esteeming it a symbol of the deity, they first prostrate themselves before it, and then standing up they pray to GOD. Thus among the ruins of the antient palace at *Persepolis* there are seen many marble statues of kings, standing praying to God before the figures of the sun and fire, which are also placed on the wall before them, only one figure is seen kneeling with the same symbols before it as the rest. As the fire in the temple was reputed sacred among the *Jews*, so the *Persians* might from them take this custom of praying before sacred fires; which is the more likely, since it was the manner of God's chosen people to prostrate themselves before the altar, and then, to offer up their petitions. It was also a custom among the *Persians*, to tender oaths before the fire upon the altar, in which also they agreed with the *Jews*, as they did farther in offering victims thereby, and in preserving it from being polluted by impure fuel, in which last case the *Persians* went so far as to punish offenders with death. Their kings also and principal persons were wont sometimes to feed the sacred fires with precious oils and rich aromatics, stiling these *Epula Ignis*, or *fire dainties*^p; but still all things done to or by fire were performed to the

• Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. c. v.

^p HYDR, c. xxii. p. 290.

ed Mr. John Gregory of Oxford (8), who, in treating of two texts of scripture which seem to have some relation to this point (9), hath shewn a consummate knowledge in various kinds of literature, as well as a genius perfectly well turned for such intricate and abstruse inquiries. For us it is sufficient, that the fact is as we have stated it, since, whether it be right or wrong, the *Persians* must be as much in the right, or as little in the wrong, as any other nation which hath fallen into this way of thinking.

(8) 4to, London, A. D. 1684. p. 73.

(9) Zech. iii. 8. vi. 12.

honour

honour of God, and terminated solely in him; at least, if we may credit the concurrent testimonies of *Persic* writers yet remaining, and the constant asseverations of those who still profess this religion (E). THERE

(E) When we consider the point in dispute, which is plainly this; *Whether the antient Persians had rational or irrational notions of the deity or not?* and what degree of evidence there is on each side, it may seem surprising, that it is yet made a matter of dispute among the learned. *Herodotus*, who elsewhere tells us strange stories of the religious ceremonies of the *Persians* on hear-say, speaking expressly on this head, says all that can be wished or desired in their favour; for he owns, that the antient *Persians* had neither temples, altars, nor images, and therefore we ought rather to regard this than the other parts of his book, wherein he manifestly relates what other *Greek* writers, full of spleen against *Xerxes* and his successors, had written of their inhuman sacrifices, and other acts of religious cruelty (10). *Xenophon's* authority would be of great weight in the present case, if he had wrote decisively, and spoken things of his own knowledge; but the high commendations he has given the *Persians*, and the mighty character he hath afforded the laws, hath begot a doubt in the minds of the learned, whether he did not mingle his own ideas with the accounts he gives us of the customs and manners of the *Persians* (11). *Plutarch*, in a passage hereafter more fully cited, speaks very respectfully of *Zoroaster*, and ascribes nothing to him unworthy of a very wise man. There were some, he tells us, of the antients who asserted two supreme beings, the one the author of all good, the other of all evil. Others who admitted but one God, the father of good, but who acknowledged there was a demon from whom all evil proceeded; this, says he, was the doctrine of *Zoroaster*, who flourished four thousand years before the *Trojan* war (12). The same author then proceeds to a succinct account of the doctrine of the *Magi*, which we shall have occasion to insert in our text. *Dr. Hyde* has produced an authentic relation of the sentiments of the antient *Persians* on this subject, as collected from their successors the *Persees* settled in *India*, an abstract of which will likewise be inserted in our text (13), and the curious reader may peruse the whole of it in the treatise of the excellent author beforementioned. In the same place may be found the testimony of *Sbaristan*, who wrote in *Arabic* an account of the religions of the east, and who, in speaking of the faith of the *Persians*, does them all the justice that can be (14); but what is of far greater consequence to us, than any authority of friends or enemies whatsoever, the book *Sad-deh*, containing the canon of the *Persian* faith, is not only extant among the *Persees*, but even

(10) *Herodot. Clio.*
& *Osir.*
Ibid.

(11) *Vid. Cyropædia.*
(13) *Relig. v Persar. c. xxii. p. 292.*

(12) *De Isid.*
(14)

THERE is yet another point in which the *Persians* are to be vindicated, before we can leave the learned reader satisfied, that they never were idolaters. It is this: they had amongst them, after the time of *Zoroaster's* reformation of their religion, certain caves, adorned not only with figures of the sun, but of the planets and other heavenly bodies, which symbolical representations were called *mithriac figures*, and were afterwards introduced into other nations, where they became objects of idolatrous worship; but they were far from being so among the *Persians*, who were a wise and well-instructed people; for with them they served only as mathematical symbols for preserving the true system of the universe; to which end, and to no other, they were used, and perhaps invented, by *Zoroaster* himself, as we shall hereafter have occasion to prove at large, when we come to speak of the life, doctrines, and writings of that famous man¹.

HAVING thus shewn in general the nature of the *Persian* religion, and that it was far preferable to any of the systems received in other nations, either in the east or in the west, we shall proceed to shew what the *Persians* themselves have taught concerning the establishment of their religion, as well as what are the doctrines, as to essential points, universally received amongst them.

THE great fame of *Abraham*, which from a concurrence of various causes had diffused itself throughout the whole east, induced the *Persians*, as well as the *Zabeans*, to ascribe the system of doctrines received by them to that venerable patriarch, stiling their faith at all times *Kish-Abraham*. They likewise ascribe the books which they hold sacred to this father of the faithful, and as much believe him to be the author of their *Sosb* or bible, as we believe the gospel to have come to us from *Christ*, or the *Mohammedans*, that God revealed to *Mohammed* his *Koran*². In attributing books to *Abraham*, they agree with the *Jews* and with the *Mohammedans*, the latter ascribing to him no less than ten treatises, perhaps all with the like reason. The *Persians* say further, that *Abra-*

¹ *HYDE*, c. iv. p. 118. Sect. v. of this chap. ² *HYDE*, c. ii. p. 98.

amongst ourselves, and every page therein affords us instances of *Zoroaster's* wisdom, and of the rectitude of the religion he established, as to fundamental points, and especially as to the belief of one infinitely wise, eternal, self-existent being (15).

(15) *Vid. Sad-der liber Magorum ap. Hyde Relig. vet. Persar.*

ham, while he resided amongst them, dwelt in the city of *Balch*, which they from thence stile the city of *Abraham*; but though it must be allowed that the old *Persian* religion agreed in many points with the religion of *Abraham*, and though it should be admitted, that his fame might even in his life-time be, with very advantageous circumstances, published throughout all *Persia*, yet it is so far from being evident, that it is scarce probable he went himself into that country, much less that he executed the office of a prophet there, and resided at *Balch*. On the contrary it is far more credible, that this notion took rise from the suggestion of *Zoroaster*, who had his learning and his divinity out of the books of *Moses* and other sacred books among the *Jews*, and that the city of *Balch* received the appellation of the city of *Abraham* from *Zoroaster*, on account of his making it the residence of the archimagus or high-priest of the religion of *Abraham*, and not from that patriarch's being supposed to live there at all in antient times^c.

THOUGH fire was held the symbol of the divinity among the *Persians*, yet the other elements were also highly honoured by them, insomuch, that the *Greeks* and other foreigners, who knew not their religious principles, called them *Cultores Elementorum* or worshippers of the elements; a flagrant calumny, since all the respect they paid them, arose from their conceiving them to be the first seeds of all things, wherefore they studied, by every method possible, to preserve each of them in its primitive purity. On this account they prevented, as much as they could, the air from being infected by ill smells; and, for their officiousness on this head, *Herodotus*, according to his usual custom, represents them as believing the air a deity. *They hold* (says he) *the whole expanse to be Jupiter*. That they might in like manner preserve the earth from impurities, they would not bury their dead therein, but suffered them to be devoured by birds and wild beasts, that finding a tomb in their bowels they might not infect the air; in fine, the preserving all the elements pure was by them esteemed an act of high piety, and as such meriting the divine favour, in this world and in the world to come; for in all things they were great affecters of cleanliness, and studious, in an especial manner, in avoiding whatever might pollute them. Fire and water, however, were in a peculiar manner the objects of their care, because they were most liable to be contaminated; and hence the *Greeks*,

^c Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. ii. p. 318.
HYDE, c. iii. D'HERBELLOT, Art. Balke.

mistaking the degree of reverence they paid them, declared them, without scruple, worshippers of those elements, and tell us formal stories of the sacrifices offered to both. It is very true that kings often do extravagant things, and such as are contrary to the civil and religious laws of the countries they govern; so that it is not impossible that some of the *Persian* princes might be guilty of what is laid to their charge, but it is not likely, because the *Persians* universally held, that whoever wilfully polluted either fire or water deserved death in this world, and everlasting punishment in that to come; and that whoever threw the bones of dead creatures into waters were certainly damned. For these reasons the *Magi*, wherever they were, took care to have all the waters in their neighbourhood watched, assigning them keepers, whose sole office it was to look carefully to this matter, and to see that no filthy thing was thrown or dropped into them, and for this they had stated and well-settled salaries. For abhorring, as they did, the representing of the almighty lord of heaven and earth, by artificial images of stone or metal, they chose to preserve fire and water in their utmost purity, that they might serve for symbols of the divine nature, and put them in mind of the infinite purity of God. As they held the ministration of angels, so they believed that one of these celestial guards was appointed to watch over the waters in general; this angel they called *Ardisûr* or *Arduisûr*, for whom a particular *Niyâish* or salutation was prescribed, the title of which in their antient books runs thus, *Hymn to Ardisur, for the benefits received from the sea, rivers, wells, and fountains*. In this hymn they praised him for taking care of all these places, and prayed, that he might continue so to do, returning God thanks for the various uses made of water, and the mighty advantages resulting to mankind from his wise disposition thereof throughout the earth; they were of opinion, that in paradise such people were peculiarly blessed, as had been careful of defiling water, and had in this sense preserved a respect for that element during their lives, for which cause they recommended the care of this element, as well as fire, to their women, that is their private fires, and the water used in their houses; for it does not appear, that they ever admitted women to minister in religious matters. except in the mysteries of *Venus*, which, as we observed before, was a heresy, and as such detested by the orthodox magians. In their love to purity and their esteem of water, the practice of the *Jews*, and the precepts in their law for corporal purification, may very well be urged in their defence, especially if we con-

sider, that in washing the hands, and putting on the girdle, solemn forms of prayer were enjoined the ancient *Persians*, as indeed there were set ejaculations to be used in the performance of the most ordinary actions of human life *.

WITH respect to the use they made of fire in their national religion, the priests who attended it by no means deserved the appellation of *Igniarii Sacerdotes*, i. e. *fire-priests*, for they were truly *Sacerdotes Dei*, *priests of the almighty*, who though, like the *Jewish* priests they waited on, and took care to preserve the sacred fire from being extinguished, yet this was far from being their only duty; for these, as well as those, read every day public prayers, and did other sacerdotal offices, as we shall hereafter declare more largely. Yet such has been the hard fate of these people, that, because their principles were not known, and their ceremonies ill understood, they have been branded with the name of *Atesh-perešt*, i. e. *fire-worshippers*, so dangerous a thing it is to carry to any excess even innocent ceremonies. They never confessed their sins to any but to God, nor besought a remission of them from any but from him; yet they inclined to perform these public acts of devotion before the symbol of the deity, that is, before fire, or before the sun, as the witness of their actions; in like manner the *Jews* confessed their sins to God in the temple, the fire flaming on the altar near them, so that there was nothing of idolatry in this, though it might not be altogether free from superstition (F).

IN

* HYDE, c. vi. p. 137.

(F) If we were to undertake a critical review of what modern authors have written about these people and their opinions, it would require a far larger treatise than this whole section; this is a bold assertion, but I will venture to give an instance of it, which I am positive will prove the truth of my observation. Mr. *Tavernier* has spent about fifteen pages in his account of these people, in which there are at least fifty capital mistakes, which any man may discover who is at all versed in oriental literature. In his section of the origin and prophets of this sect, he confounds *Zardusht* with *Abraham*, in such a manner, that it would cost a great deal of time to determine what part of the story belongs to the one, and what to the other. He tells us of a king, whom he calls *Nen-brout*, probably *Nimrod*, and ascribes to him things that no body ever heard of before; nay the very name he has given the prophet is sufficient to shew, how much he was confused on this subject, and consequently how little credit is due to what he relates of the religion of the *Gaur*s or *Gabres*, as he calls them. Their prophet's

IN the most antient times, the *Persians* had no temples at all, but reared altars, whereon they preserved their sacred fires,

prophet's name, as set down by him, was *Ebrabim-zer-ateucht*; he tells us of books he received from heaven, that they contain the religious precepts of these people, and that he himself has seen a great book which was attributed to him. But I must desire the reader to take notice, that I do not arraign Mr. *Tavernier's* sincerity as to facts which lay within the compass of his judgment; on the contrary, we are persuaded that he wrote nothing which he did not take to be true, as appears by the following account of their worship of the fire, which is the title of one of his sections: "The *Gaurs* render no such honours to the fire as agree with this term of worship, they are not idolaters, they acknowledge one God, the creator of the heaven and of the earth, and him only they profess to worship." In the rest of his sections he speaks distinctly enough of what he saw; but he relates what he heard in such a manner, that a person, who knew as little of the matter as he, could not fail of being deceived (16). Sir *John Chardin*, whom we have often commended, and who, without all question, was one of the most intelligent men that ever obliged the public with an account of his travels, speaks very contemptibly of these people, and would have us believe there is no sort of learning amongst them, but a little astrology; he says, their priests talk confusedly of their religion, and that they were not positive themselves as to the place where their sacred fire was kept (17). But though this gentleman was not so happy as to meet with intelligent persons of this religion, others have; and the accounts they have written are clear and satisfactory, nay and supported by undeniable evidence. M. *Le Brun*, by the interposition of the *English* agent, had a conversation with one of their priests, from whom he learned many things exactly conformable to what we have delivered. It would therefore be needless to insert that conversation here, but it may not perhaps be amiss to give the answer of the priest to M. *Le Brun's* first question, what he thought of the creation of the world and the power of God? He said he believed God to be the being of beings, a spirit of light, above the comprehension of human understandings, infinite, in all places, almighty, from whom nothing could be hid, and against whose will nothing could be done. This conference happened in the month of *January* 1707 (18). As to the *pyrea* or *fire temples*, they were formerly frequent as parish churches in other countries; but since the destruction of the antient *Persians* these structures are by no means common. The *Persees* content themselves with saying their prayers before their common fires, and their priests officiate before them likewise. They have,

(16) *Tavern. lib. iv. c. viii. p. 480.*
179. (18) *Le Brun, tom. ii. p. 387.*

(17) *Chardin, tom. ii. p.*

however,

fires, on the tops of mountains, and other solitary places *. It was Zoroaster, who persuaded them, for the sake of preserving these fires more conveniently, to erect over each of them a *pyreum*, or *fire-temple*, but this had no relation to *Mithra* or the sun, towards whom they could better testify their respect in the open air; neither did it subvert their ancient principle, that the lord of the universe ought not to be inclosed within walls, for their *pyrea* did not circumscribe what they esteemed an image or semblance of the divinity, but only the symbol of his purity, and as it were a shadow of his nature. The overturning therefore of the *Greek* temples by *Xerxes*, and other acts of a like nature, were perfectly consistent with their reverence for fire, and their respect for the sun. Of this though many *Greek* and *Oriental* writers were entirely ignorant, and were consequently prone to misrepresent them, yet authors, of great candor and more extensive knowledge, have acknowledged as much, and testified to the honour of the *Persians*, that they worshipped only one God, without representing him by any image or picture whatsoever †.

THE *Persians* in early times acknowledged one eternal and omnipotent being, the creator and preserver of all things; him they called *Yezad*, *Izad*, or *Izud*, also *Ormuzd*, *Hormuz*, or *Hormizda*; joining this with the modern name they say *Hormizda Chodâ*, O Supreme God. They acknowledge also an evil created being, whom they stiled *Abâriman*, *Abreman*, or *Abriman*, and in verse *Abrimanan*, which signifies amongst them the devil. To shew their detestation of this wicked being, his name in the ancient *Persian* books was thus wrote, *nohuşapgy* to intimate, that as he was the implacable and perpetual enemy of mankind, so they maintained an everlasting enmity against him and all his works. The modern *Persians* call the devil *Div* ‡.

* HEROD. Clio.

† Shahrîstan, &c. ap. HYDE, c. iii. p. 105.

‡ HYDE, c. xi. xiii.

however, fire-temples or fire-chapels still in some places, and the chief of them is supposed to be in the province of *Kirman*, where there are more *Gaurs* than in any other part of *Persia*. Antiently their temples were splendid, and were dedicated not only to the sun, but to the rest of the planets, in which, however, there was no more idolatry, than there is in our dedicating churches to this or that saint (19).

(19) Hyde, Relig. veter. Pers. c. xxix. p. 253.

SOME have asserted, that the antient *Persians* held a co-eternity of these two principles, but writers, better acquainted with the true tenets of this nation, agree, that *Ahariman* was created out of darkness, and that *Oromasdes* first subsisted alone, that by him the light and darkness were created, that in the composition of this world good and evil are mixed together, and so shall continue till the end of all things, when each shall be separated and reduced to its own sphere. *Plutarch*, who was a very ingenious and a very inquisitive man; hath given us a long account of the doctrines of *Zoroaster*, very conformable to what has been already said, and agreeing perfectly well with the religion of the antient patriarchs, except in a few strokes of fable, which were either inserted by the mistake of the reporter of that abstract, or were invented by *Zerdusht*, to account for those things which surpass human understanding*. Some have endeavoured to account for the origin of the prince of darkness thus. *Oromasdes*, say they, said once within his mind, how shall my power appear if there be nothing to oppose me? this reflection called *Abriman* into being, who thenceforward opposed all the designs of God, and thereby in spite of himself contributes to his glory. The souls of men, according to them, were at first unbodied spirits, but the Almighty, resolving to make use of them in warring again *Abriman*, cloathed them with flesh, promising them that the light should never forsake them till *Abriman* and all his servants were subdued; after which the resurrection of the dead is to follow, with the separation of the light from the darkness, and the coming of the kingdom of peace. To say the truth, the notions they have of the beginning of all things, the state of our first parents, the attempts made on them by the prince of darkness, the last judgment, the salvation of the good and the punishment of the bad, differ very little from what is delivered to us in the scripture on these heads. Only they have a long account of the war between God and the author of evil, which they say ended in a complete victory gained over the latter and his adherents, who were constrained to surrender at discretion. That the Almighty did not annihilate his enemies, because without opposition his attributes could not have appeared with such lustre as they now do. That the world had existed three thousand years before this decisive battle, the whole of its duration being fixed to twelve thousand. That after this defeat, God, by holding up three fingers, gave the evil-one leave to

* PLUTARCH. de Isid. & Osir.

choose which three thousand years of the nine thousand yet to come he would please to take, wherein to trouble and vex mankind ; whereupon he chose the middlemost. Before, say they, this power was given to *Abriman*, man lived in a state of innocence, but that since his fall, war, and all other evils, have been introduced ; that these, however, shall in time pass away, and man live again for a certain space in peace and glory. They place the day of judgment at the end of twelve thousand years ; and as to the damned, they assert, that they shall be punished according to the heinousness of their crimes, two angels being appointed to be the inspectors of their sufferings : at last, however, even these are to be pardoned, but never to be admitted to the joys of the blessed, but to remain in a certain place by themselves, and to wear in their foreheads a black mark, as the badge of that state from whence through the mercy of God they were freed ^b (G).

THE point in which the *Persians* differ most from us is, as to the manner of God's creating the world, which, they

^b HYDE, c. ix.

(G) In the course of ages it is not to be wondered, that false notions crept into their religion in some places ; as among the *Magi* of *Cappadocia*, who not only worshipped with idolatrous circumstances their sacred fires, but also introduced images in their temples. But that heresy, which of all others threatened the religion of *Zoroaster* most was *Manicheism* ; for *Manes* that arch-heretic resided long in *Persia*, and there broached his absurd notion of two eternal self-existent beings, and, by mingling the doctrines of *Magism* and christianity, made up a monstrous system of incredible doctrines, attended with very ridiculous practices (20). However, these notions were rooted out as will be hereafter shewn, by the authority of the civil magistrate, so that the present *Persians* have amongst them none of these whimsical chimeras, but retain the doctrine of their ancestors in all its purity, and are as religious as well as a most inoffensive people, tenacious of their own principles, but complaisant to other people, though very reserved, from whence proceed the many mistakes that have been made about them. When they do speak they never fail to express themselves in such a manner as fully purges all suspicion of their being idolaters ; but they cannot help shewing on such occasions an inveterate dislike against two persons celebrated by the greatest part of mankind as heroes and conquerors, but looked on by them as murderers and robbers. These are *Alexander the Great* and *Mohammed*, both capital enemies of their country and nation (21).

(20) Hyde, R. F. P. c. xxi. p. 275.
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(21) Charadin, tom. ii. p.

say, happened not in six days, but in six seasons, each season containing many days; the first of these they stile *Mid-yuzeram*, containing forty two days; in this, say they, the heavens were created with all things belonging to them. The second they stile *Mid-yusham*, containing sixty days, wherein the waters were created. The third is by them named *Pitishahim*, including seventy five days, in this the earth was made. The fourth they called *Iyaseram*, including thirty days, wherein were made the trees. The fifth goes under the name of *Midiyarim*, containing eighty days, in which all living creatures received being. The last they stile *Hamespitamidim*, comprehending seventy five days, wherein was made man.

It is now time for us to speak of the rites and ceremonies of the *Persees*, antient and modern, in the exercise of their religion, and every thing relating thereto. They have a regular clergy, and are very zealous in asserting an uninterrupted succession of persons instructed in their sacred mysteries, from the time of *Zerdusht* to this day. Their ordinary priests are obliged to live according to certain rules, much more severe than those given to the laity, as the reader will perceive at the bottom of the subsequent page. Their high-priests were under still stricter obligations, and all of them were bound to discharge their sacerdotal offices with mighty exactness and devotion^a. As to their public worship, it was, and is still, thus performed: in every *Pyreum*, or *fire temple*, there stood an altar, on which burnt the sacred fire, which was always kept alive by the priest. When the people assembled in order to their devotion, the priest put on a white habit, and a mitre, with a gause or cloth passing before his mouth, that he might not breathe on the holy element: thus he read certain prayers out of the *Liturgie*, which he held in one hand, speaking very softly, and in a whispering sort of tone, holding in his left hand certain small twigs of a sacred tree, which, as soon as the service was over, he threw into the fire. At these times all who were present put up their prayers to God, for such things as they stood in need of, and when prayers were finished, the priest and people withdrew silently, and with all other tokens of awful respect. All these rites are still observed. But to prevent, as far as possible, the people from falling into idolatry, the priest now informs them, when they are going from their devotions, of the reasons why they worship before the fire, and all the obligations they are under to treat it

^a LORD'S Religion of the Perses, c. viii. p. 41.
c. xxviii. LORD'S account of the *Persian* religion.

^d HYDR,

with reverence. This exhortation runs usually in these words:
 "Forasmuch as fire was delivered to Zerdusht by the Al-
 "mighty, as the symbol of his majesty, wherefore it was re-
 "quired that we should esteem it holy, and respect it as an
 "emanation from the fountain of light, and that we should
 "love all things which resemble it, especially the sun and
 "moon, the two great witnesses of God, the sight of which
 "should put us in mind of his Omniscience; therefore let
 "us, without superstition, keep the command given us,
 "ever more praising God for the great usefulness of this
 "element, and beseeching him to make us always bear in
 "mind the obligations we are under to do our duty towards
 "him, which is as necessary to the health and happiness
 "of the mind, as light and fire are to the ease and welfare
 "of the body" (H).

THEY

*BRAUCHAMP'S essays on important subjects, Sect. iii.

(H) Among the ancient Magi there were three degrees of priests, ordinary priests, overseers of jails, and an archmagus like our archbishop, or rather a metropolitan, who was acknowledged for the successor of Zoroaster, and held the supreme head of their church. These in the old Persian language were called *Magi*, i. e. *Magus*, *Muhad*, i. e. *superintendent*, and *Muhad Muhadan*, or *High priest* (22). Lord, in his account of the religion of the Persians, calls them by other names, viz. *Darosi*, *Harbodi*, and *Dibcevi*, the last he makes equivalent to *Muhad Muhadan*, and says there is never any more than one at a time, the chief of the clergy of the Persians. As to the duty of their priests, the same writer tells us, that it is comprised in the eleven rules following, viz. 1. The observing the rites prescribed in the liturgy of Zoroaster, because God is best pleased with that form of prayer which he has prescribed. 2. To keep his eyes from coveting that which is another's, for God having given to every man what seems meet for him in his eyes, to desire that which is another's, is not only shewing a dislike of God's providence, but is likewise affronting him, by challenging that for our due which he hath denied us. 3. To have a care always to speak the truth, for all truth cometh from God, all lies from the devil; all priests therefore should speak truth, because they are the servants of the God of truth, and as such are credited in what they say. 4. To keep close to his business, and not meddle with worldly matters, for it belongs to the layman to see the priest wants nothing that is necessary, and to the priest not to desire any thing which is superfluous. 5. To get the book of the law by heart, that he may be always able to instruct the poor layman, and that

(22) Hyde, R. V. P. c. xviii. p. 348.

he

THEY keep yearly six festivals, each of five days continuance, in memory of the six seasons, wherein all things were created; after each of these feasts they keep a fast of five days in memory of God's resting five days, as they believe, at each of those seasons. As often as they eat either flesh, fowl, or fish, they carry a small part of it to the temple as an offering to God, beseeching him, that he would pardon them for taking away the lives of his creatures in order to their own subsistence. They have none of those out-of-the-way notions relating to cleanness and uncleanness in meats, which expose some religions to ridicule; but as they are a vere complaisant, as well as inoffensive people, they abstain from swine's flesh, and from the flesh of kine, that they may neither offend the *Mohammedans* nor the *Banians*, among whom they are obliged to live. They eat alone, for the sake of purity and cleanliness; they likewise drink every man out of his own cup.

WHEN their children are initiated into their religion they send for a priest, and this is usually done as soon as the child is born. The priest calculates its nativity; afterwards he asks what name is to be given it. This being agreed on by the father and its relations, the priest telleth it to its mother, who then says, my child is called so or so, with which the ceremony ends at that time. The child is afterwards carried to the

Lord's religion of the Perses, p. 40. HYDE, R. V. P. c. XXIX.

he may see just cause to reverence his priest. 6. To keep himself pure and undefiled, because God loves the pure and undefiled, and this way only one man can excel another. 7. To be ready to forgive all injuries, shewing himself a pattern of meekness, that he may be thought one come from God, for we offend God every day, yet he giveth us things that are good, though we deserve that he should pour on us evil for evil. 8. To teach the common people to pray according to the law, to go and pray with them for public benefits when they desire it, and to perform constantly the known duties of his function. 9. To give licence for marriage to join the man and woman together, and to take care that parents do not marry their children without his approbation. 10. To spend the greatest part of his time in the temple, that he may be ready to assist all who come to him, because there to God hath appointed him. 11. To believe no other law than that given by *Zerdusht*, to add nothing thereto, nor to take any thing from it, seeing to this end it was revealed (23).

(23) *Lord's religion of the Perses*, p. 32.

Pyreum, where the priest first pours some water into the rind of a holy tree, and thence into the mouth of the child, beseeching God to cleanse the tender infant from whatever seeds of corruption it may have received from its father, and from the impurities derived from its mother. At seven years of age the child is led to church to be confirmed there, the priest teaches him some prayers, and instructs him in the first principles of religion. These are repeated daily, till he is well acquainted with the articles of his faith; then he is permitted to pray for the first time before the holy fire, after which the priest gives him water to drink, and a pomegranate leaf to chew; then he causes the lad to wash his body with clean water, after which he puts on a linen cassock next his skin, which descends below his waist, and is girt with a girdle of camel's hair, woven by the priest's own hand. These ceremonies over, the priest blesses him, and bids him be a true *Persee* all the days of his life, to beware of falling into idolatry, or breaking any of the precepts given by *Zerdusht*¹ (I). Of their marriages

¹ *Lord's religion of the Persees*, p. 45. *HYND, R. V. P. c. xxxiv.*

(I) As to the high-priest, he, over and above the duties enjoined the priests in general, is directed to observe the following thirteen precepts (24): 1. He must have a care of polluting himself in any manner, because God hath chosen him to be holy. 2. In order to this he must do all things for himself, to preserve himself from being contaminated by the uncleanness of others, as also to shew his humility in so high a station. 3. He is to take the layman's tithe, i. e. the tenth of all that he has, but not to his own use, for he is to consider himself as the almoner of God, who makes use of him only to dispense to the poor the tribute paid by the rich. 4. That this may appear to be fairly done, he must avoid all pomp and superfluity, and at the year's end must give away the last farthing, since his revenue is settled, and always paid with good will. 5. His house must be near the temple, and he must give a good example to his flock, by staying much at home, and by giving himself up to prayer. 6. As in his public, so in his private life, he must be extremely frugal and temperate in all things. 7. He must not only be acquainted with the law but with all the sciences, seeing he is to instruct all others of his religion, clergy and laity. 8. He must keep a low diet, because high eating or strong liquors disturb the faculties of the mind, and discompose that serenity of disposition which should be always found in the man of God. 9. He must fear only God, and hate nothing but sin. 10. As he is supreme in

marriages we are told by a very intelligent author, that they have five sorts : First, that of children in their minority. Secondly, that of widowers with a second wife. Thirdly, of such persons as marry by their own choice. Fourthly, the marriage of the dead, which is occasioned by an opinion they have entertained, that married people are peculiarly happy in the other world ; wherefore, when a young person dies in celibacy, they hire one to be married to him or her, which ceremony is performed a little after the burial. The last kind of marriage is where a person adopts either a son or a daughter, and then gives him or her in marriage, which is also founded on a religious opinion, that all men ought to leave heirs behind them, either natural or adopted. As to the ceremonies made use of on this occasion, they are very singular, but at the same time have nothing in them wild or irrational(K). The parties, designing to contract matrimony, are seated together on a bed, about midnight, opposite to them stand two priests, the one for the man, the other for the woman, holding rice in their hands, to intimate the fruitfulness which they wish the

all spiritual causes, he must reprove sinners without any regard to their rank, and they must hear him patiently, since he speaks not in his own cause but God's. 11. He must above all things study to distinguish truth from error. 12. Though, in consequence of his high office, he may for his consolation receive visions and other manifestations from God, yet he is not to publish them, for that would but confound the people who are to adhere to the written law. 13. He must preserve the everliving fire brought by *Zerdusht* from heaven, that it may endure through all ages, till the world shall be destroyed by that element (25).

(K) It is very possible, that the reader in the perusal of this section may incline to wish, that in some things we had delivered our selves more copiously, and therefore it may not be amiss to inform him, that in treating of the *Persian* history, as delivered by oriental writers, we shall take occasion to retouch various points relating to the religion of the antient *Persians*, because much of their history depends upon them. As to inconsiderable customs, such as wearing this or that colour, this or that kind of cap ; these we have purposely omitted as deeming them not worthy of being mentioned in so great a work as this. Let us, however, note one thing, that their priests at confirmation sell the youth a girdle, which he is bound to keep all his life long, and to use it constantly, because when he lays it aside, he no longer enjoys the benefits of the priest's benediction. Dr. *Hyde* is of opinion, that the *English* saying, *ungirt, unblest*, has some allusion to this (26).

(25) *Lord's religion of the Persians*, p. 36.
Persar, c. xxxiii.

(26) *Relig. veter.*

new-married couple; on each hand of the priests stand the relations of the bride and bridegroom. Things being in this situation, the bridegroom's priest lays his fore-finger on the woman's forehead, and says, *Wilt thou have this man to be thy wedded husband?* the woman assenting, her priest lays his fore-finger on the man's forehead, and asks the like question, which being answered in the affirmative, the parties then join hands, the man promises that he will provide her a suitable maintenance, the woman acknowledges that all she has is his; the priests then scatter rice over them, wishing that they may be fruitful, and beseeching God that they may have many sons and daughters, that they may live in unity of mind, and arrive at a good old age, in possession of all the joys of wedlock. The ceremony over, the woman's parents pay the dowry, and a feast of eight days is kept for joy of the marriage.

As to their burials two things are remarkable; first, the place, secondly, the manner. First, as to the place, they have a round tower erected, on the top of which the bodies of the dead are laid to be devoured by the fowls of the air, some affirm, that they have separate towers for the good and for the bad; others, that men, women, and children, are placed on several towers, the reason of this exposing them we have elsewhere given, viz. the preserving the elements pure; for they conceive that by not interring the dead they avoid polluting the earth, and by leaving the corps unprotected from birds of prey, they provide in some measure against the infection of the air. However, this custom was antiently esteemed so barbarous by other nations, that one of the¹ apologists for the christian faith, speaking of the good effects it had on mens minds in reforming them from brutal and wicked habits, mentions this expressly, that the *Persians*, since they had received the christian doctrines, no more exposed the bodies of their dead, but afforded them a decent burial. Before we part with this subject, it may not be amiss to observe what is practised among them, when a man is on his death-bed; a priest is in such a case always sent for, and he, drawing near the bed, prayeth thus in the ear of the sick man: "O Almighty Lord, thou hast commanded that we should not offend thee, this man hath offended; thou hast ordained that we should do good, yet this man hath done evil; thou hast required that we should duly and exactly worship thee, which, however, this man hath neglected. Now, O merciful God, at the hour of death forgive him his offences, his

¹ LORD's religion of the Perses, p. 48. THEODOR. de curand. Græc. affectib. Serm. 9. de Leg. p. 128.

" misdeeds

“ misdeeds, and his neglects, and receive him to thyself.” When he is dead the priest comes not near him; but the corpse is put on an iron bier and carried to the place of interment, the bearers being forbid to speak, as they go along, out of decency; and also because in the grave there is an unbroken silence. The dead body being placed on the tower, the priest standing at a distance performeth the funeral service, which he concludes thus: “ This our brother, while he lived, consisted of the four elements; now he is dead, let each take his own; earth to earth, air to air, water to water, fire to fire.” They suppose, that the spirit wanders for three days after its departure from the body, and is in that space pursued and tormented by the devil, till it is able to reach their sacred fire, to which he cannot come. They therefore pray morning, noon, and night, during these three days, for the soul of their deceased brother, beseeching God to blot out his sins, and to cancel all his offences. On the fourth day, supposing his fate to be decided, they make a great feast, which closes the ceremonies on this occasion *.

UPON so copious a subject as this, it would have been an easy task to have taken up twice as much room as has been here employed about it, but the desire we have of rendering the several parts of this work consistent with each other, and not to introduce tedious dissertations into a general history, induced us rather to run the hazard of being thought too brief, than, by a prolix account of so important a part of the *Persian* history, to tire the reader’s attention, and perplex what we intended to explain. The curious peruser, however, may from the pieces referred to in this account, collect at his leisure an exact system as well of the practical point as of the theoretical tenets of the *Persians*, which would certainly prove an entertaining, as well as instructive, piece, though inconsistent with the design, in the execution of which we are now engaged.

S E C T. IV.

The reigns of the kings of PERSIA.

AS we know but very little of the state of *Persia* before *Cyrus*’s time, we shall not pretend to give an account of the kings who preceded that prince. We have already shewn *, that *Elam* or *Persia* was governed in the earliest times by its own kings, and those very powerful.

* *LORD’S religion of the Persians*, p. 49. * See before p. 382, note (P).

Chedorlaomer, the first king of *Elam* mentioned in scripture, extended his conquests over many provinces of *Asia*; for *Bera* king of *Sodom*, *Birsha* king of *Gomerrah*, *Shinar* king of *Admah*, *Shemeber* king of *Zebuim*, and the king of *Bela* or *Zoar*, were his tributaries^b. These five princes lived twelve years in subjection to *Chedorlaomer*; but in the 13th uniting their forces made an attempt towards the recovery of their former liberty. The king of *Elam* no sooner heard that they were up in arms, but entering into an alliance with *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, *Arioch* king of *Ellasar*, and *Tidal* king of *Uz*, he marched out against them, and having first reduced the *Rephaim*, the *Zuzim*, the *Emim*, the *Horites*, the *Amalekites* and the *Amorites* of *Haurzenamar*; at last he fell upon the revolters, put their army to the rout, killed the kings of *Sodom* and *Gomerrah*, and, having pillaged their cities, marched back towards *Elam* loaded with the spoils of the conquered nations. *Lot*, who, as *Josephus* informs us, assisted the *Sodomites*, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner on this occasion, and had been carried into captivity, had he not been timely rescued by *Abraham*, who, pursuing the enemy with a small body of chosen men, came up with them at *Don* the fifth day after their victory, put them to flight, and returned in triumph with his brother and all his family, redeemed from the insults of a victorious foe. By this overthrow *Chedorlaomer* lost the sovereignty of the *Parthians*, but retained his other conquests, which were very considerable. From the reign of this prince to that of *Cyrus* we know nothing to be relied on but what we have already hinted at, in the history of the *Medes*, viz. that the *Elamites* or *Persians* were a great and powerful nation, that they were in all likelihood subdued by the *Affrians*, but afterwards recovered their ancient liberty, and were governed by princes of their own nation till the ninth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, when they were again brought under subjection by that great warrior, and his ally *Cyaxares* king of *Media*. While they lived in subjection to the *Affrians*, *Medes*, and *Babylonians*, the throne was still filled with natives of *Persia*, though tributaries to those greater powers. The only royal family we find upon record, is that of *Achamenes*, which must have been very conspicuous, since *Xerxes*, when at the height of his glory, was puffed to derive from thence his pedigree, which he does in the following manner^c.

^b Gen. xiv. 4. & Joseph. antiquit. l. i. c. 10. ^c Joseph. antiquit. l. ii. c. 10. ^d Herodot. l. vii.

<i>Achæmenes.</i>	<i>Teispes.</i>	<i>Hystaspes.</i>
<i>Cambyfes.</i>	<i>Ariaramnes.</i>	<i>Darius.</i>
<i>Cyrus.</i>	<i>Arfames.</i>	<i>Xerxes.</i>

Of this great family there were two branches ; from the first was descended *Cyrus the great*, whose issue male failed in his two sons *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis*. Some place the kings of this race in the following manner^e.

<i>Perfes.</i>	<i>Cyrus.</i>	<i>Cambyfes.</i>
<i>Achæmenes.</i>	<i>Cambyfes.</i>	<i>Smerdis.</i>
<i>Darius.</i>	<i>Cyrus the Great.</i>	

They will have *Perfes*, of whom, say they, *Persia* borrowed its name, to be the first of this family that reigned in *Persia*. We are told, that *Achæmenes* was nursed by an eagle^f ; and of this fabulous eagle the no less fabulous wolf of *Romulus* was perhaps a copy. *Darius* is mentioned by *Herodotus*^g, and supposed by some to have coined the famous *Darics* or *Stateres Darici*, which supposition is disproved by *Herodotus*^h, telling us, that the *Persians* had neither gold nor silver before the conquest of *Lydia*. *Cyrus* had two children, *Cambyfes* and *Atossa* ; *Atossa* married *Pharnaces* king of *Cappadocia*ⁱ, and *Cambyfes* *Mandane*, the so much celebrated daughter of *Astyages* king of *Media*, by whom he had *Cyrus the Great* (A). But as nothing occurs worthy of notice in the history of the *Persian* kings before *Cyrus*, we shall proceed, without dwelling on so barren a subject, to the reign of that great and glorious prince.

THE name of *Cyrus* is equally famous in sacred and prophane history ; in the latter his valour and conquests have

^e REINECC. hist. jul. p. 37. ^f ÆLIAN. de animal. l. xii. c. 21. ^g HERODOT. l. i. ^h HERODOT. l. i. c. 71. ⁱ DIODOR. Sicul. in Fragn. l. xxxi.

(A) *Ovid* (1) mentions one *Orchamus* king of *Persia*, and makes him the 7th after *Belus*,

*Rexit Achæmenias urbes pater Orchardus, isque,
Septimus a prisco numeratur origine Belo.*

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^d HERODOT. l. vii.

<i>Achæmenes.</i>	<i>Teispes.</i>	<i>Hystaspes.</i>
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rendered his memory immortal, as has in the former his kind treatment of the captive *Hebrews*, whom he restored to their antient state, country, and temple, having been appointed for that by name ^k many years before he appeared in the world; an honour bestowed upon none but him, and that excellent prince *Josiah* ^l king of *Judah*. Prophane historians are at no small variance with each other touching the birth of this prince, his education, and accession to the crown. *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* are the only two original authors, as we may call them, whom we can quote and follow in what relates to the life and exploits of this prince; for other writers have copied after them, some adopting the accounts of the one, and some of the other. They are both very minute in their relations, and agree in some particulars, but widely differ in others. We shall in the first place hear *Herodotus*, the father of history, as *Tully* calls him; but whether his accounts be genuine, or rather interwoven, and seasoned to the *Greek* taste, with several fabulous and surprizing incidents, is what we shall examine afterwards.

Account of the birth, education, &c. of Cyrus, according to Herodotus. *Astyages*, the last king of the *Medes*, being warned by a dream, that the son, who was to be born of his daughter *Mandane*, should one day be lord of all *Asia*, resolved to marry her, not to a *Mede* worthy of her bed, but to a *Persian*; and accordingly chose one *Cambyfes*, sprung from an antient family, but of a peaceable disposition, and, as he thought, inferior in rank to a *Mede*, even of a middling condition. A year after they were married, *Astyages* was frightened by another dream portending a-new, according to the interpretation of the *Mages*, the empire of *Asia* to his grandson (B). Hereupon *Astyages* sends for his daughter then big with child, and upon her arrival in *Media* puts her under a guard, determined to destroy the child she should be delivered of; for the *Mages* had assured him, that the issue of his daughter was to fill his throne. *Mandane*, not long after her confinement, was brought to bed of a son, whom *Astyages*, mindful of the interpretation of the *Mages*, delivered to one *Harpagus*, enjoining him, as he tendered his own life, to take the new-born son of *Mandane*, to carry him to his house, and there dispatch him

^k Isa. xlv. 28. & xlv. 1.

^l 1 Kings xiii. 2.

(B) His first dream was, that his daughter *Mandane* had voided so great a quantity of water as not only filled the metropolis of the kingdom, but overflowed all *Asia*. In the other he saw a vine shooting from the womb of his daughter, and extending its branches over all *Asia*.

with

with his own hands, in what manner he should think best. *Harpagus* promised to put the king's orders in execution, and having received from the guards the infant richly dressed, went home under great concern, as seeing himself employed in so cruel and inhuman an office. He acquainted his wife as soon as he came home with what had passed between *Astyages* and himself, and resolved not to execute the sentence with his own hands, but to transfer his charge to another. With this design he immediately sent for one of the king's herdsmen, who kept his cattle in pastures lying at the foot of certain mountains, on the north of *Ecbatan*, towards the *Caspian* sea. The herdsman's name was *Mitrادات*, and his wife's, in the language of the *Medes*, *Spaco*, which signifies a bitch, and answers her Greek name *Cyno*. *Mitrادات*, without delay, waited upon *Harpagus*, who commanded him, in the king's name, to take the infant and expose it in the most dangerous and abandoned part of the mountains, upon pain of dying in the most exquisite tortures that could be invented. He added, that the king had charged him to see his orders put in execution. The herdsman, not daring to make any remonstrance against the king's commands, returned with the child to his cottage, where he found his wife just delivered of a son. During her husband's absence, she had been in great trouble and perplexity, on account of the message from *Harpagus*, who had never before sent for him; and therefore he no sooner set his foot within the door, but she asked him in great surprize, why *Harpagus* had sent for him in such haste? He told her, he had been in the city, where he had heard and seen such things as grieved him beyond expression; that when he arrived, the house of *Harpagus* was all in tears, and that as he went in, he was struck with horror in seeing an infant, dressed in gold and the richest colours, panting and crying on the floor; that *Harpagus* had commanded him to carry away this child, and expose it on the mountains to the mercy of the wild beasts, upon pain of incurring the king's displeasure, and undergoing the severest punishments that could be inflicted; that at first he had supposed the unhappy infant to belong to some person of the family of *Harpagus*, but that he had been afterwards informed by the servant that attended him out of the city, and delivered the babe into his hands, that it was born of *Mandane* the king's daughter, and son to *Cambyfes* of *Persia*, and that *Astyages* had commanded it should be put to death¹.

HAVING thus spoke, he disclosed the child to his wife, who no sooner saw it, but being ravished with the innocent

¹ HERODOT. l. i. c. 107. & seq.

smiles of the infant, she embraced her husband, and with many tears entreated him not to execute the orders he had received. But he, remonstrating the absolute necessity he was under of obeying or forfeiting his own life, since the spies of *Harpagus* would without fail keep a watchful eye over him, and see whether he performed what had been so strictly enjoined him, she suggested to him to take their own child that was still-born, to expose it instead of the other, and bring up the son of *Mandane* as their own; for, by that means, said she, we shall sufficiently consult our own safety without injuring others; the dead child will be honoured with a royal sepulchre, and the surviving infant be preserved from an untimely death^m.

Mitradates approved of this expedient, and delivering the infant he was charged to destroy into his wife's hands, dressed the dead child in the rich apparel of the living, and carried it in the same basket, in which he had brought the other, to the most unfrequented part of the mountains. Three days after, he acquainted *Harpagus*, that, if he pleased, he could shew him the dead body of the infant, and he accordingly dispatched some of his friends, in whom he most confided, to see that the sentence had been put in execution, and to inter the royal infant. Thus was *Cyrus*, for so was the infant afterwards called, delivered from the snares of his grandfather, and educated by the herdsman's wife as her ownⁿ.

WHEN he attained to the age of ten years, as he was one day playing in the pastures with other children of his age, he was chosen king by his companions, and in virtue of that dignity having distinguished them into several orders and classes, the son of *Artembares*, a lord of eminent dignity among the *Medes*, who was one of his companions in the play, refused to obey his orders. Whereupon *Cyrus* commanded him to be immediately seized and whipt very severely. The boy with many tears complained to his father of what he had suffered from the herdsman's son, and the father, highly resenting the affront, hastened with his son to the king's palace, and shewing the prince in what a cruel and ignominious manner his son had been abused by the son of a slave, entreated him to avenge, by some very exemplary punishment, the indignity offered to him and his whole family. *Astyages* promised to give him full satisfaction, and commanding both the herdsman and his son to be brought before him, asked *Cyrus*, how he, who was the son of so mean a man, had dared to abuse the

^m HERODOT. ubi supra.ⁿ HERODOT. ubi supra.

son of one of the chief lords in the kingdom? *Cyrus* replied, that he had done no more than he had a right to do, for the boys of the neighbourhood having made him their king, because they thought him the most worthy of that dignity, and performed what he, vested with that character, had commanded, the son of *Artembares* alone had slighted his orders, and for his disobedience suffered the punishment he deserved. As the boy was pleading his cause with an eloquence far superior to his years and education, *Astyages* took particular notice of his mein and features, and thinking that he resembled himself, began to reflect on the time that his grandson was exposed, which he found to agree with the age of the herdsman's supposed son. Being perplexed with this thought, he dismissed *Artembares*, assuring him, that his son should have no cause to complain, and commanded his guards to conduct *Cyrus* into the palace. Being then in private with the herdsman, he asked whose boy *Cyrus* was, and from whose hands he had him? *Mitrdates* affirmed, that he was his own child, and that the boy's mother, who was still living, would come, if he pleased, to attest it. But *Astyages*, giving no credit to what he averred, commanded his guards to seize him, whereupon he discovered, without reserve, the whole matter, and implored the king's mercy •.

Astyages was not so much incensed against the herdsman, as against his favourite *Harpagus*, whom he ordered the guards to bring without delay to the palace. Upon his arrival, the king in a violent passion asked him in what manner he had put to death the son of his daughter *Mandane*. When *Harpagus* saw the herdsman, he thought he should but aggravate his crime, by attempting to elude the storm that threatened him, by any sort of falsehood, and therefore openly confessed what he had done; adding that he thought he had taken the most effectual means he could to put his orders in execution, and that he truly believed the child was dead, since the most trusty among his friends had assured him, that they had seen and interred the body †.

Astyages, dissembling his resentment, acquainted *Harpagus* with what the herdsman had confessed, adding, that the child was still alive, and that he was very well pleased his orders had not been executed; for he had been under great concern ever since he issued that cruel command, and had not been able to bear the reproaches of his daughter. He then ordered *Harpagus* to send his son to wait on the young *Cyrus*, and to come

• Idem, *ibid.*† Idem, *ibid.*

himself that night to sup with him, since he intended to offer a sacrifice to the gods, in thanksgiving for the care they had taken of his grandson ¹.

Harpagus, overjoyed at the king's speech, returned home, and, acquainting his wife with what had passed, immediately sent his only son to attend *Cyrus*, as he had been commanded. His son, who was about 30 years old, no sooner entered the palace, but he was seized, barbarously murdered, and cut in pieces by order of *Astyages*, who gave directions that the mangled body, variously dressed and disguised, should be served up at supper. *Harpagus* and the rest of the guests repaired to the palace at the hour appointed; the others were splendidly entertained, but the table, where *Harpagus* supped, was served only with the flesh of his son. When he had done, the king asked him whether he had been pleased with his victuals; and *Harpagus* answering, that he had never tasted any thing more delicious, the officers appointed for that purpose brought in a basket containing the head, hands, and feet of his son, desiring him to uncover the basket, and take what he liked best. He did as they desired, and beheld the remains of his only child, without betraying any sort of concern or resentment at so shocking a sight; such was the command he had of his passions. The king enquired whether he knew with what kind of meat he had been entertained? *Harpagus* replied, he knew very well, and was always pleased with whatever his sovereign thought fit to ordain. Having thus replied, with a surprising temper, he collected the mangled parts of his innocent son, and went home, as our author conjectures, to inter them ².

Astyages, having thus vented his rage upon the unfortunate *Harpagus*, began to consider with himself what he should do with *Cyrus*; and having again consulted the *Mages*, their answer was, that if the boy lived, he must of necessity be king, *Astyages* then acquainted them, that he was still alive, adding, as a very material circumstance, that he had been chosen king by the boys of the neighbourhood where he lived, and performed all the parts of a real king with the utmost rigour and severity. Hereupon the *Mages* replied, that the prediction of his reign was already accomplished, in the choice which the boys had made of him for their king, and that he would never reign a second time; for dreams, said they, often end in things of small importance, and are fulfilled by trifling events.

¹ Idem, *ibid.*

² Idem, *ibid.*

They advised him therefore to divest himself of all fear, and send the boy to his parents in *Persia*^c.

Astyages, well pleased with this answer, called *Cyrus*, and owning how much he had been wanting in the affection, which he ought naturally to have had for him, by reason of an insignificant dream, desired him to get ready for a journey into *Persia*, where he would find his real father and mother, in circumstances very different from those of the poor herdsman *Mitradataes*, and his wife *Spaco*^e.

THUS *Astyages*, after many kind expressions, dismissed his young grandson attended by several lords of the first rank. Upon his arrival at his father's house, he was received by his parents with a tenderness and joy, which is more easy to conceive than express. As they had long given him over for dead they asked him in what manner his life had been preserved. He then acquainted them, that he had lived in an entire ignorance of his condition, and had been unacquainted with his true birth, believing himself the son of the king's herdsman, till those, who attended him on his journey into *Persia*, informed him of all that had passed. He related, how he had been educated by the herdsman's wife, and frequently repeating the name of *Cyno*, commended her on all occasions. And this name his parents made use of, as our author informs us, to persuade the *Persians*, that the preservation of their son was in a very particular manner owing to the immortal gods, since he had been nourished, as they industriously spread abroad and was commonly believed, by a bitch^u.

WHEN *Cyrus* attained to the age of manhood, and was become very popular in his own country, and famous in *Media* on account of his extraordinary parts, *Harpagus*, who had never forgot the inhuman murder of his son, began to court his friendship, with a design to join with him, who had been equally injured, in revenging so barbarous a treatment. At the same time he solicited the leading men among the *Medes*, who were highly dissatisfied with the tyrannical government of *Astyages*, to take up arms, and redeem themselves and their unhappy country from the calamities they groaned under, by deposing *Astyages*, and advancing his grandson *Cyrus* to the throne. They all to a man shewed themselves disposed to second his designs; whereupon he thought it high time to discover his intentions to *Cyrus*, who was to act the chief part in this revolution. And accordingly, he acquainted him with them by a letter, which, as all the roads leading to

^c Idem, *ibid.*^e Idem, *ibid.*^u Idem, *ibid.*

Persia were guarded by the king's troops, he conveyed to him in the belly of a hare; the hare he delivered to one of his most trusty domestics, dressed in the habit of a hunter, enjoining him to desire *Cyrus* not to open the letter in the presence of any person whatsoever ^w.

THE messenger executed his orders, and *Cyrus* opening the hare with his own hands, found a letter, reminding him of the care which the gods had had of his preservation, against the wicked designs and barbarous attempts of his grandfather, and encouraging him to stir up the *Persians* to a revolt, and at the head of their forces to invade *Media*, where all the chief commanders were ready to join him, and determined at all events to advance him to the throne, instead of his unnatural grandfather. He took care to put him in mind of what he had suffered on his account, and how barbarously he had been punished for not executing the king's bloody orders. *Cyrus*, having read the letter, began to consider what measures he should take to induce the *Persians* to revolt, and after various schemes, fixed upon the following as the most proper. He feigned a letter from *Astyages*, appointing him commander in chief of all the *Persian* forces; this he read in a general assembly of the nation, and in virtue of his new commission commanded them all to attend him, every man with a hatchet. He was obeyed, and being all met in pursuance to his orders, he enjoined them to clear in one day a spot of ground, containing 18 or 20 furlongs, over-grown with thorns and briars. This laborious piece of work being performed, not without some reluctance, he dismissed them with orders to attend him again the next day. In the mean time he caused all his father's flocks and herds to be killed and dressed, provided wine, and bought all the dainties *Persia* could supply him with. They all assembled the next day, expecting to be employed as they had been the day before. But, contrary to their expectation, *Cyrus* ordered them to sit down on the green turf, and entertained them with a great feast. When they had solaced themselves with dainties, which to that time they had been strangers to, the young prince asked them, whether they would choose to live always in that manner, or as they had done the day before? They all answered readily, that as they preferred mirth and pleasure to toil and labour, so they did the condition of the present day to that of the precedent. Upon this answer *Cyrus* acquainted them, that if they hearkened to his advice they should enjoy these and far greater plea-

^w Idem, *ibid*.

tures, without any kind of servile labour ; but, if they refused to follow him, they must undergo innumerable hardships, like those they had complained of the day before. He then disclosed to them his true design of delivering his country from the *Median* bondage, and encouraged his countrymen to join him in so great and glorious an enterprize, by telling them, that some divine power had brought him into the world, and miraculously saved his life, that he might be one day the author of their happiness. The *Persians*, who had lived for many years, with the utmost reluctance, in subjection to the *Medes*, declared him with one accord their leader, and protested, that they would stand by him in so good a cause, even at the expence of their lives.

IN the mean time, *Astyages* being informed of what was doing in *Persia*, dispatched a messenger to *Cyrus*, enjoining him to repair forthwith into *Media*; but *Cyrus* by the same messenger returned this resolute answer, *That he would come sooner than Astyages desired.* Whereupon the king drew together all his forces, and forgetful of his cruelty towards *Harpagus*, appointed him general of the army. The two nations came to a general engagement; but the chief officers among the *Medes* passing over to *Cyrus*, with the bodies under their command, the rest of the army was routed with great slaughter. When *Astyages* heard of this defeat, he flew into a violent passion, and vowing that *Cyrus* should not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory, he first caused the *Mages*, who had interpreted his dream, to be impaled, and then arming all the *Medes*, marched out himself at the head of them. Both armies came to a second engagement, in which the *Medes* were again defeated, and the king himself taken prisoner. *Astyages* in this state was reproached and insulted by the revengeful *Harpagus*, who among other things asked him, what he now thought of his tragical feast, when he compelled him to devour the flesh of his own son, for which inhuman and barbarous action he had now fallen from the throne to a prison. *Astyages* in return, fixing his eyes on *Harpagus*, asked him whether he had been instrumental in bringing about this revolution. He answered, that it was chiefly owing to him, since he had the first encouraged *Cyrus* to this undertaking. Then, replied *Astyages*, you are the weakest and most unjust of all men: the weakest, in giving the kingdom to another when you might have seized on it yourself, since you have been able to effect this change; the most unjust, in enslaving your country to revenge a private injury. For if you were determined to depose me and confer the kingdom on another, without taking the power into your own hands, you might

with more justice have advanced a *Mede* to that dignity than a *Persian*. Whereas the *Medes*, who were before lords of *Persia*, and no-ways concerned in the injury, are now by your means reduced to the condition of slaves, and the *Persians*, who were servants to the *Medes*, are now become their lords. In this manner, concludes our author, *Astyages* was deprived of the kingdom after he had reigned 35 years, and through his cruelty the *Medes* became subject to the *Persians*, after they had ruled over all those provinces of *Asia* that lie on the other side of the *Halys* for the space of 128 years, including the time of the *Scythian* dominion over that part of *Asia*. As for *Astyages*, *Cyrus* kept him prisoner in his palace till he died, without practising any farther severity upon him*.

THIS is the account which *Herodotus* gives us, and which every impartial and judicious reader must conclude to be an ar-rant romance, composed, perhaps, by some admirer of *Cyrus*, and adopted by our author as more agreeable to the depraved taste of his countrymen, who took more delight in surprising, tho' fabulous, events, than in the relation of plain historical truths.

WHAT the same author relates of the death of this great hero, deserves, in our opinion, no more credit, than what he has told us of his birth, education, and advancement to the crown. This prince, according to him †, invaded the *Massagetes*, and having in the first battle feigned a flight, left a great quantity of provisions, especially of wine, in the field. The barbarians did not fail to seize on the booty, and indulged themselves in drinking to such an excess, that they all fell asleep on the spot. In this condition *Cyrus* returned upon them, obtained an easy victory, and took a great many prisoners, among whom was *Spargapises* the son of queen *Tomyris*. This heroine, being informed of the defeat of her troops and captivity of her son, sent a herald to *Cyrus*, entreating him to release the young prince; which he refusing to do, *Spargapises*, preferring death to slavery, laid violent hands on himself. Whereupon his mother *Tomyris*, animated with an eager desire of revenge, gave the *Persians* battle a second time, which, says our author, was the most obstinate and bloody that ever was fought by the barbarians. Many fell on both sides; but at last the *Massagetes* carrying the day, the greatest part of the *Persian* army was cut in pieces, and *Cyrus* himself killed in the field, after having reigned 29 years. *Tomyris*, having found his body among the slain, caused his head to be cut off, and thrown into a vessel filled with human blood, insulting the memory of the dead prince with these

* HERODOT. ubi sup. † HERODOT. l. i. c. 214.

words, *Glut thyself with the blood which thou hast so insatiably thirsted after.*

WHAT the same historian relates of his childish revenge upon the river *Gyndes* (C), while he was on his march to besiege *Babylon*, is utterly repugnant to the idea we have of that wise and experienced commander. For he tells us, that one of the sacred horses of *Cyrus* being drowned in that river, the prince, highly resenting such an affront, immediately caused the *Gyndes* to be cut by his army into 360 channels; a work which employed his army the whole summer, and obliged him to postpone the siege of *Babylon* to the spring ensuing. Who can imagine, that a commander of so great experience and such an extraordinary moderation, as *Cyrus* is, even by *Herodotus* himself, represented to have been, while he was marching to the conquest of *Babylon*, should so idly waste his time, and spend the ardour of his troops, in such an unprofitable piece of work?

WE shall now give what we look upon as the true history of *Cyrus*, being extracted out of *Xenophon*, whom we chuse to follow in what concerns that great conqueror and excellent prince, seeing his accounts are far more agreeable to holy writ, the standard of truth, than those of *Herodotus*. We are told, for instance, in scripture, that the *Babylonians* were reduced by the united forces of the *Medes* and *Persians*, and this is what we read in *Xenophon*: whereas *Herodotus* raises the *Persian* empire on the ruins of that of the *Medes*, which is repugnant to scripture. It is true, that most of the antients have chosen to follow *Herodotus* rather than *Xenophon*; but that we can easily account for. The relations of the former are interwoven with events far more strange and surprising, and consequently more diverting and acceptable to the reader; whence they were preferred to those of the latter, in which we find nothing calculated to raise admiration. This natural inclination in a writer to adopt such accounts as he thinks will prove most agreeable to his reader, has been greatly countenanced by *Plato*^a, who, in giving a character of *Xenophon's Cyropædia*, tells us, that he rather described in that work what a worthy and just prince ought to be, than gave us a true history of what that prince really was. From this passage *Diogenes Laertius* concludes^a, that *Plato* looked on the institution of *Cyrus* as a fiction. *Tully* passes the same judgment on this performance, saying^b, that *Xenophon's Cyrus*

^a *PLATO* de legib. l. iii.

^a *DIOG. LAERT.* in vit. philosoph.

^b *Epist.* i. ad *Quintum fratrem*.

(C) The river *Gyndes* rises on the hills of *Matiene*, and passing through *Dardania* falls into the *Tigris*.

was not intended for a true history, but to serve as a model of a just empire. Most of the modern critics have declared themselves of the same opinion; and we must own, that as *Xenophon* was both a great commander and a philosopher, he has woven into that history many of his own maxims of war and policy. But it does not follow from hence, that the ground-plot of the work, and the most material transactions he relates, may not be called a true history. That he intended it for such, is plain; for in the very beginning of the work he acquaints us, that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of *Cyrus's* birth, education, and character; and that it is really such, its conformity with holy writ sufficiently shews. Wherefore bating his military and political descants and digressions, the remaining part, bare matters of fact, is to be looked upon as a true history. He was esteemed by the antients: a writer of great judgment and penetration, and, having lived in the court of *Cyrus* the younger, had opportunities of being better informed of what he wrote concerning that great prince, than *Herodotus* could have; and as he confined himself to this subject alone, no doubt but he examined all matters relating to it, with more care and exactness than the other, who wrote of so many different subjects and nations. And these are the motives that have induced us to follow *Xenophon*, in what relates to *Cyrus*, rather than *Herodotus* or those who have copied after him (D).

*The true
history of
Cyrus.*

Cyrus was the son of *Cambyfes* king of *Persia* and of *Mandane* the daughter of *Astyages* king of the *Medes* (E). He was born a year after his uncle *Cyaxares* the brother of *Mandane*. He lived the first twelve years of his life with his parents in *Persia*, where he was educated after the *Persian* manner, and inured to hardships and such exercises as might enable him to go through the toils and fatigues of war (F).
When

• See *DIOG. LAERT.* in vit. *Xenophon*.

(D) *Scaliger* thinks, that the *Cyropædia* contains nothing but fables and fictions, if we except two or three events, which are related also by *Herodotus*; and *Erasmus* will not even allow *Xenophon* to have given us an exact model of a just government, but rather to have drawn a cunning and deceitful prince: so fond are they of the surprizing incidents related by his antagonist *Herodotus*.

(E) Both *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* agree in this, viz. that the mother of *Cyrus* was *Mandane* daughter to *Astyages*; but *Ctesias* would have us believe, that *Cyrus* was no-ways related to *Astyages*, or *Astigas* as he is pleased to call him.

(F) The name of *Persia* at that time extended only to one province of that large empire, which was afterwards known by the
name

When he was twelve years old his mother *Mandane* took him with her into *Media* to his grandfather *Astyages*, who, from the many things he had heard of that young prince, had a desire to see him. During the time of his residence at this court, the sweetness of his temper, his generous behaviour, and constant endeavour to oblige all, gained him the affections of the *Medes*, and such an interest among the leading men of that nation, as did afterwards much contribute to the erecting of the great empire he founded ^a.

WHEN *Cyrus* was about sixteen years of age, *Evil-merodach*, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, being abroad on a hunting-match a little before his marriage, to shew his bravery made an inroad into the territories of the *Medes*, which drew out *Astyages* with his forces to oppose the invader. On this occasion *Cyrus* attending his grandfather first entered the school of war, and behaved so well, that the victory, which the *Medes* gained over the *Babylonians*, was chiefly owing to his valour. The next year he returned to his father in *Persia*, where he remained till he was forty years of age, when he was recalled to the assistance of his uncle *Cyaxares* ^c.

Astyages king of the *Medes* was succeeded, as we have shewn in the history of that people, by his son *Cyaxares* brother to *Mandane* *Cyrus's* mother. This prince was scarce warm on his throne, when he was informed, that *Neriglissar* king of *Babylon* was preparing a powerful army to invade *Media*, that he had already engaged several princes on his side, and amongst others *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, and that he had dispatched ambassadors into *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cilicia*, and even to the *Indies*, to instil jealousies into the several princes of these countries, and to stir them up against the *Medes* and *Persians*, as aspiring to an universal monarchy. *Cyaxares* therefore called *Cyrus* out of *Persia* to his assistance, and, upon his arrival with a body of 30000 *Persians*, appointed him commander in chief both of the *Medes* and *Persians* ^f (G). He

^a XENOPH. *Cyropæd.* l. i. p. 36.

^c Idem *ibid.* p. 44. 45. &c.

^f Idem, *ibid.* p. 58.

name of *Persia*. For the whole *Persian* nation could at that time raise but 120,000 men (2). But after the conquests of *Cyrus*, it took in that vast tract, which extended east and west from the *Indus* to the *Tigris*, and north and south from the *Caspian* sea to the ocean.

(G) This army consisted of 30,000 men, all infantry, for the *Per-*

(2) *Cyropæd.* l. i.

sians

HE had not been long in *Media* before *Cyaxares* had occasion to employ him. The king of *Armenia*, who had hitherto lived in subjection to the *Medes*, looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up, by the powerful alliance formed against them, thought fit to lay hold of that opportunity and shake off the yoke. Accordingly he refused to pay the usual tribute, and to send his quota of auxiliaries, which he was obliged to furnish in time of war. As this was a matter of dangerous consequence, and which might prompt other dependent states to do the same, *Cyrus* thought it necessary to crush this revolt with the utmost expedition, and therefore marching immediately with a chosen body of horse, and covering his design, as if he intended only to hunt on the hills of *Armenia*, he entered that country, before the inhabitants had any intelligence of his march, surprized the king and all his family; and having obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and send his quota of auxiliaries, restored him to his kingdom, and returned in triumph to his army in *Media*.*

BOTH parties had now been employed three years together in forming their alliances, and making preparations for war. In the beginning of the fourth year the confederate armies on both sides took the field, and being come in sight of each other, the *Babylonians*, under *Neriglissar* their king, encamped and fortified themselves with strong intrenchments, while the *Medes* and *Persians*, under the command of *Cyrus*, covered themselves with the neighbouring hills and villages. In this posture they continued for some days, till at length the *Ba-*

* *Idem*. lib. 3. p. 62—76.

fians had yet no cavalry; but they were all chosen men, and raised after a particular manner. First of all *Cyrus* chose out of the nobility 200 officers: each of these was ordered to choose four more of the same rank which made a thousand in all; and these were called *ὁμότιμοι* or *men of the same dignity*, and eminently distinguished themselves on all occasions. Every one of these was ordered to raise among the people ten pike men lightly armed, ten slingers, and ten bow-men; which amounted in the whole to 31,000 men (3). From the year in which *Cyrus*, arriving in *Media* at the head of these troops, was vested with the command of the confederate army, those begin their computation, who will have this prince to have reigned thirty years. For from this time he was looked upon by all foreign nations as king of *Persia* and *Media*, though the regal power was solely in *Cyaxares*, and *Cyrus* was only general of the united forces.

(3) *Idem*. *ibidem*.

bylonians

bylonians leaving their intrenchments, and drawing themselves up in battle array, *Cyrus* advanced to attack them. On the side of the *Affyrians*, the bow-men and slingers made their discharges before the enemy was within reach. But the *Persians*, animated by the presence and example of *Cyrus*, immediately closed in with the enemy, and broke through their first battalions. The *Babylonians*, notwithstanding all the *Babylonians de-* efforts used by *Cræsus* and their own king, were not able to stand so rude a shock, but immediately betook themselves to *feated.* a precipitous flight. At the same time the cavalry of the *Medes* fell upon the enemies horse, which was likewise put to the rout. *Cyrus* pursued them close to their intrenchments, but, not thinking himself in a condition to force them, sound-
ed the retreat. In this battle *Neriglissar* king of the *Babylonians* was killed; whereupon *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, as being *Neriglissar killed.* in dignity next to him, took the command of the conquered army, and made as good a retreat as he could. But the next day *Cyrus* returned to the charge, drove the *Babylonians* from their camp, and with the assistance of the *Hyrca-*
nians, who had revolted to him the night before, took a great many prisoners and the baggage of the whole army ^h. *Cyrus* reserved all the horses that were taken for himself, in order to form a body of cavalry for the *Persian* army, which hitherto they had wanted. The richest and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for *Cyaxares*; and as for the prisoners, he allowed them to return home to their respective countries, without imposing any other condition upon them, than that they should deliver up their arms, and engage no more in war against him and his allies ⁱ.

THE death of *Neriglissar* was a great loss to the *Babylonians*; for he was a prince of great courage, conduct and wisdom, the preparations he made for the war shewed his wisdom, and his dying in it his valour. But nothing made the *Babylonians* more sensible of the loss they had suffered, than the tyrannical government of his son and successor *Laborsoarchod*, who was in every thing quite the reverse of his father, being addicted to all manner of wickedness, cruelty, and injustice. Two acts of his cruelty towards two *Babylonian* lords, *Gobryas* and *Gadates*, are particularly mentioned, as having provoked them to join *Cyrus*, and to be very instrumental in the subversion of the *Babylonian* empire. The only son of the former he slew at a hunting match, to which he had invited him, for no other reason, but that he pierced

^h Idem, l. iv. p. 87—104.ⁱ Idem, *ibid.*

with his dart a wild beast which the king had missed. The other he caused to be made an eunuch, because one of his concubines had commended him as an handsome man. These acts of tyranny drove the two noblemen, with the provinces they governed, over to *Cyrus*, and hastened the conquest of *Babylon*. For *Cyrus*, encouraged hereby, determined to penetrate into the very heart of the enemy's country, and having taken possession of the provinces, castles, and strong holds, which the two injured princes had been trusted with, he got a footing in *Assyria*, which greatly contributed to the reduction of *Babylon* itself. The king took the field against *Gadates*, but being met by *Cyrus* he was put to flight, and obliged to retire with great slaughter to his metropolis. *Cyrus* having thus spent the summer in ravaging the enemy's country, and shewn himself twice before the walls of *Babylon*, in order to provoke the king to battle, marched back into *Media*, and on his march took three strong holds on the frontiers ¹.

As soon as *Cyrus* was retired, *Laborsoarchod*, being now in no dread of the enemy, gave a loose to all the wicked inclinations that were predominant in him, insomuch that his own subjects, not being able to bear any longer his tyrannical government, conspired against him, and murdered him in the ninth month of his reign ¹. *Nabonadius*, who had the chief hand in the murder, was placed on the throne, and had he been left to himself, the *Babylonians* would not have bettered their condition by the change. But his mother, who was a woman of extraordinary parts, took the main burden of public affairs upon herself, and, while her son followed his pleasures, did all that could be done by human prudence to preserve the tottering empire. She perfected the works which *Nebuchadnezzar* had begun for the defence of *Babylon*, raised strong fortifications on the side of the river, and caused a wonderful vault to be made under it, leading from the old palace to the new, twelve foot high and fifteen wide. This she did to maintain a communication between the two palaces, which were strong fortresses and separated by the river², that in case one of them should be distressed by the enemy, or either of them taken, there might be relief from, or a safe retreat to, the other.

¹ Idem. l. v. p. 123—140. ² Beros. apud Joseph. contra APION. l. i. MEGAST. apud EUSEB. Prepar. Evang. l. ix. ³ HERODOT. l. i. DIODOR. Sicul. l. ii. PHILOSTRAT. l. i. c. 18.

WHILE the queen was thus taking all possible precautions against the enemy, *Cyaxares* came to *Cyrus's* camp, and after several consultations they determined to alter their method; and, instead of contenting themselves only with ravaging the enemy's territories, they thought it was necessary to employ their troops in taking of towns and fortresses, that so they might make themselves masters of the country, and distress the city of *Babylon* by intercepting their provisions^a. Accordingly they took many cities, and brought under subjection entire provinces, without meeting with any considerable resistance from the *Babylonians*. The progress *Cyrus* made in those conquests roused at last *Nabonadius*, who, taking along with him great part of his treasures, left *Babylon* and repaired to *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, by whose assistance and interest he concluded a formidable alliance with the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and all the nations of the *Lesser Asia*. These various nations under the conduct of *Cræsus*, who was by the king of *Babylon* appointed chief commander of all his forces, assembled near the river *Pactolus*, and from thence advanced to *Thymbra*, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous. *Cyrus* being informed of these vast preparations by one of his intimate friends, who by his order had fled over to the enemy as a deserter, put himself in a condition to oppose them; and having increased the number of his forces by new levies, he took leave of *Cyaxares*, who remained in *Media* with a third part of the troops, that the country might not be left intirely defenceless, and marched forward to meet the confederate forces in their own territories, in order to consume their forage, and disconcert their measures, by the quickness of his march and boldness of his undertaking. After a long march he came up with the enemy at *Thymbra*, a city of *Lydia*, not far from *Sardis*, the metropolis of that country. *Cyrus's* army was 196,000 strong, horse and foot; besides these troops he had 300 chariots armed with scythes, each chariot drawn by four horses abreast, covered with trappings that were proof against all sorts of missive weapons: he had likewise a great number of other chariots of a larger size, upon each of which he placed a tower about 18 or 20 feet high, and in each tower were lodged 20 archers. These chariots were drawn by 16 oxen yoked abreast. There was moreover a considerable number of camels, each mounted by two *Arabian* archers, the one looking towards the head, and the other towards the hinder part of the camel.

^a CYROPOD. l. vi. p. 156, &c.

The army of *Cræsus* was twice as numerous as that of *Cyrus*, amounting in the whole to 420,000 men. Both armies were drawn up on an immense plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to the right and left; and the design of *Cræsus*, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to surround and hem in the enemy's army. He placed the *Egyptians*, who alone made a body of 120,000 men, and were the main strength of the army, in the centre.

Battle of Thymbra. WHEN the two armies were within sight of each other, *Cræsus*, observing how much the front of his army exceeded that of *Cyrus*, made the centre halt, and the two wings advance with a design to inclose *Cyrus's* army, and begin the attack on both sides at the same time. When the two detached bodies of the *Lydian* forces were sufficiently extended, *Cræsus* gave the signal to the main body, which marched up to the front of the *Persian* army, while the two wings attacked them in flank, so that *Cyrus's* army was hem'd in on all sides, and, as our author expresses it, inclosed like a small square drawn within a great one^p.

Year of
the Flood,
2455.
Year be-
fore Christ
544.

THIS motion did not at all alarm *Cyrus*, who, giving his troops the signal to face about, attacked in flank the enemies forces that were marching to fall upon his rear, and put them into great disorder. In the same moment a squadron of camels was made to advance against the enemies other wing, consisting mostly of cavalry. The horses upon the approach of the camels were so frightened, that most of them threw their riders, and trod them under foot, which occasioned a great confusion. While they were thus in disorder, *Artageses*, an officer of great experience, at the head of a small body of horse charged them so briskly, that they could never afterwards rally, and at the same time the chariots armed with scythes being furiously driven against them, they were entirely routed. Both the enemy's wings being put to flight, *Cyrus* commanded *Abradates* his chief favourite to fall upon the centre with the chariots we have mentioned above. The first ranks, consisting mostly of *Lydians*, not being able to stand so violent a charge, immediately gave way; but the *Egyptians* being covered with their bucklers, and marching so close that the chariots had not room to penetrate their ranks, a great slaughter of the *Persians* ensued. *Abradates* himself was killed, his chariot overturned, and most part of his men cut in pieces, after having signalized themselves in a very extraordinary manner. Upon his death the *Egyptians*

^p Idem, l. vi. p. 167—172.

^p Idem, p. 173.

tians advancing boldly obliged the *Persian* infantry to give way, and drove them back quite to their engines. There they met with a new shower of arrows and javelins discharged upon them from the towers, and at the same time the *Persian* rear advancing sword in hand, obliged their archers and spearmen to return to the charge. In the mean time *Cyrus*, having put to flight both the horse and foot on the left of the *Egyptians*, pushed on to the centre, where he had the mortification to find his *Persians* again giving ground, and judging that the only way to stop the *Egyptians* who were pursuing them, would be to attack them in the rear, he did so; and at the same time the *Persian* cavalry coming up to his assistance, the fight was renewed with great slaughter on both sides; for the *Egyptians* facing about defended themselves with incredible bravery. *Cyrus* himself was in great danger; for his horse being killed under him, he fell in the midst of the enemies, but being saved by his *Persians*, who, alarmed at his danger, threw themselves headlong upon those that surrounded him, the battle became more bloody than ever. At length *Cyrus* admiring the valour of the *Egyptians*, and concerned to see such brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions, letting them know at the same time, that all their allies had abandoned them. They accepted the terms offered them, and, having agreed with *Cyrus* that they should not be obliged to carry arms against *Cræsus*, in whose service they had been engaged, surrendered themselves to the conqueror, and from that time served him with the utmost fidelity^a (H).

THE engagement lasted till night, when *Cræsus* retired with his troops to *Sardis*, and the other nations made the best of their way to their respective countries. *Cyrus* did not think fit to pursue them, but the next morning advanced

^a Idem. l. vii. p. 172---178.

(H) *Xenophon* observes here (4), that *Cyrus* gave them the cities of *Larissa* and *Cyllene* on the sea-coast, and other lands within the country, which were inhabited by their descendants in his time; and adds, that these places were called the cities of the *Egyptians*. This observation, and many others he makes in his *Cyropædia*, in order to prove the truth of the things he advances, shew plainly, that he wrote that piece as a true history of *Cyrus*, at least with respect to the substance of it, and greatest part of the transactions.

(4) *Cyropæd.* l. vii. p. 179.

towards *Sardis*. *Craesus* hearing of his approach marched out with his *Lydians*, for the auxiliaries were already retired, to give him battle. Their principal strength consisted in cavalry, which *Cyrus* being sensible of, made his camels advance against them, whose smell the horses not being able to endure, they were immediately put in disorder. However, the *Lydians*, who at that time were one of the most warlike nations of *Asia*, dismounting, fought on foot, but, after having kept their ground very obstinately for some time, were forced to make their retreat to *Sardis*, where they were immediately closely besieged by *Cyrus*: (1).

Sardis
taken.

THE night after he invested the city he made himself master of the citadel, being conducted to it in the dead of the night by a *Persian* slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he found no resistance, the *Lydians* having dispersed at the news of the citadel's being taken. *Cyrus*'s first care was to save the town, which was the most wealthy of all *Asia*, from being plundered. With this view he acquainted the inhabitants, that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with, and *Craesus* himself, who was taken and brought to *Cyrus*, set them an example by delivering his immense treasures up to the conqueror. *Cyrus*, touched with compassion at the king's misfortune, and admiring his constancy in so great a change, treated him with great clemency, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the sole restriction of not having power to make war. From that time he took

¹ HERODOT. l. i p. 79--84.

(1) While *Cyrus* lay encamped before *Sardis* he performed the exequies of *Abradates* and *Panthea* his wife. *Abradates* was prince of *Sbusban* under the *Babylonians*, and had revolted to *Cyrus* about two years before, being induced thereunto by his wife, a woman of extraordinary beauty, whom *Cyrus* had taken prisoner in his first engagement with the *Babylonians*, and treated in a most obliging manner. This kind treatment drew over her husband to *Cyrus*, and he being killed in the engagement with the *Egyptians*, as we have mentioned above, *Panthea* out of grief flew herself upon his dead body, and *Cyrus* caused them both to be interred with great pomp, and a stately monument to be erected over them near the river *Pactolus*, where it was to be seen many ages after (5).

(5) *Idem*, l. v. § vii.

him

him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for that prince, or out of policy, that he might be more secure of his person^c (K).

Cyrus

^c Idem, l. vii. p. 181---184.

(K) The taking of *Cræsus* is differently related by *Herodotus* and those who have copied after him (6). According to these, *Cræsus* being shut up in *Sardis* dispatched ambassadors to all his allies, intreating their assistance. But in the mean time *Cyrus* pressed the siege so vigorously, that he took the city, before any succours could arrive, and the king in it, whom he condemned to be burnt alive. And accordingly placed him on a great pile of wood, accompanied by fourteen young *Lydians*. The design of *Cyrus* in so doing was, according to *Herodotus*, to offer this sacrifice to some god as the first fruits of his victory, or to perform a vow, or perhaps to see, as he had heard of his piety towards the gods, whether any of them would save him from the fire. When *Cræsus* had ascended the pile, notwithstanding the weight of his misfortunes, he recollected the words of *Solon*, who had told him, that no man could be called happy before his death. Revolving these words in his mind, he cried out with a great sigh three times, *Solon, Solon, Solon*. Which when *Cyrus* heard, he commanded his interpreter to ask him, whose assistance he implored. Upon this *Cræsus* acquainted him, that *Solon*, an *Athenian* philosopher, having formerly visited him, and viewed his immense treasures, had despised all, and plainly told him, instead of applauding his happiness, that he could not pronounce any man happy so long as he lived, because no man could foresee what might happen to him before his death; of the truth of which being now thoroughly convinced by his present calamity, he called upon the name of *Solon*. This raised in *Cyrus* such a sense of the uncertainty of all human felicity, and compassion for *Cræsus*, that he commanded the fire to be presently extinguished, and the unfortunate king taken down. Accordingly all endeavours were used to execute his orders, but the fire could not be mastered. In this distress *Cræsus* being informed that *Cyrus* designed to save his life, but seeing his *Persians* attempted in vain to extinguish the flame, burst out into a flood of tears, and with a loud voice invoking *Apollo*, besought that god to deliver him from the present danger, if any of his offerings had ever been agreeable to him. He had scarce ended his prayer when clouds were seen gathering in the air, which before was serene, and a violent storm of rain ensuing quite extinguished the flame. *Cyrus* understanding by this miraculous event that *Cræsus* was a pious prince and greatly favoured by the gods, not only spared his life, but allowed him a very honourable maintenance, and made

(6) *Herodot. l. i. p. 85.*

Cyrus after the conquest of *Lydia* continued in *Lesser Asia*, till he had subdued the several nations inhabiting that great continent, from the *Ægean* sea to the *Euphrates*. From thence he marched into *Syria* and *Arabia*, and having brought those nations likewise under subjection, he again entered *Assyria*, and marched towards *Babylon*, the only city in all the east that now held out against him. *Nabonadius*, or, as *Herodotus* calls him, *Labynitus*, hearing that he was advancing to his metropolis, marched out to give him battle, but being without much ado put to flight, he retreated to *Babylon*, where he was immediately blocked up and closely besieged by *Cyrus*. The siege of this important place was no easy enterprize. The walls were of a prodigious height, the number of men to defend them very great, and the city stored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years. However, these difficulties did not discourage *Cyrus* from prosecuting his design. But despairing to take the place by storm, he caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city with a large and deep ditch, reckoning, that if all communication with the country were cut off, the more people there were within the city, the sooner they would be obliged to surrender. That his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and appointed each body its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves out of all danger by reason of their high walls and magazines, insulted *Cyrus* from the ramparts, and looked upon all the trouble he gave himself as so much unprofitable labour.

Cyrus having spent two entire years before *Babylon*, without gaining any considerable advantage over the city, at last resolved upon the following stratagem, which put him in

¹ HERODOT. l. i. p. 177. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 186---188.

use of him ever after as one of his chief counsellors, and at his death recommended him to his son *Cambyfes*, as the person whose advice he would have him chiefly to follow.

The same writer tells us, that upon the taking of the city of *Sardis*, a certain *Persian*, not knowing *Cræsus*, advanced to kill him. As he, not caring to survive that disaster, did not attempt to avoid the blow, his son, who was born dumb, seeing the soldier ready to strike, was moved with such fear and tenderness for the life of his father, that in that instant he cried out, *Soldier, spare the life of Cræsus*. These were the first words he ever uttered, but from that time he continued to speak readily till his death (7).

(7) *Herodot. ibid.*

possession

possession of the place. He was informed, that a great annual solemnity was to be kept in *Babylon*, and that the *Babylonians* on that occasion were accustomed to spend the whole night in drinking and debauchery. This he thought a proper time to surprise them in, and accordingly sent a strong detachment to the head of the canal leading to the great lake, which we have elsewhere described ^u, with orders, at an appointed time, to break down the great bank, which was between the lake and the canal, and to turn the whole current into the lake. At the same time he posted one body of troops at the place where the river entered into the city, and another where it came out, ordering them to march into the city by the bed of the river, as soon as they should find it fordable. Towards the evening he opened the head of the trenches on both sides of the river above the city, that the water might discharge itself into them. By this means, and the breaking down of the great dam, the river was soon drained. Then the two fore-mentioned bodies of troops according to their orders entered the channel, the one commanded by *Gobryas*, and the other by *Gadates*, and finding the gates all left open, by reason of the general disorder of that riotous night, they penetrated into the very heart of the city without any opposition, and meeting at the palace, according to their agreement, surprised the guards, and cut them in pieces. Those who were within the palace opening the gates to know the cause of this confusion, the *Persians* rushed in, took the palace and killed the king, who sword in hand came up to meet them. The king being killed, and those who were about him put to flight, the rest voluntarily submitted, and *Cyrus* without any further resistance became master of the place, and concluded his conquests after a war of 21 years ^w.

The taking of *Babylon* put an end to the *Babylonian* empire, and fulfilled the predictions, which the prophets *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Daniel* had uttered against that proud metropolis, and of which we have already given a particular account ^x.

THE king of *Babylon* being killed, *Darius* the *Mede* is said in scripture to have taken the kingdom ^y. By *Darius* the *Mede* is meant *Cyaxares*, king of the *Medes* and uncle to *Cyrus*, as we have fully proved in the history of *Media*. For *Cyrus*, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire with him in partnership; nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let him enjoy the first rank. *Cyrus*, having settled his affairs at *Babylon*, returned into *Persia* to pay a visit to

Babylon
taken.
Year of
the Flood,
2461.
Year be-
fore Christ
538.

^u See before, p. 332. ^w *Cyropæd.* p. 189--192.
^x before, p. 353. ^y *Dan.* v. 31. ix. 1. xi. 1.

^z See

his father and mother, who were still alive^a; and after a short stay there, went back to *Babylon* together with *Cyaxares*. On their arrival they concerted together the settling of the whole empire, and having divided it into 120 provinces, the government of these was given to such as had distinguished themselves during the war.

THE civil government being thus settled, *Cyrus* ordered all his forces to join him at *Babylon*. On a general review he found, they consisted of 120,000 horse, 2000 chariots armed with scythes, and 600,000 foot. Of these having distributed into garisons such a number as he judged necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into *Syria*, where he settled the affairs of that province, and then reduced the other nations as far as the *Red-sea* and the confines of *Æthiopia*^a. In this interval of time *Daniel* was by order of *Darius*, who remained at *Babylon*, cast into the lions den, as we have related in the history of *Media*.

Year of
the Flood,
2463.
Year be-
fore Christ
536.

ABOUT two years after the reduction of *Babylon*, *Cyaxares* dying, and also *Cambyfes* king of *Persia*, *Cyrus* returned to *Babylon* and took upon him the whole government of the empire^a, which he held for the space of seven years (K). IN the first of these seven years expired the 70 years of the *Babylonish* captivity, when *Cyrus* published the famous edict, whereby the *Jews* were allowed to return to *Jerusalem*. There is no doubt, but this edict was obtained by *Daniel*, who was in great credit and authority at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him that favour, he shewed him the prophecies of *Isaiab*^b, naming

^a Cyropæd. ibid.

^a Idem, l. viii. p. 233.

^a Idem ibid.

^b Isa. xlv. 28. xlv. 1.

(K) The reign of *Cyrus* is reckoned, from his first coming out of *Persia* to the assistance of his uncle *Cyaxares* at the head of the *Persian* army, to have lasted thirty years; from the taking of *Babylon* nine years, and from his being sole monarch of the whole empire, after the death of *Cyaxares* in *Media* and *Cambyfes* in *Persia*, seven years. *Tully* (8) reckons by the first account, *Ptolemy* (9) by the second, and *Xenophon* (10) by the third. The first of these seven years is the first year of *Cyrus* mentioned by *Extra* (11), wherein an end was put to the captivity of *Judah*, and liberty granted them to return to their country, the seventy years of captivity being then expired.

(8) Cic. de divinac. l. 2.

(9) Ptolem. in Canon.

(10) Cy-

ropæd. l. viii.

(11) Euseb. i. 1.

him 120 years before his birth, as one appointed by God to be a great conqueror, and king over many nations, and the restorer of his people, by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and *Jerusalem* and *Judæa* to be repossessed by their antient inhabitants.

Cyrus having issued out his decree for the restoring of the *Jews* to their country, and the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*, the captive *Hebrews* assembled out of the several provinces of the *Babylonian* empire, to the number of 42360 persons with their servants, who amounted to 7337 more, and set out for *Judæa* *. And thus was the state of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* again restored, after they had lain desolate 70 years (L). *Cyrus* restored at the same time to the *Jews* all the vessels of the temple, which *Nabuchodonosor* had brought from *Jerusalem*, and lodged in the temple of his God *Baal*.

AFTER the return of the *Jews*, the *Samaritans*, their declared enemies, did all that lay in their power to prevent the building of the temple ; and though they could not alter *Cyrus's* decree, yet they prevailed by bribes with the ministers to obstruct the execution of it ; so that for several years the building went on but very slowly.

AND it seems to have been out of grief to see the pious intentions of *Cyrus* thus disappointed, that in the third year

* *Ezra* ii. 64, 65. 1 *Esd.* v. 41, 42.

(L) It may not be improper in this place to insert the famous edict of *Cyrus* in favour of the *Israelites* ; an edict, for which it may be presumed that God endowed him with so many heroic virtues, and blest him with a constant series of prosperity and victories.

In the first year of Cyrus king of the Persians, that the word of the Lord might be accomplished, that he had promised by the mouth of Jeremy, the Lord raised up the spirit of Cyrus the king of the Persians ; and he made a proclamation through all his kingdom, and also by writing, saying ; Thus saith Cyrus king of the Persians, the Lord of Israel, the most high Lord, hath made me king of the whole world, and commanded me to build him an house at Jerusalem in Jewry. If therefore there be any of you that are of his people, let the Lord, even his Lord, be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem that is in Judæa, and build the house of the Lord of Israel ; for he is the Lord that dwelleth in Jerusalem. Whosoever then dwell in the places about, let them help him (those I say that are his neighbours : with gold, and with silver, with gifts, with horses, and with cattle, and other things which have been set forth by vow for the temple of the Lord at Jerusalem (12).

(12) 1 *Esd.* ii. 1. 7.

of that prince *Daniel* gave himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together ^c.

BUT to return to *Cyrus*. This prince, being equally beloved by his own natural subjects and those of the conquered nations, peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His new erected empire was bounded on the east by the river *Indus*, on the north by the *Caspian* and *Euxine* seas, on the west by the *Egean*, and on the south by *Æthiopia* and the sea of *Arabia*. He kept his residence in the heart of these countries, spending the seven cold months at *Babylon* by reason of the warmth of that climate; three months at *Susa* in the spring, and two months at *Ecbatan* during the heat of the summer ^d.

HAVING spent seven years in this state of tranquility, and established his empire with such wisdom, that upon the strength of this foundation alone it stood above 200 years, notwithstanding the rash and impolitic proceedings of his successors, he died in the 70th year of his age ^e, equally regretted by all the nations of his vast-spreading dominions. He had reigned, from his first taking upon him the command of the *Persian* and *Median* armies, thirty years ^f; from the reduction of *Babylon* nine ^g; and from his being sole monarch of the east, after the death of his uncle *Cyaxares*, or *Darius the Mede*, seven years ^h. Authors are strangely at variance with each other as to the manner of his death. *Xenophon's* account, who makes him die in his bed, as fortunately as he lived, amidst his friends and in his own country, seems to us by far the most probable. For all authors agree, that he was buried at *Pasargada* in *Persia*, where *Xenophon* says he died, and his monument was to be seen there in the time of *Alexander the Great*. Had he been slain in *Scythia*, as *Herodotus* and *Justin* relate, and his body mangled as they would have us believe, how could it ever have been rescued out of the hands of those enraged barbarians, and buried at *Pasargada*? Besides, it is by no means probable, that such a wise man, as *Cyrus* is represented to have been, and so far advanced in years, would have engaged in so rash an undertaking, as the *Scythian* expedition is described to have been by those who relate it. Neither can it be conceived, how after so great an overthrow the *Persian* empire could have subsisted, especially in the hands of such a successor as *Cambyfes* was. For *Herodotus* tells us, that

Cyrus dies.
Year of
the Flood,
2470.
Year be-
fore Christ
529.

^c Dan. x. i. 3.

^d *Cyropæd.* l. viii. p. 233.

^e *CICERO*

de divin. l. i.

^f *Cic.* ubi supra.

^g *PTOL.* in Can.

^h *Cy-*

ropæd. l. viii. p. 233.

he was killed, and his whole army, consisting of 200,000 men, cut in pieces (M).

ON his death-bed he appointed his son *Cambyfes* to succeed him, who accordingly took possession of that vast empire. To his other son *Smerdis* he left several considerable governments. *Cambyfes*, known in scripture by the name of *Ahasuerus*ⁱ, *Cambyfes*. was scarce well settled on the throne when he resolved upon a war with the *Egyptians*. The occasion of this war, as related by *Herodotus*, seems fabulous^k. 'Tis most likely, that *Amasis*, who was then king of *Egypt*, and had submitted to *Cyrus*, upon the death of that great conqueror refused to pay his successor the same homage and tribute. But be that as it will, *Cambyfes* in order to carry on the war with success made vast preparations both by sea and land. The *Cypriots* and *Phœnicians* furnished him with ships; and for his land-forces, he added to his own troops great numbers of auxiliaries, especially of *Greeks*, *Ionians*, and *Æolians*, who were the main strength of his army. But the greatest help he had in this war was from *Phanes* of *Halicarnassus*, who, being commander of some *Greek* auxiliaries in the service of *Amasis*,

ⁱ EZRA iv. 6. ^k HERODOT. l. iii. cap. i. and this hist. Vol. II. p. 56, & seq.

(M) *Diodorus Siculus* (13) tells us, that he was taken prisoner by *Tomyris* queen of the *Massagetes*, and by her orders crucified. *Ctesias* (14) says, that in a battle against the *Derbicans*, a people bordering upon *Hyrcania*, he was wounded in the thigh by a certain *Indian*, of which wound he died three days after. *John Melela* of *Antioch*, out of a forged book ascribed to *Pythagoras*, acquaints us, that he was slain in a sea fight by the *Samians*.

Some writers tell us (15), that after the reduction of *Babylon* *Cyrus*, having a victorious army at his devotion and *Cyaxares* being returned from *Babylon* into *Media*, revolted from *Cyaxares*, in conjunction with the *Persians* under him, who were incited thereunto by *Harpagus* a *Mede*, and *Artabaxus*, who had assisted *Cyrus* in subduing *Asia minor*, and had been injured by *Darius*. *Harpagus* was sent by *Cyaxares* with an army against *Cyrus*; but in the heat of the battle revolted with great part of the army to *Cyrus*. *Cyaxares* raised a new army, and was again defeated near *Pasargada* in *Persia*, and taken prisoner. By this victory, say they, the monarchy was translated from the *Medes* to the *Persians*. But this account we have already rejected, as not agreeing so well with holy writ as that which we read in *Xenophon*.

(13) *Diodor. Sic. l. ii.* (14) *Ctesias, l. xi.* (15) *Suidas in Aristarchos.*

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took

took some disgust, and going over to *Cambyfes* made such discoveries to him of the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the state of affairs in *Egypt*, as greatly contributed to the success of this expedition. 'Twas particularly by his advice, that *Cambyfes* contracted with an *Arabian* king, whose territories lay between the confines of *Palestine* and *Egypt*, to furnish his army with water during his march through the deserts that parted those two countries. The *Arabian* fulfilled his agreement by sending many camels loaded with skins full of water, without which *Cambyfes* could never have marched his army that way ¹.

BEING thus prepared, he invaded *Egypt* in the fourth year of his reign. On his arrival upon the borders of that kingdom, he was informed, that *Amasis* was just dead, and that his son *Psammenitus*, who had succeeded him, was drawing together a powerful army to prevent his penetrating into the kingdom. Before *Cambyfes* could open a passage into the country, it was necessary for him to take *Pelusium*, which was the key of *Egypt* on that side. But as that was a strong place, and in a condition to hold out a long time, *Cambyfes* had recourse to the following stratagem, probably suggested to him by *Phanes*. Being informed, that the whole garison consisted of *Egyptians*, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals that were looked upon as sacred by that nation, and then attacked the city. The soldiers of the garison not daring to throw a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, through fear of killing some of those animals, *Cambyfes* possessed himself of the place without opposition ².

Cambyfes had scarce taken possession of this important place, when *Psammenitus* at the head of a powerful army advanced to stop his farther progress; whereupon a bloody battle ensued between the two armies. But before they engaged, the *Greeks* and *Carians* who served under *Psammenitus*, to shew their resentment against *Phanes*, for introducing the *Persians* into *Egypt*, brought his children into the camp, killed them in the sight of their father, and in the presence of the two armies drank their blood. The *Persians* enraged at so cruel a sight, fell upon the *Egyptian* army with such fury that they soon put them to flight, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Those who saved themselves by flight retired to

¹ HERODOT. l. iii. c. 4----9.

² POLYEN. l. vii. "

Memphis (N). *Cambyfes* pursued them close, and arriving at *Memphis*, sent a herald into the city, in a vessel of *Mitylene*, by the river *Nile* on which *Memphis* stood, to summon the inhabitants to a surrender. But the people transported with rage fell upon the herald, and tore him and all that were with him to pieces. But *Cambyfes*, after a short siege having stormed the place, fully revenged their death, causing ten *Egyptians* of the first rank to be publicly executed for every one of those they had slain, and the eldest son of *Psammenitus* was one of the number. As for the king himself who was taken prisoner, *Cambyfes* was inclined to treat him kindly; for he not only spared his life, but appointed him an honourable maintenance: But he, not at all affected with this kind usage, did all that lay in his power to raise new troubles in hopes of recovering his crown; whereupon he was condemned to drink bull's blood, and thus ended his life after a reign of six months, and with him died the antient splendor and liberty of *Egypt*, for all that country immediately submitted to the conqueror^a.

ON the news of this success the *Libyans*, *Cyreneans*, and *Barceans* sent ambassadors with presents to *Cambyfes*, declaring themselves ready to submit to him, and receive his forces into their strong holds. From *Memphis* he marched to the

^a HERODOT. l. iii. c. 13----15.

(N) On occasion of this battle *Herodotus* (16) takes notice of an extraordinary circumstance, whereof he himself was an eye-witness. The bones of the *Persians* and *Egyptians* were in his time still to be seen in the place where the battle was fought, but separated from each other. The skulls of the *Egyptians*, says he, were so hard that they could hardly be broken by the violent blow of a large stone; whereas those of the *Persians* were so soft and weak, that they were broke with the least blow of a pebble. This difference, as our author tells us, was owing to the *Egyptian* custom of shaving the heads of their children-early; by which means the bones were rendered thicker and stronger through the heat of the sun, and the head preserved from baldness, there being fewer people bald in *Egypt* as *Herodotus* observes, than in any other country. As the heads of the *Egyptians* were strengthened by this method, so those of the *Persians* were softened by the contrary custom. For they were not exposed to the sun, but always covered with caps and turbans. Our author adds, that he observed the same thing at *Papremis* in those who, together with *Achæmenes* the son of *Darius*, were defeated by *Juarius* king of *Libya*.

(16) *Herodot. l. iii. c. 12.*

city

city of *Sais*, the burying-place of the *Egyptian* kings. Here he caused the body of *Amasis* to be inhumanly taken out of its tomb, and, after exposing it to a thousand indignities, ordered it to be thrown into the fire and burnt. The wrath, which this prince vented upon the dead body of *Amasis*, shews the irreconcilable hatred he bore him. Whatever was the cause of that aversion, he seems to have been by it chiefly prompted to invade *Egypt* •.

THE next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he resolved upon three different expeditions; the first against the *Carthaginians*, the second against the *Hammonians*, and the third against the *Ethiopians*. But he was forced to drop the first project, by reason the *Phœnicians*, without whose help he could not carry on that war, refused to assist him against the *Carthaginians*, who were descended from them, *Carthage* being originally a *Tyrian* colony. But his heart being set on the other two expeditions, he sent ambassadors into *Æthiopia*, who under that character were to act as spies, and give him intelligence of the state and strength of the country. But the *Ethiopians*, being well apprised of the errand on which they were come, treated them with great contempt. However, the *Ethiopian* king, in return for the presents they brought him from *Cambyfes*, sent him back his own bow, advising him to make war upon the *Ethiopians*, when the *Persians* could as easily bend that bow as they could. Before he delivered the bow to the *Persian* ambassadors, he addressed them with this speech. “ ’Tis not from any consideration of my
“ friendship that the king of *Persia* sent you with these pre-
“ sents; neither have you spoken truth, but are come into
“ my kingdom as spies. If your master were an honest man,
“ he would desire no more than his own, and not attempt to
“ enslave a people who had never done him any injury. How-
“ ever, give him this bow from me, and let him know, that
“ the king of *Æthiopia* advises the king of *Persia* to make
“ war upon the *Ethiopians*, when the *Persians* shall be able
“ thus easily to bend so strong a bow, and in the mean time to
“ thank the gods, that they have never inspired the *Ethiopians*
“ with a desire of extending their dominions beyond their
“ own country.”^p

Cambyfes, being informed by his ambassadors of all that had passed, flew into a violent passion, and ordered his army immediately to begin their march, without considering, that they were furnished neither with provisions, nor any other ne-

• Idem, *ibid.* c. xvi.

^p Idem, *ibid.* c. xx—xxiv.

cessaries for such an expedition. He left the *Greek* auxiliaries behind him to keep the new conquered countries in awe during his absence, and with the whole body of his land-forces began his march. When he arrived at *Thebes* in the upper *Egypt*, he detached 50,000 men against the *Hammonians*, ordering them to ravage the whole country, and burn the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, while he with the rest of his army should march against the *Ethiopians*. But before he had marched a fifth part of the way, his provisions were consumed, and the army reduced to the necessity of eating thier beasts of burden. *Cambyfes* notwithstanding these difficulties, pursued his rash attempt, and the soldiers fed upon herbs and grass, so long as they found any in their way. But when they arrived in the sandy deserts, they were brought to such extremities as to be obliged to devour one another, every tenth man, upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to serve as food for his companions, a food, says *Seneca*, more to be dreaded than famine itself ¹. The king still persisted in his mad design, till at last being apprehensive of the danger his own person was in, he gave over the enterprize, and retreated to *Thebes*, after having lost great part of his army in this wild attempt ².

As for that part of the army which was sent against the *Hammonians*, they marched from *Thebes*, and by the help of their guides arrived at the city of *Oasis*, inhabited by *Samians*, and seven days march distant from *Thebes*. No body doubts, as our author informs us ³, but they arrived at that place. But what was their fate afterwards is uncertain, for they never returned either to *Egypt* or their own country. The *Hammonians* informed *Herodotus*, that they marched from *Oasis*. and that after they had entered the sandy desert which lies beyond that city, a violent wind began to blow from the south, at the time of their dinner, and raised the sands to such a degree, that the whole army was overwhelmed and buried alive.

Cambyfes on his return to *Thebes* caused all the temples, which in that superstitious city were very rich and numerous, to be pillaged and burnt down to the ground. We may judge of the richness of those temples from the remains saved from the flames, which amounted to the sum of 300 talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred talents of silver. He likewise carried away the famous circle of gold that encompassed the tomb of king *Ozymandyas*, being 365 cubits in circumference, and on which were represented all the motions of the several constellations ⁴.

¹ *SENECA* de Ira. l. iii. c. 20. ² *HERODOT.* ubi supra. c. 25, 26. ³ *Idem*, *ibid.* ⁴ *DIODOR.* Sicul. l. i. p. 43—46.

FROM *Thebes* *Cambyfes* marched back to *Memphis*, where he discharged the *Greek* mercenaries and sent them to their respective countries. On his entry into this city, finding the citizens all in mirth and jollity because their god *Apis* had then appeared among them, he was highly provoked, as supposing that they rejoiced because of his unsuccessful expedition. He therefore called the magistrates to learn of them the cause of that public mirth. They gave him a true account of the whole matter; but he, not believing what they said, caused them all to be put to death. He sent afterwards for the priests, who made him the same answer, telling him, that it had been always their custom when their god appeared amongst them to celebrate his appearance, with the greatest demonstrations of joy they could express. To this he replied, that if their god was so kind and familiar as to shew himself to them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded the deity to be brought forthwith before him.

THE chief god of the *Egyptians* was *Osiris*, at *Memphis* called *Apis*. This god they worshipped in the shape of a bull, and always kept in his temple a bull to which they paid divine honours in his stead. He was to be the calf of a cow incapable of bearing another, and impregnated, as the *Egyptians* believed, by thunder. We have spoke elsewhere^u of the marks which were to distinguish him from all others. When he died, another with the same marks was sought for and put in his room. When this calf was brought to *Cambyfes*, who expected to see some deity, he flew into a violent passion, and drawing his dagger wounded the *Apis* in the thigh, and reproaching the priests for their stupidity in worshipping a brute, ordered them severely to be whipped, and all the *Egyptians* at *Memphis*, that should be found celebrating the feast of *Apis* to be slain. The *Apis* after he had languished some time died of his wound in the temple, and was buried by the priests, who carefully concealed his death from *Cambyfes*^w.

THE *Egyptians* say that after this sacrilegious action, which was looked upon by them as the greatest instance of impiety that ever was committed amongst them, *Cambyfes* was immediately seized with lunacy and grew mad. But his actions shewed that he was so long before, of which he gave several instances. We find the following upon record.

HE had a brother by the same father and mother, called by *Xenophon* *Tanaoxares*, *Smerdis* by *Herodotus*, and by *Justin* *Mergis*. He attended *Cambyfes* on his *Egyptian* expedition; but being the only person in the army that could bend the

^u Vol. I. p. 448.

^w HERODOT. ubi sup. c. 30.

bow, which the king of *Æthiopia* had sent, within two fingers breadth, *Cambyfes* from hence conceived such a jealousy of him, that, being no longer able to bear him in the army, he sent him back into *Persia*. After his departure *Cambyfes* dreamed, that a messenger arriving from *Persia* told him, that *Smerdis* was seated on the throne, and touched the heavens with his head. Whereupon, suspecting that his brother aspired to the crown, he dispatched *Prexaspes*, one of his confidants, into *Persia*, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed¹.

THIS murder was followed by another still more criminal. *Cambyfes* had with him in the camp his youngest sister, by name *Meroe*. As this princess was very beautiful, he fell violently in love with her, and was desirous to marry her. But being convinced of the novelty of his design, he summoned all the royal judges of the *Persian* nation, whose office it was to interpret the laws, to know whether there was any law allowing a brother to marry his sister. The judges, being unwilling to authorize such an incestuous marriage, and at the same time dreading the effects of the king's violent temper should they contradict him, returned this crafty answer: That they truly knew of no law allowing a man to marry his own sister, but had a law which gave the king of *Persia* liberty to do whatever he pleased. Upon this answer he solemnly married her, and thereby gave the first example of that incest, which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far as to marry their own daughters. This sister he took with him in all his expeditions, and gave her name to an island in the *Nile* between *Egypt* and *Æthiopia*, which he conquered on his wild expedition against the *Ethiopians*. The occasion and manner of her death is reported in the following manner. As *Cambyfes* was one day diverting himself in seeing a young dog and the whelp of a lion fighting, the dog being over-matched another of the same litter breaking loose came to his assistance, by which means the lion was mastered. Whilst the king was mightily pleased with this adventure, *Meroe*, who sat by him, began to weep, and being obliged to tell her husband the cause of her grief, she confessed, that this accident put her in mind of the fate of her brother *Smerdis*, whom nobody had been good-natured enough to assist. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of that brutal prince, who, notwithstanding her being with child gave her such a blow

¹ Idem, *ibid.* c. 30.

with his foot on the belly, that she miscarried, and soon after died = (N).

HE caused also several of the chief lords of his court to be buried alive, and daily sacrificed some of them to his wild fury. He one day asked *Prexaspes*, who was his chief favourite, what the *Persians* said of him, and what character they gave him in their private conversations. *Prexaspes* answered, that they highly applauded his actions in general, but thought him too much addicted to wine. I understand you, replied the king, they pretend, that wine deprives me of my understanding, but whether this charge be true or not you shall be judge. Upon which he began to drink to a far greater excess than he had ever done before. Then ordering the son of *Prexaspes*, who was his cup-bearer, to stand upright at the farther end of the room with his left hand upon his head, and then turning to *Prexaspes*, if I shoot, said he, this arrow through the heart of thy son, the *Persians* you must own have slandered me, but if I miss, I shall willingly allow them to have spoke the truth. He had no sooner uttered these words, than drawing his bow he shot the arrow through the body of the young man. Then commanding him to be opened, and finding the arrow had pierced his heart, he asked the father with great joy, and in an insulting manner, whether he had ever seen a man shoot with a more steady hand, and whether or no the *Persians* had injured his character, by saying that wine deprived him of his reason? The unfortunate father, being under great apprehensions for his own life, answered, that a god could not have shot more dextrously = (O)

= Idem, c. 31, 32.

= Idem, l. iii. c. 34, 35.

(N) The *Egyptians*, as our author informs us (17), relate the matter in a different way. They say, that as *Cambyfes* and his sister were at table, she took a lettuce, and pulling the leaves asunder, asked her husband, whether an entire lettuce was not more beautiful than one pulled in pieces. He answered, it was; whereupon *Meroe* reply'd, that he had represented the broken lettuce by dismembering the house of *Cyrus*. Upon these words *Cambyfes* struck her with his foot, which, as she was big with child, occasioned her death.

(O) *Seneca* (18), who copied this story from *Herodotus*, after shewing his detestation of such a barbarous and cruel action, condemns still more the monstrous flattery of the father with these memorable words; *Sceleratius telum illud laudatum est quam missum.*

(17) *Idem*, c. 32

(18) *Seneca*, de *Ira*, l. iii. c. 14.

W H E L E

WHILE he was proceeding in this furious manner, *Cræsus* king of *Lydia* thought fit to lay before him the bad consequences that might attend so tyrannical a government, which provoked him to such a degree, that he ordered him to be put to death. But the officers, who received his orders, suspended the execution of the sentence and concealed *Cræsus*, thinking that, if *Cambyfes* should inquire for him and repent of his rash resolution, they should be well rewarded for saving his life; but if they found, that *Cambyfes* neither altered his mind, nor desired to see him, they might still put him to death pursuant to their orders. The very next day he asked for *Cræsus*, which the officers hearing acquainted him, that the king of *Lydia* was still alive. *Cambyfes* was transported with joy when he heard that his orders had not been put in execution, but at the same time commanded all those who had saved him to be immediately put to death, because they had not obeyed his orders.

Cambyfes in the beginning of the 8th year of his reign left *Egypt* in order to return to *Persia*. On his coming into *Syria* he met an herald sent from *Susa* to the army, to acquaint them, that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was proclaimed king, and command them all to acknowledge and obey him. This event was brought about in the following manner. *Cambyfes*, at his departure from *Susa* on the *Egyptian* expedition, had left the administration of affairs during his absence in the hands of *Patizithes* one of the chief of the *Mages*. This *Patizithes* had a brother who very much resembled *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, and was, perhaps, on that account, called by the same name. As soon as he was fully assured of the death of that prince, which had been carefully concealed from most others, and at the same time informed, that *Cambyfes* indulged his tyrannical temper to such a degree that he was grown insupportable, he placed his own brother on the throne, giving out that he was the true *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, and immediately dispatched heralds into all the parts of the empire to give notice of *Smerdis*'s accession to the crown, and require all the provinces to pay him their obedience. The herald who was dispatched to *Egypt*, finding *Cambyfes* with his army at *Ecbatan* in *Syria*, placed himself in the midst of the army, and openly proclaimed the orders of *Patizithes*. *Cambyfes* caused him to be seized, and having strictly examined him in the presence of *Prexaspes*, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found that the true *Smerdis* was certainly dead, and that he

• Idem, ibid. c. 36.

who had usurped the throne, was *Smerdis* the *Mage*. The mention of that name greatly affected *Cambyfes*, and revived in his memory the dream, in which he had seen a messenger who came to acquaint him, that *Smerdis* was seated on the throne. Reflecting how unjustly he had murdered his brother, he burst out into a flood of tears, and immediately ordered his army to march, with a design to suppress the growing rebellion. But as he was mounting his horse, his sword slipped out of the scabbard, and wounded him in the thigh. Being thus wounded he asked the name of the city, and being informed that the place was called *Ecbatan*, he said in the presence of all, fate has decreed that *Cambyfes* the son of *Cyrus* shall die in this place. For while he was in *Egypt*, having consulted the oracle of *Butus*, which was very famous in that country, he was told, that he should die at *Ecbatan*, which he understanding of *Ecbatan* in *Media* resolved to save his life by avoiding that place; but what he thought to avoid in *Media* he found in *Syria*. And therefore being informed that the place, where he received the wound, was called *Ecbatan*, taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled the chief *Persian* lords that served in the army, and having represented to them the true state of the case, he earnestly exhorted them never to submit to the impostor, or suffer the sovereignty to pass again from the *Persians* to the *Medes*, of which nation *Smerdis* the *Mage* was, but to use their utmost endeavours to place on the throne one of their own blood. But the *Persians*, suspecting all this was said by him out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it, and *Cambyfes* dying a few days after of his wound which mortified, they quietly submitted to the person whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true *Smerdis*. To this delusion *Prexaspes* greatly contributed, by saying, that he had not killed *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* with his own hand^p.

Cambyfes reigned seven years and five months. When he came first to the crown, the *Samaritans* begged of him that he would put a stop to the building of the temple at *Jerusalem*. and their application was not in vain; for though he had so much respect for the memory of his father, as not openly to revoke his decree, yet in a great measure he frustrated the design of it, by laying the *Jews* under such difficulties that they could not pursue the work^q.

Smerdis THIS prince is called in scripture *Artaxerxes*, by *Herodotus* *Smerdis*, by *Æschylus* *Mardys*, by *Ctesias* *Spendadates*,

^p Idem, l. iii. c. 64—66.
11, 23.

^q Ezra iv. 4, 6.

^r Ezra iv. 7, 8,

and by *Justin Oropastes*. As soon as he had taken upon him the sovereignty, he granted to all his subjects an exemption from taxes and all military service for three years, and treated them with such beneficence, that all the nations of *Asia*, the *Persians* only excepted, expressed great sorrow on the revolution that happened a few months after. And further to secure himself on the throne, he married *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, thinking that in case of a discovery he might hold the empire by her title. She had been before married to her brother, *Cambyfes*, who, upon the above-mentioned decision of the royal judges, having married one of his sisters, took to wife also the other. And the *Mage* pretending to be her brother married her upon the same footing. But the precautions he made use of, to prevent his being discovered, only increased the suspicion that he was not the true *Smerdis*. He had married all his predecessors wives, and among the rest *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes*, a *Persian* nobleman of the first rank. *Otanes* to be fully satisfied in this matter sent a trusty messenger to his daughter, to know of her, whether the king was really *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, or some other man. *Phedyma* returned answer, that, as she had never seen *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, she could not satisfy his curiosity. *Otanes* by a second message desired her to enquire of *Atossa*, who could not but know her own brother, whether this were he or not. But his daughter let him know, that she was not allowed to speak with *Atossa*, or see any other of the women, because the king, whoever he was, had from the very beginning of his reign lodged his wives in distinct and separate apartments. This answer greatly increased the suspicion of *Otanes*, who thereupon sent a third message to his daughter, directing her, when she should be next invited to his bed, to take the opportunity, while he was asleep, of feeling whether he had ears or no; for *Cyrus* having formerly caused the ears of *Smerdis* the *Mage* to be cut off, for a crime he had been guilty of, he told her, that, if the king had ears, she might be sure that he was *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, but if otherwise, he could be no other than *Smerdis* the *Mage*, and therefore unworthy of possessing the crown or her person. *Phedyma* answered, that the danger was very great, because if the king had no ears and should surprise her endeavouring to find out such a truth, he would not fail putting her to death: nevertheless, in obedience to the commands of her father, she would make the attempt, and take upon her to satisfy his doubt. And accordingly the first time she went to the king, as soon as she perceived him fast asleep, she took the opportunity of making the trial, and finding he had no ears, early next morning

ing acquainted her father therewith, whereby the imposture was discovered. *Otanes* upon this information imparted the whole affair to *Gobryas* and *Aspathines*, *Persians* of great distinction, and whose honour he could rely on. These three agreed among themselves, that each of them should name one of his most trusty friends to be admitted into the secret. Pursuant to this resolution *Otanes* named *Intaphernes*, *Gobryas* *Megabyzus*, and *Aspathines* *Hydarnes*. In the mean time *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, arriving at *Susa* from *Persia* where his father was governor, they all agreed to make him privy to all their resolutions, which they did accordingly. *Darius* at their first meeting told them, that he thought no man in *Persia* but himself had known that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was really dead, and the crown usurped by a *Mage*, and therefore he was come with a design to kill the usurper, without imparting his design to any one, that the glory of such an action might be entirely his own. But since others were apprised of the imposture, he was of opinion, that the usurper should be dispatched with all expedition, delays being in such cases very dangerous, and the best concerted designs easily disappointed. *Otanes* on the other hand was for putting off the execution of their design till some better opportunity offered, and not attempting the enterprize till they had increased their number. But *Darius* remonstrating the danger there was of being discovered and betrayed if they let the present opportunity slip, or imparted their design to others, and openly protesting, that if they did not make the attempt that very day, he would prevent any one from accusing him by disclosing the whole matter to the *Mage*, it was unanimously agreed, that they should not separate under any pretence whatsoever, but immediately, upon the breaking up of their meeting, go to the palace, and either put the usurper to death, or die in the attempt *.

WHILE they were concerting their measures, the two *Mages* in order to remove all suspicion engaged *Prexaspes* in their interest, and with great promises prevailed upon him to give his word, and oblige himself by oath, never to discover the fraud they had put upon the *Persians*. *Prexaspes*, as we have related above, knew, that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was not living, having by the command of *Cambyses* put him to death with his own hand. The *Mages* having engaged *Prexaspes* to be silent, acquainted him farther, that having determined to assemble all the *Persians* under the walls of the pa-

* Idem, l. iii. c. 74, 75.

lace, they desired he would ascend a certain tower, and from thence publicly declare, that the king upon the throne was truly *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*. *Prexaspes* having taken upon him this office, the *Mages* summoned the *Persians* together, and commanded him to mount the tower, and from thence harangue the people. *Prexaspes* began his discourse with the genealogy of *Cyrus*, and then put the *Persians* in mind of the great favours the nation had received from that prince. After having extolled *Cyrus* and his family, to the great astonishment of all, he sincerely declared all that had passed, and told the people, that the apprehensions of the danger he must inevitably run by publishing the imposture had constrained him to conceal it so long; but now, not being able to act any longer such a dishonourable part, he acknowledged, that he had been compelled by *Gambyfes* to put his brother to death with his own hand, and that the person who possessed the throne was *Smerdis* the *Mag*. He then begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had committed by compulsion and against his will, and fulminating many imprecations against the *Persians*, if they should neglect to recover the sovereignty and punish the usurper, he threw himself headlong from the top of the tower, and died on the spot. 'Tis easy to imagine what confusion the news of this accident occasioned in the palace^r.

IN the mean time the conspirators, not knowing what had happened, were going to the palace determined to execute their design. On their way they were informed of what *Prexaspes* had said and done, which obliging them to retire and confer together, *Otanes* earnestly desired them anew to defer the enterprize. But *Darius* still insisting upon the immediate execution, and rejecting all proposals of delay (P), they fell in with his opinion and went directly to the palace. The guards respecting their dignity, and not suspecting persons of their rank and figure, permitted them to pass without asking them any questions. But as they came near the king's

^r *Idem*, c. 74, 75.

(P) *Herodotus* (19) tells us, that as they were contending seven hawks appeared pursuing two vultures in the air, and tearing them to pieces; which when the seven *Persians* observed, they accepted the omen, all to a man fell in with *Darius*, and marched strait to the palace.

(19) *Herodot.* l. iii. c. 76.

apart.

Smerdis
the Mage
murdered.

apartment, the eunuchs, who attended there to receive messages, refused them admittance, and threatened the guards for permitting them to pass. Upon this the seven *Persians*, encouraging each other, drew their swords, killed all that opposed their passage, and penetrated to the very room where the two *Mages* were consulting about the late affair of *Prexaspes*. They no sooner heard this tumult and uproar, but the one taking up a bow and the other a javelin, the weapons that came first to hand in that confusion, they engaged the conspirators. He, who had the bow soon found that weapon of no use in so close an action; but the other with his javelin wounded *Aspathines* in the thigh, and struck out the eye of *Intaphernes*. One of the brothers being killed, the other retired into a room, adjoining to the place where they fought, with a design to shut himself in; but was so closely pursued by *Darius* and *Gobryas* that they broke into the room with him. *Gobryas* having seized him held him fast in his arms, but as it was quite dark in that place, *Darius* stood still, not knowing how to direct his blow, and fearing to strike lest he should kill his friend instead of the enemy; which *Gobryas* perceiving desired him to strike, though he should kill them both. Upon this *Darius* resolved to put all to the venture, and by good fortune killed the usurper. Having thus dispatched the two brothers, they cut off their heads, and leaving their two wounded companions to secure the palace, the other five, carrying the heads of the two *Mages*, with their hands all smeared with blood, marched out of the palace, exposed the heads to the eyes of the people, and declared the whole imposture. The *Persians*, being informed of what had passed, were so enraged against the impostors, that they fell upon the whole sect, and killed every *Mage* they met; and if night coming on had not put an end to the slaughter, not one of that order had been left alive. The day on which this happened was ever afterwards celebrated by the *Persians* with the greatest solemnity, and called by the name of *Magophonia*, or the slaughter of the *Mages*. On that festival the *Mages* durst not for many years after appear abroad, but were obliged to shut themselves up in their houses.

Smerdis reigned only eight months, during which time a stop was put to the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*. For as soon as he was seated on the throne, the *Samaritans* acquainted him, that the *Jews* were rebuilding their city and temple, that they had always been a rebellious and stubborn people, and that if he allowed them to finish that work they

^c Idem, c. 76—79.

would

would without doubt withdraw their obedience from the king, whereby he would lose all the provinces on that side of the *Euphrates*. For the truth of what they said concerning the ungovernable temper of the *Jews*, they referred him to the records of his predecessors, which they desired him to inquire into touching this matter. And accordingly *Smerdis*, upon these remonstrances, having caused the records to be carefully examined, and finding with what difficulty the *Jews* had been reduced by *Nebuchadnezzar*, issued an edict, forbidding them to proceed any farther in the work they had begun, and charged the *Samaritans* to see it put in execution. Hereupon the work was laid aside till the second year of *Darius Hystaspes*, that is for the space of near two years^u (Q).

BUT to return to the conspirators; when the tumult and disorders, which attend such events, were appeased, they met to consult among themselves what form of government they should introduce. *Otanes* was for a republic, *Megabyzus* spoke for an oligarchy, and *Darius* declared for monarchy. The opinion of the last was, after a long debate, embraced by all except *Otanes*; who, finding his sentiments over-ruled, told them, that since they were resolved to set up a king he would not be their competitor for a dignity which he abhorred; and that being determined not to govern as a king he would not be governed by one, and therefore was willing to give up his right to the crown, on condition that neither he nor his posterity should be subject to the royal power. The other six granted him his demand; whereupon he immediately retired, and his descendants alone retained their liberty, which they enjoyed even in our author's days, being then no farther subject to the king than it suited their conveniency, and only obliged to conform to the customs and manner of the country^w.

UPON his departure the other six began to deliberate in what manner they should proceed to the election of a new

^u Ezra iv. 7—24.

^w HERODOT. l. iii. c. 83.

(Q) That *Cambyfes* was the *Abasuerus* and *Smerdis* the *Artaxerxes* of scripture, is plain from their obstructing the work of the temple. For they are said in the sacred history to have reigned between *Cyrus* and *Darius* by whose decree the temple was finished. But none reigning between *Cyrus* and *Darius* except *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis*, we must conclude that none but *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis* could be the *Abasuerus* and *Artaxerxes*, who are said in *Ezra* (20) to have put a stop to this work.

(20) *Ezra* iv. 5, 6, 7.

king. But in the first place they unanimously agreed, that whosoever of them should be chosen, he should every year present *Otanes* and his posterity with a *Median* vest, a mark of great distinction among the *Persians*, because he had been the chief author of the enterprize. In the next place they determined, that the seven should have full liberty to enter into all the apartments of the palace without being introduced; and that the king should not be allowed to marry a woman out of any other family than of the seven conspirators. Then taking the future election into consideration, they thought fit to refer it to the gods; and accordingly they all agreed to meet the next morning by the rising of the sun on horse-back, at an appointed place in the suburbs of the city, and that he, whose horse first neighed, should be king; for the sun being the chief deity of the *Persians*, they imagined by this method to refer the election to him. *Oebares*, who had the charge of *Darius's* horses, hearing of this agreement, led a mare over-night to the place appointed, and brought to her his master's horse. The next morning the six *Persians* repairing to the place pursuant to their agreement, *Darius's* horse remembering the mare immediately neighed, and his competitors dismounting adored him as king².

THE *Persian* empire being thus restored by the valour of these seven lords, they were raised by the new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with most ample privileges; in all public affairs they were the first to deliver their opinions; and ever afterwards the *Persian* kings of this race had seven chief counsellors privileged in the same manner, and by whose advice all the public affairs of the kingdom were transacted. Under this character we find them often mentioned in scripture³.

Darius.
Year of
the Flood,
2477.
Year be-
fore Christ
522.

Darius was the son of *Hystaspes*, a noble *Persian* of the royal family of *Achæmenes*, who had attended *Cyrus* in all his wars, and was at that time governor of the province of *Persia*. *Darius* is called in the writings of the modern *Persians* *Gushtasph*, and his father *Lobrasph*, and are famous among the *Persians* to this day. *Darius*, the better to establish himself on the throne, married the two daughters of *Cyrus*, *Atossa* and *Artystona*. The former had been wife to her brother *Cambyses*, and also to the *Mage*, but *Artystona* had not been married before, and proved the most favoured and beloved of all his wives; for to these he added *Parmys* the daughter of the true *Smerdis*, and *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes*, who detected the *Mage*. Having thus confirmed his

² HERODOT. c. 84-87.

³ Ezra vii. 14. Esth. i. 14, &c.
power,

power, he divided the whole empire into twenty satrapies or governments, and appointed a governor over each division, ordering them to pay an annual tribute. *Persia* alone was excepted from all manner of taxes; the *Ethiopians* and inhabitants of *Colchis* were enjoined to make only some presents, and the *Arabians* to furnish yearly such a quantity of frankincense as was equal in weight to a thousand talents. By this establishment *Darius* received the yearly tribute of 14560 *Euboie* talents, besides several other sums of small consequence.

Darius in the very beginning of his reign put to death *Intaphernes*, one of the seven conspirators, on the following occasion. *Intaphernes* went to the palace to confer with *Darius*; but attempting to enter, pursuant to the agreement above mentioned, in virtue of which they were to have free access to the king at all hours, except when he was alone with some of his wives, he was stopt by the door-keeper and a messenger, under colour that the king was in company with one of his wives. *Intaphernes* not believing them drew his scymetar, and having cut off both their noses and ears, fastened their heads in a bridle, and so left them. In this condition they went in, and shewing themselves to the king, acquainted him with the cause of the ill usage they had received. *Darius* apprehending that this attempt might have been concerted by the six, sent for them, one after another, and asked whether they approved the action. But finding that *Intaphernes* alone was guilty, he caused him to be seized with his children and family, lest his relations, whom he suspected, should raise a rebellion. While they were under confinement, the wife of *Intaphernes* made such loud complaints and lamentations at the gates of the palace, that *Darius* touched with compassion granted her the life of any one among her relations, leaving her the choice of the person. She after some deliberation chose her brother. Which *Darius* hearing, asked her, why she had so little regard for her husband and children, as to save the life of her brother rather than theirs. The woman readily answered, that she could get another husband, and have by him other children if she should be deprived of those she had, but could never have another brother, her father and mother being already dead. The king was so well pleased with this answer, that he not only pardoned her brother, but saved also her eldest son. The others were all put to death with *Intaphernes*, without any regard to his late deserts².

² Idem. c. 117.

IN the beginning of the second year of *Darius*, the *Jews* resumed the work of the temple, being exhorted thereto by the prophet *Haggai* ^a; which the *Samaritans* understanding applied themselves to *Tatnai*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*, acquainting him, that the *Jews* were not authorised to pursue that work, which if perfected would encourage them to shake off the *Persian* yoke. Upon these remonstrances *Tatnai* accompanied by *Shethar-boznai*, who seems to have been governor of *Samaria*, went up to *Jerusalem*, and, after viewing the work, inquired of the elders by what authority they had resumed it. The elders produced the decree of *Cyrus*; whereupon the governor, who was a man of great justice and probity, wrote to the king, fairly stating the case, and desiring that search might be made into the archives for the decree of *Cyrus*, which the *Jews* produced to justify themselves in what they were doing. The king, upon the receipt of this letter, ordered the archives of *Babylon* and *Ecbatan* to be carefully examined, and the decree being found in those of the latter, for *Cyrus* was at *Ecbatan* in *Media* when he granted it, the king commanded it to be strictly observed in every particular; and having sent it to *Tatnai* and *Shethar-boznai* enjoined them to see it fully and effectually put in execution, decreeing, that whosoever should attempt to alter the edict, or prevent its being put in execution, should have his house pulled down, and a gibbet being made of the timber of it, he should be hanged thereon. On the publication of this decree at *Jerusalem*, the work of the temple went on very successfully, and the state of the *Jews* in *Judæa* and *Jerusalem* was entirely restored (R) ^b.

Year of ABOUT the beginning of the fifth year of *Darius*, the
the Flood, *Babylonians*, not being able to live any longer in subjection
2482. to the *Persians*, who not only loaded them with heavy taxes,
Year be- but had removed the imperial seat from *Babylon*, formerly
fore Christ the mistress of the east, to *Susa*, and thereby greatly dimi-
517. nished the splendor of that city, attempted to retrieve their

^a Haggai, i. 1. ^b Ezra. vi.

(R) From the 19th year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, according to the *Jewish* account (which was the 17th according to the *Babylonian* computation) when *Jerusalem* was destroyed, to the 4th year of *Darius Hystaspes*, when the *Jews* were thoroughly restored, just seventy years passed according to the canon. So that sacred and prophane chronology exactly agree in this particular.

antient

antient grandeur, by setting up for themselves against the *Babylon Persians*, as they had done in former times against the *revolts. Assyrians*. With this view, taking advantage of the troubles that had happened, first on the death of *Cambyfes*, and afterwards on the murder of the usurper *Smerdis*, they had privately stored their city with all manner of provisions for many years, and at last broke out into an open rebellion, which drew *Darius* with all his forces to besiege the city: The *Babylonians*, seeing themselves shut up by so numerous and powerful an army, turned all their thoughts to the supporting of a long siege, which they imagined would tire out the enemy's troops. To prevent the consumption of their provisions they took the most desperate and barbarous resolution that ever was put in execution by any nation. They agreed among themselves to get rid of all unnecessary mouths, and therefore drawing together all the women, old men, and children, they strangled them without distinction, whether wives, fathers, mothers, or sisters, every one being allowed to save only the wife he liked best, and a maid-servant to do the work of the house c.

Darius, having lain before *Babylon* a year and eight months, and being no less tired than his army with so tedious a siege, endeavoured by various stratagems and artifices to take the place, among others he made use of that which had succeeded so well with *Cyrus*. But all his efforts were rendered ineffectual by the unwearied vigilance of the *Babylonians*. When he was ready to break up the siege and return to *Persia*, *Zopyrus*, one of his chief commanders, put him in possession of the town by the following contrivance. He cut off his nose and ears, and having mangled his body in a most cruel manner with stripes, fled to the *Babylonians* thus disfigured, feigning to have been so treated by *Darius* for advising him to raise the siege. The *Babylonians*, seeing a man of that distinction so barbarously used, believed all he said against *Darius*, and, assuring themselves of his fidelity, gave him the command of some forces. With these he sallied out, and having surrounded ten thousand *Persians*, which *Darius* by agreement had posted near the walls, he cut them all in pieces on the spot. A few days after in another sally he killed two thousand more; which so pleased the *Babylonians*, that he was appointed commander in chief of all their forces. Being vested with this command, he made a third sally, and put four thousand more *Persians* to the sword. Upon this success *Zopyrus* acquired such credit, that the guard of the

Babylon
taken.

city was entirely committed to his care. Not long after *Darius*, pursuant to the agreement they had made, advanced with the whole body of his army, and surrounded the city. The *Babylonians* mounting the walls made a vigorous defence; but in the mean time *Zopyrus*, opening the gates of *Belus* and *Cissia*, introduced the *Persians*, and delivered the city up to *Darius*, who without this stratagem could never have mastered it. Thus *Babylon* was taken a second time, and *Darius*, being put in possession of it, beat down the walls from 200 cubits high to 50; and of these walls only *Strabo*^d is to be understood to speak, where he tells us, that the walls of *Babylon* were only fifty cubits high. As for the inhabitants, after having impaled about three thousand of the most guilty and active in the revolt, he pardoned the rest. And because the *Babylonians* had destroyed their women, he took care to furnish them with wives, enjoining the neighbouring provinces to send 50000 women to *Babylon*, without which supply the place must soon have become depopulated. As for *Zopyrus*, he was deservedly rewarded by *Darius* with the highest honours he could heap upon him during the whole course of his life. That prince frequently used to say, that he would willingly lose twenty *Babylons*, rather than see *Zopyrus* so disfigured. Besides many other ample rewards, he bestowed upon him the revenues of *Babylon* for life, free from all charges and taxes, and could never after behold him without shedding many tears^e.

The Scy-
thian ex-
pedition.

AFTER the reduction of *Babylon*, *Darius* undertook an expedition against the *Scythians*, inhabiting those countries which lie between the *Danube* and the *Tanais*. His pretence for this war was, to revenge the calamities which they had brought upon *Asia*, when they invaded that country about 120 years before, and held it in subjection for the space of 28 years, as we have related in the history of *Media*. This he gave out as the motive inducing him to a war, to which his ambition alone and desire of extending his conquests prompted him. Having made vast preparations for this expedition, and levied an army of 700,000 men, he marched to the *Thracian Bosphorus*, and having there passed over on a bridge of boats, he reduced all *Thrace*; from *Thrace* he advanced to the *Ister* or *Danube*, where he had appointed his fleet to join him. Here he marched his army over another bridge of boats, and entered *Scythia*. The *Scythians*, after having conferred together about the measures they

^d STRAB. l. vi.

^e HERODOT. ibid.

should

should take to oppose so powerful an enemy, determined not to venture an engagement in the open field, but to withdraw themselves from the frontiers in proportion as the *Persians* advanced, laying waste the country and filling up the wells and springs. Pursuant to this resolution they met *Darius* on the frontiers, and finding him disposed to give them battle, they retired, drawing him from country to country, till his army was quite tired with such tedious and fatiguing marches. At last he began to be sensible of the danger he was in of perishing with all his forces, and having resolved to give over that rash enterprize and retire home, he lighted in the night a great number of fires, and leaving the old men and sick behind him in the camp, he marched off with all possible expedition in order to reach the *Danube*. The *Scythians*, perceiving the next morning that the enemy was decamped, detached a considerable body to the *Danube*, who, as they were well acquainted with the roads, arrived at that river before *Darius*. The *Scythians* had sent expresses before-hand to persuade the *Ionians*, whom *Darius* had left to guard the bridge, to break it down, and retire to their own country. Now they pressed them to it more earnestly, representing to them, that as the time prescribed by *Darius* was expired, they were at liberty to return home without breaking their word, or being wanting to their duty; for *Darius* had given them leave to break down the bridge, and withdraw to their own country, if he did not return at a prefixed time, which was already elapsed. Hereupon the *Ionians* began to consult among themselves, whether or no they should comply with the request of the *Scythians*. *Miltiades*, prince of the *Chersonesus of Thrace*, having the public interest more at heart than his own private advantage, was for embracing so favourable an opportunity of shaking off the *Persian* yoke, breaking down the bridge, and thereby cutting off *Darius's* retreat. All the other commanders fell in with him, except *Histiæus* prince of *Miletus*, who represented to the *Ionian* chiefs, that their power was linked with that of *Darius*, since it was under his protection that each of them was lord in his own city, and that the cities of *Ionia* would not fail to depose them and recover their liberty, if the *Persian* power should sink or decline. This speech made a deep impression upon the *Ionian* generals, and private interest prevailing over the public good, they determined to wait for *Darius*, but in order to deceive the *Scythians* and prevent them from using any violence, they declared, that their design was to retire pursuant to their request;

quest; and the better to impose upon the enemy, they began to break down the bridge, encouraging the *Scythians* to return back, meet *Darius*, and defeat him. They readily complied with the *Ionians* request, but missed *Darius* who arrived safe at the bridge, repassed the *Danube*, and returned into *Thrace*. Here he left *Megabyzus*, one of his chief generals, with part of his army to complete the conquest of that country. With the rest of his troops he repassed the *Bosphorus*, and took up his quarters at *Sardis*, where he spent the winter and the greatest part of the year following to refresh his army, which had suffered extremely in that rash and unsuccessful expedition^f.

Megabyzus, having brought all *Thrace* under subjection, dispatched seven *Persian* noblemen, that served under him, to *Amyntas* king of *Macedon*, enjoining him to acknowledge *Darius* for his Master by the delivery of earth and water. *Amyntas* not only complied with their request, but received them into his house and having prepared a sumptuous feast entertained them with great magnificence. At the end of the entertainment, the *Persians*, being heated with wine, desired *Amyntas* to bring in his concubines, wives, and daughters. Though this was contrary to the custom of the country, the king, fearing to displease them, did as they required. But the *Persians* not observing a due decency on that occasion, the king's son, by name *Alexander*, being no longer able to see his mother and sisters treated in such a manner, contrived to send them out of the room as if they were to return immediately, and at the same time had the precaution to get his father out of the company. In the mean time he caused a like number of young men to be dressed like women, and armed with poinards under their garments. These he brought into the room instead of the others, and when the *Persians* began to use them as they had treated the women, they drew their poinards, fell upon the *Persians*, and killed both the noblemen and their attendants. Great search was made by *Megabyzus* for these noblemen, but *Alexander* having with large presents bribed *Bubares*, who was sent to inquire after them, their death was concealed, and the whole matter stifled^g.

THE *Scythians*, to be revenged on *Darius* for invading their country, having passed the *Danube* laid waste all that part of *Thrace* which had submitted to the *Persians*, as far as the *Hellepont*, and loaded with booty returned home without meeting with any opposition.

^f HERODOT. l. iv. c. 102.--144.

^g Idem, l. v. c. 17.--21.

Darius,

Darius, having sufficiently refreshed his troops after the *Conquers Scythian* expedition, began to think of extending his dominions eastwards, and in order to facilitate his design resolved in the first place to make a discovery of those countries. With this view he caused a fleet to be built and equipped at *Caspatus*, a city on the river *Indus*. The command of this fleet he gave to *Scylax*, a *Grecian* of *Caryandia* a city of *Caria*, who was well versed in maritime affairs. His orders were to sail down the current, and make the best discoveries he could of the countries lying on either side of the river, till he arrived at the southern ocean; from thence he was to steer his course westward, and that way return back to *Persia*. *Scylax* having exactly observed his instructions, and sailed down the river *Indus*, entered the *Red-sea* by the straits of *Babelmandel*, and on the 30th month from his first setting out landed in *Egypt* at the same place, from whence *Necho* king of *Egypt* formerly sent out the *Phœnicians*, who were in his service, to sail round the coast of *Africa*. From hence *Scylax* returned to *Susa*, where he gave *Darius* a full account of his observations. *Darius* hereupon entered *India* at the head of a numerous army, and reducing that large country, made it the 20th province of the *Persian* empire. Our author gives us no account of this important war; he only says, that *Darius* received from the provinces he conquered in this expedition an annual tribute of 360 talents of gold, according to the number of the days of the *Persian* year at that time ^a (S).

Darius, after his return to *Susa* from the *Scythian* expedition, had appointed his brother *Artaphernes* governor of *Sardis*, and given *Otanes* the government of *Thrace* and the adjacent countries along the sea-coast, in the room of *Megabyzus*. In the mean time a sedition happening in *Naxos*, the chief island of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* sea, now called the *Archipelago*, the principal inhabitants, being over-powered by the populace, were banished the island. In their distress they had recourse to *Aristagoras*, beseeching him to restore them to their country. *Aristagoras* at that time resided at *Miletus*, and governed that city as deputy to *Histiæus* (T), to whom he

^a HERODOT. I. iv. c. 44--94.

(S) This payment was made according to the standard of the *Euboic* talent, the same with the *Attic*, and therefore, according to the lowest computation, amounted to one million and ninety five thousand pound sterling.

(T) *Darius*, on his return to *Sardis* after his unhappy expedition against the *Scythians*, being informed, that he owed his own safety

he was both nephew and son-in-law. When *Aristagoras* understood their case he resolved to improve the opportunity, and attempt to make himself master of *Naxos*. With this view he promised to give the exiles all the assistance he could. But not being powerful enough to accomplish his design himself, he communicated the matter to *Artaphernes* the king's brother, governor of *Sardis*, representing to him, that this was a fair opportunity of reducing *Naxos*; that if he were once master of that island, all the rest of the *Cyclades* might be easily brought under subjection; that the isle of *Eubœa* lying very near the other would be an easy conquest, and from thence the king would have a free passage into *Greece*. *Ar-*

and that of his whole army to *Histiæus*, who had prevailed upon the *Ionians* not to destroy the bridge on the *Danube*, sent for that prince, and desired him freely to ask what favour he pleased for the eminent service he had done him. *Histiæus* desired the king to grant him the *Edonian Myrcinus*, a territory upon the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, with the liberty of building a city there. His request being granted he returned to *Miletus*, and having there equipped a fleet he sailed for *Thrace*, took possession of the territory granted him, and began the intended city. *Megabyzus*, who was then governor of *Thrace* for *Darius*, being apprized how prejudicial that project might prove to the king's affairs, on his return to *Sardis* represented to *Darius*, that this new city stood upon a navigable river; that the country round about it afforded abundance of timber for the building of ships; that it was inhabited by several nations both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, which could furnish great numbers of men fit both for the sea and land service; that if once these nations should be governed by such a skilful and enterprizing prince as *Histiæus*, they might soon become so powerful both by sea and land, that the king of *Persia* would not be able to keep them in subjection, especially since they might be supplied with gold and silver from the mines, with which that country abounded, to carry on any enterprize. *Darius*, being by these remonstrances made sensible of the mistake he had committed, dispatched a messenger to *Histiæus*, enjoining him to repair to *Sardis* in order to deliver his advice concerning matters of the utmost consequence. Having thus drawn him to *Sardis*, he took him with him to *Susa*, pretending, that he wanted such an able counsellor and faithful friend to be always about him, and telling him, that he should be able to find him something in *Persia*, which would make him ample amends both for *Myrcinus* and *Miletus*. *Histiæus*, finding himself under a necessity of complying, attended *Darius* to *Susa*, and left *Aristagoras* governor of *Miletus* in his absence. To this *Aristagoras* the banished *Naxians* applied for relief (21):

(21) *Herodot. l. v. c. i.*

Artaphernes was so well pleased with these proposals, that instead of the hundred ships, which *Aristagoras* demanded, he promised him two hundred, provided the king approved of the enterprize. And accordingly having obtained the king's consent he sent the next spring to *Miletus* the number of ships which he had promised, under the command of *Megabates* a noble *Persian* of the *Achæmenian* family. But his commission being to obey the orders of *Aristagoras*, and the haughty *Persian* not brooking to be under the command of an *Ionian*, a dissention arose between the two generals, which was carried so far, that *Megabates*, to be revenged on *Aristagoras*, gave the *Naxians* secret intelligence of the design that was carrying on against them. Hereupon they made such preparations for their defence, that the *Persians*, after having spent four months in besieging the chief town of the island, and consumed all their provisions, were obliged to retire. The project having thus miscarried, *Megabates*, threw all the blame upon *Aristagoras*, and his false accusations being more favourably heard than the just defence of the other, *Artaphernes* condemned him to defray all the charges of the expedition, giving him to understand, that they would be exacted with the utmost rigour. As he was not able to pay so large a sum, he foresaw that this must end not only in the loss of his government, but his utter ruin. This desperate situation made him entertain thoughts of revolting from the king, as the only expedient, whereby he could extricate himself from his present difficulties. No sooner had he formed this design, but a messenger arrived from *Histiæus* who confirmed him in it (U). *Histiæus*, after several years continuance at the *Persian* court, being weary of the manners of that nation, and desirous to return to his country, thought this the most likely means to accomplish his desire. For he flattered himself, that if any disturbances should arise in *Ionia*, he could prevail with *Darius* to send him thither to appease them, as in effect it happened. *Aristagoras*, finding his own inclinations backed by the orders of

(U) *Histiæus* being desirous to impart his design to *Aristagoras*, and finding no other means, by reason all the passages leading into *Ionia* were guarded, shaved the hair of one of his servants in whose fidelity he most confided, and having imprinted the message on his head, kept him at *Susa* till his hair was grown again. He then dispatched him to *Miletus* without any other instructions, than that upon his arrival he should desire *Aristagoras* to cut off his hair and look upon his head (22).

(22) *Herodot. ibid. c. 36.*

4. C 2

Histiæus

Histiæus, imparted his design to the leading men of *Ionia*, whom he found ready to come into his measures, and therefore, being now determined to revolt, applied himself wholly to make all manner of preparations for so great an undertaking¹.

THE next year *Aristagoras* to engage the *Ionians* more resolutely to stand by him, re-inflated them in their liberty and all their former privileges. He began with *Miletus*, where he divested himself of his power, and gave it up into the hands of the people. He then undertook a journey through all *Ionia*, where by his example and credit he prevailed upon all the other petty princes, or, as the *Greeks* then called them, tyrants, to do the same. Having thus united them all into one common league, of which he himself was declared the head, he openly revolted from the king, and made great preparations both by sea and land for carrying on a war. To strengthen himself the more against the *Persians*, in the beginning of the following year he went to *Lacedæmon* to engage that city in his interest. But not being able to prevail upon *Cleomenes* (W), who was at that time king of *Lacedæmon*, to send him

¹ Idem, l. v. c. 35, 36.

(W) *Cleomenes* having appointed him a time and place for an interview, *Aristagoras* represented to him, that the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ionians* were countrymen; that *Sparta* being the most powerful city of *Greece*, it would be much to their honour to concur with him in the design he had formed of restoring the *Ionians* to their antient liberty; that the *Persians*, their common enemy, were not a war-like People, but extremely rich, and consequently would become an easy prey to the *Lacedæmonians*; that, considering the present spirit and disposition of the *Ionians*, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to *Susa* the metropolis of the *Persian* empire, and the place of the king's residence. At the same time he shewed him a description of all the nations and cities, through which they were to pass, engraved on a plate of brass, which he had brought along with him. *Cleomenes* desired three days time to consider of the matter, which being expired, he asked *Aristagoras* in how many days one may travel from the coast of *Ionia* to the city where the king resided. *Aristagoras*, though an artful man and far superior in all respects to *Cleomenes*, yet made a slip, as our author observes, in his answer to this demand; for as he designed to draw the *Spartans* into *Asia*, he ought to have lessened the distance from the coasts of *Ionia* to *Susa*; whereas he told him plainly, 'twas a journey of three months, which *Cleomenes* no sooner heard than, interrupting him from proceeding in his discourse concerning the way, he commanded him to depart *Sparta* before sun-set,

him any succours, he proceeded to *Athens*, where he met with a much more favourable reception. For he had the good fortune to arrive there at a time, when the *Athenians* were disposed to close with any measures against the *Persians*, being highly exasperated against them on the following occasion. *Hippias*, the son of *Pisistratus* tyrant of *Athens*, having been banished about ten years before, and tried in vain several other ways to bring about his restoration, at length applied himself to *Artaphernes* at *Sardis*; and having insinuated himself into his favour, did all that lay in his power to stir him up against them. The *Athenians* having intelligence of this, sent ambassadors to *Sardis*, desiring *Artaphernes* not to give ear to what any of their out-laws should insinuate to their disadvantage. The answer of *Artaphernes* to this embassy was, that if they desired to live in peace, they must recall *Hippias*. This haughty message incensed the *Athenians* to a great degree against the *Persians*, and *Aristagoras* arriving there just at this juncture, easily obtained whatever he desired. The *Athenians* ordered a fleet of twenty ships to be immediately equipped and sent to the assistance of the *Ionians*.

THE *Ionians* having at last drawn together all their troops, and being reinforced with the twenty *Athenian* ships and five more from *Eretria*, a city in the island of *Eubæa*, they set sail for *Ephesus*, and having left their ships there, they marched by land to the city of *Sardis*, which they easily made themselves masters of. As most of the houses were built with reeds, an *Ionian* soldier having accidentally set one of them

set, for advising the *Spartans* to take a march into *Asia*, not to be performed in less than three months after their landing. *Cleomenes* then withdrew; but *Aristagoras*, taking an olive-branch in his hand after the manner of suppliants, followed him home to his house, and endeavoured to prevail upon him by arguments of another nature, that is, by presents; but before he made any offer he desired him to bid his daughter *Gorgo*, a child about eight or nine years old, to withdraw; but *Cleomenes* telling him that he might speak freely without apprehending any thing from so young a child, *Aristagoras* began with the promise of ten talents in case *Cleomenes* would comply with his request, and receiving a denial, proceeded gradually in his offers till he came to the sum of fifty talents, and then the girl cried out, *Fly, father, fly, else this stranger will corrupt you.* *Cleomenes* was so well pleased with the child's admonition, that he immediately retired into another apartment, and ordered *Aristagoras* that instant to depart his dominions (23).

on fire, and the flame spreading, the whole city was reduced to ashes; but the citadel, whither *Artaphernes* had retired, was preserved. After this accident, the *Persians* and *Lydians* drawing together their forces, and other troops coming full march to their assistance, the *Ionians*, who had not been able to force the citadel, judged it was high time for them to withdraw; and accordingly marched back with all possible expedition in order to reembark at *Ephesus*. But before they reached that place they were overtaken by the enemy, and defeated with great slaughter. The *Athenians*, who escaped, immediately hoist sail and returned home; nor could they ever afterwards be prevailed upon to concern themselves in this war. However, their having engaged thus far gave rise to that war, which was carried on afterwards for several generations by the two nations, and ended at last in the utter destruction of the *Persian* empire. For *Darius*, being informed of the burning of *Sardis*, and hearing that the *Athenians* had been concerned in that undertaking, determined from that time to make war upon *Greece*, and that he might never forget his resolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry every day to him with a loud voice, while he was at dinner, three times, *Remember the Athenians*. In the burning of *Sardis* the temple of *Cybele*, the chief goddess of that country, accidentally taking fire, was entirely consumed. This accident served afterwards as a pretence to the *Persians* for burning all the temples of *Greece**. But the true motive which led them to this we shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

THE *Ionians*, though deserted by the *Athenians*, and considerably weakened by their late overthrow, did not lose courage, but pursued their point with great resolution. Their fleet sailed to the *Hellepont* and the *Propontis*, where they reduced the city of *Byzantium*, and most of the other *Greek* cities on those coasts. As they were sailing back they made a descent in *Caria*, and obliged the inhabitants to join them in this war. The people of *Cyprus* likewise entered into the same confederacy, and openly revolted from the *Persians*. The *Persian* generals in those quarters, finding that the revolt began to be universal, drew together what troops they had in *Cilicia* and the neighbouring provinces, and at the same time enjoined the *Phœnicians* to assist them with their whole naval power. The *Ionians*, as they were sailing to *Cyprus*, fell in with the *Phœnician* fleet, attacked, and dispersed them. But at the same time the *Persian* troops, that

* Idem, *ibid.* c. 99---105.

were landed in *Cyprus*, having gained a complete victory over the rebels, and killed in the engagement *Onesilus*, the son of *Chersis*, author of their revolt, the *Ionians* reaped no advantage from their victory by sea; for the whole island of *Cyprus* was again brought under subjection¹.

AFTER the reduction of *Cyprus*, *Daurises*, *Hymeas*, and *Otanes*, three *Persian* generals, and all sons-in-law to *Darius*, having divided their forces into three bodies, marched three different ways against the revolters. *Daurises* held his course to the *Hellepont*, and from thence, after possessing himself of the revolted cities, marched against the *Carians*, whom he overthrew in two successive battles; but in a third being drawn into an ambuscade he was slain with several other *Persians* of distinction, and his whole army cut in pieces. *Hymeas*, after having taken the city of *Cius* in *Mysia*, reduced all the *Ilian* coast, but falling sick at *Troas* soon after died. *Artaphernes* and *Otanes*, with the rest of the *Persian* generals, finding that *Miletus* was the centre of the *Ionian* confederacy, resolved to march thither with all their forces, concluding, that, if they could carry that city, all the others would submit of their own accord. Pursuant to this resolution they entered *Ionia* and *Æolia*, where their main strength lay, and took the city of *Clazomenæ* in *Ionia*, and *Cyme* in *Æolia*, which was such a blow to the whole confederacy, that *Aristagoras*, not finding himself in a condition after that loss to make head against the enemy, resolved to abandon *Miletus*, and consult his own safety by retiring to some more distant place. Accordingly he embarked, with such as were willing to follow him, and set sail for the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, where he seized on the territory of *Myrcinus*, which had been formerly given by *Darius* to *Histiæus*. But as he was besieging a place situated beyond those limits, he was killed by the *Thracians*, and all his army cut in pieces. On his departure from *Miletus*, he left the government in the hands of *Pythagoras* an eminent citizen, who being informed, that *Artaphernes* and *Otanes* designed to bend all their force against *Miletus*, summoned a general assembly of the *Ionians*. In this meeting it was agreed, that they should not attempt to bring an army into the field, but only to fortify and store their city with all manner of provisions for a siege, and to draw all their forces together to engage the *Persians* at sea, thinking themselves, by reason of their skill in maritime affairs, most likely to have the advantage in a naval engagement. The place appointed for their general rendezvous

¹ *Idem*, l. vi. c. 1--5.

was *Lada*, a small island over-against *Miletus*, where accordingly they met with a fleet of 353 sail. At the sight of this fleet the *Persians*, though double their number, avoided engaging, till by their emissaries they had secretly corrupted the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to desert the common cause. When they came to an engagement, the *Samians*, *Lesbians*, and several others, hoisting sail returned to their respective countries. As the remaining fleet of the confederates did not consist of above 100 ships, they were quickly over-powered by the *Persians*, and almost entirely destroyed. The city of *Miletus* was immediately besieged both by sea and land, and soon taken by the conquerors, who razed it to the ground the sixth year after the revolt of *Aristagoras*. All the other towns that had revolted returned, either by force or of their own accord, to their duty. Those that stood out were treated as they had been threatened before-hand; the handsomest of their youths were made eunuchs, and their young women sent into *Persia*; their cities and temples were reduced to ashes. Such were the calamities the *Ionians* drew upon themselves, by seconding the ambitious views of two enterprizing men, *Aristagoras* and *Histiæus* ^m.

THE latter had his share in the general calamity; for being taken by the *Persians* and carried to *Sardis*, he was immediately crucified by order of *Artaphernes*, who hastened his execution without consulting *Darius*, lest his affection for him should incline him to pardon one, who, if he were again let loose, would not fail to create new disturbances. It afterwards appeared, that *Artaphernes*'s conjecture was well grounded; for when *Histiæus*'s head was brought to *Darius*, he expressed great displeasure against the authors of his death, and caused his head to be honourably interred, as the remains of a person, to whom he professed infinite obligations. He was the most bold, restless, and enterprizing genius of his age; with him all means were good and lawful, that served to promote the end he had in view, acknowledging no other rule of his actions than his own interest and ambition, to which he sacrificed the good of his country and the lives of his nearest relations. But we shall have occasion to bring him again upon the scene, in the history of *Ionian* and the *Greek* colonies in *Asia*.

His expedition against Greece.

THE *Phœnician* fleet having reduced all the islands on the coasts of *Asia*, *Darius* recalled all his other generals, and appointed *Mardenius* the son of *Gobryas*, a young *Persian* noble-

^m Idem, l. vi. 31--33.

man, who had lately married one of his daughters, to be commander in chief of all the forces quartered on the coasts of *Asia*, ordering him to invade *Greece*, and revenge on the *Athenians* and *Eretrians* the burning of *Sardis*. *Mardonius*, having rendezvoused his forces at the *Hellepont*, marched, pursuant to his orders, through *Thrace* into *Macedonia*, ordering his fleet first to reduce *Thasus*, and then to coast along the shore as he marched by land, that they might be at hand to act in concert with each other. On his arrival in *Macedonia* all the country, terrified at such a mighty army, submitted. But the fleet, in doubling the cape of mount *Athos* in order to gain the coast of *Macedonia*, was entirely dispersed by a violent storm, which destroyed upwards of 300 ships and 20,000 men. His land army met at the same time with a misfortune no less fatal; for being encamped in a place not sufficiently secured and fortified, the *Bryges*, a people of *Thrace*, attacking him in the night, broke into the camp, slew a great number of his men, and wounded *Mardonius* himself, who, being disabled by these losses to prosecute his design either by sea or land, marched back into *Asia*, without reaping any advantage for his master, or glory for himself in this expedition.

Darius hearing of the ill success of *Mardonius*, and ascribing it to his want of experience, thought fit to recall him, and appoint two other generals in his room, *Datis* a *Mede*, and *Artaphernes* his own nephew, being the son of *Artaphernes* the king's brother, and late governor of *Sardis*. But before he would make any further attempts upon *Greece*, he judged it expedient first to sound the *Greeks*, and try how those different states stood affected to, or were averse from, the *Persian* government. With this view he sent heralds to all their cities to demand earth and water in token of submission. On the arrival of these heralds many of the *Greek* cities, dreading the power of the *Persians*, complied with their demand; as did also the inhabitants of *Ægina*, a small island over-against, and not far from, *Athens*. But at *Athens* and *Sparta* they did not meet with so favourable a reception, being in one place thrown into a deep ditch, and in the other into a well, and bid fetch earth and water from thence. This they did in the heat of their passion, but when they came to a cooler temper they were ashamed of what they had done, looking upon it as a violation of the law of nations, and accordingly sent ambassadors to the king of *Persia* at *Susa*, to offer him what satisfaction he pleased for the affront they had

^a Idem, L. vi. c. 43--45.

put upon his heralds. But *Darius*, declaring himself fully satisfied with that embassy, sent the ambassadors back to their respective countries, though those of *Sparta* voluntarily offered themselves as victims, to expiate the crime which their countrymen had been guilty of °.

Darius, being entirely bent upon the reduction of *Greece*, hastened the departure of his generals *Datis* and *Artaphernes*. Their instructions were to plunder the cities of *Eretria* and *Athens*, to burn down to the ground all their houses and temples, to make all the inhabitants of both places slaves and send them to *Darius*; for which purpose they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. The two generals, having appointed their fleet to meet at *Samos*, set sail from thence with 600 ships and 500,000 men^p, steering their course to *Naxos*, which island they easily made themselves masters of, and having burnt the chief city and all the temples both of this and the other islands in those seas, they stood directly for *Eretria*, a town in *Eubœa*, which they took after a siege of seven days by the treachery of *Euphorbus* and *Philagrus*, two chief citizens. Having taken *Eretria*, pillaged the city, set fire to the temples in revenge for those that had been burnt at *Sardis*, and enslaved the inhabitants pursuant to their orders, they sailed to *Attica*. *Hippias* the son of *Pisistratus*, who, as we have said above, had fled to the *Persians*, conducted them, after they had landed, to the plains of *Marathon*. Hence they sent heralds to *Athens*, acquainting the citizens with the fate of *Eretria*, in hopes that this news would frighten them into an immediate surrender. The *Athenians* had sent to *Lacedæmon* to desire succours against the common enemy, which the *Lacedæmonians* granted, but they could not set out till some days after, by reason of an antient and superstitious custom, which obtained at *Sparta*, and did not allow them to begin a march before the full moon. Not one of their other allies offered to assist them, such a terror had the *Persian* armies struck into the cities of *Greece*. The inhabitants of *Plataea* alone furnished them with a thousand men. In this extremity the *Athenians* were obliged to arm their slaves, which was contrary to their practice on all other occasions.

THE *Persian* army commanded by *Datis* consisted of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, that of the *Athenians* amounted in the whole but to 10,000 men. It was commanded by ten generals, one of which was *Miltiades*, whom we

° Idem, l. vii. c. 133.

^p PLUTARCH in MORAL. p. 829.

shall

shall have occasion to mention often in the history of *Greece*. These ten generals were to have the command of the army, each for one day in his turn. When the army was assembled a dispute arose among them, whether they should venture an engagement in the field, or only fortify and defend the city. They were all for the latter opinion, except *Miltiades*, who declared, that the only way to raise the courage of their own troops, and strike a terror into the enemy, was, to advance boldly and attack them with intrepidity. *Aristides*, convinced by the speech of *Miltiades*, embraced his opinion, and brought over to it some of the other commanders. *Callimachus* likewise, who had been very sanguine at first against such a rash enterprize, fell in at last with *Miltiades*, and a resolution was taken to engage the enemy in the open field. All the commanders, who were for venturing a battle, when their turn came to command the army, yielded that honour to *Miltiades*, all sentiments of jealousy giving way to the public good; but though he accepted the power, yet he would not hazard an engagement before his own day. As soon as that came, he endeavoured by the advantage of the ground to make up what he wanted in strength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy might not surround them, or fall upon his rear. He covered his flanks with large trees which he caused to be cut down for that purpose, and to render the *Persian* cavalry useless. The *Athenian* forces were so drawn up that they were equal in front to the *Persians*; but because they had not a sufficient number of men in the centre, that part was extremely weak, the main strength of the army consisting in the wings. All things being thus disposed, and the sacrifice, according to the custom of the *Greeks*, performed, *Miltiades*, without waiting the motions of the *Persians*, commanded the signal for the battle to be given, when the *Athenians* fell upon the enemy, with such courage and resolution as can hardly be expressed. The *Persians* seeing the *Athenians* advance imputed their resolution to folly and despair, being not only few in number, but entirely destitute of horse, and without stirring prepared themselves to receive them. After a long and obstinate fight, the *Persians* and *Sacæ* broke the centre of the *Athenians*, having made their greatest efforts against that part. The centre was commanded by *Aristides* and *Themistocles*, who with great intrepidity made head against the whole *Persian* army, till, being born down by their numbers and quite over-powered, they were obliged to give ground. But the *Athenians* and *Plateans*, who were in the two wings, having defeated the wings of the enemy, came up to the relief of their centre, just as

*The battle
of Mara-
thon.*

Year of
the Flood,
2508.
Year be-
fore Christ
491.

they were betaking themselves to a precipitous flight, after having maintained a running fight for some hours. At their arrival the scale was quickly turned, for attacking the enemy in flank they soon put them in disorder, and obliged them with great slaughter to fly to their fleet, whither they pursued them, took seven of their ships, and burnt a great many more. In this action several *Athenians* of great distinction were slain, and amongst others *Callimachus* and *Stasileus*, two of the chief commanders, with only 200 private men, whereas the *Persians* left 6000 dead in the field of battle, and besides a great many were killed in the flight, burnt in their ships, and drowned in the sea, as they attempted to save themselves on board their vessels. *Hippias* was killed in the battle, that ungrateful citizen, who, in order to recover the unjust dominion usurped by his father *Pisistratus*, had put himself at the head of those who were come with a design to reduce to ashes that city to which he owed his birth^q. Immediately after the battle, an *Athenian* soldier, stained all over with blood, hastened to *Athens* to acquaint his fellow-citizens with the good success of their army at *Marathon*. When he arrived at the public palace where the Magistrates were assembled, he was so spent, that, having uttered these words, *Rejoice, rejoice, the victory is ours*, he fell down dead at their feet^r. The *Persians* were so sure of the victory, that they had brought marble along with them to *Marathon* in order to erect a trophy there. This marble the *Athenians* seized, and caused a statue to be formed of it by the famous *Phidias* in honour of the goddess *Nemesis*, whose province it was to punish unjust actions^t (X).

AFTER

^q Idem, l. vi. p. 102—120. ^r PLUTARCH. de glor. Athen. p. 347. ^t PAUS. l. i. p. 62.

(X) *Justin* tells us (24) that the *Persians* lost on this occasion, what by the sword, what by shipwreck, 200,000 men; but we choose to follow *Herodotus*, who flourished very near those times, and acquaints us, that in the battle were killed 6300 *Persians* and 192 *Athenians*. The whole *Persian* army, according to *Valerius Maximus* (25), consisted of 300,000 men. *Plutarch* seems to insinuate the same (26). *Justin* (27) and *Orosius* say, that they were in all 600,000 men. *Emilius Probus* (28) tells us, that they were 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse. Of the *Athenians* there were 10,000

(24) *Justin*. l. ii. c. 9. (25) *Val. Max.* l. v. c. 3. (26) *Plutarch* in *Paral.* (27) *Justin* ubi supra. (28) *Emil. Prob.* in *Miltiad.*

AFTER this defeat the *Persian* fleet, instead of sailing by the islands in order to return to *Asia*, doubled the cape of *Sunium* with a design to surprise *Athens* before the return of the army. But the *Athenian* troops, being apprised of their design, decamped from the plains of *Marathon*, and marched with such expedition, that they arrived at *Athens* before the enemy's fleet, and by that means disappointed their measures¹.

Datis and *Artaphernes* arriving in *Asia*, that they might seem to have reaped some advantage from this expedition, sent the *Eretrian* captives to *Susa*. *Darius* had expressed great indignation against the *Eretrians* before the reduction of their city, and charged them with the guilt of beginning the war; but finding they were now his prisoners and entirely in his power, he could not find in his heart to do them any harm, but gave them a village in the country of *Cissia* to inhabit, which was but a day's journey distant from *Susa*². Here *Apollonius Tyaneus*³ found their descendants a great many ages after.

As soon as the day of the full moon was over, the *Lacedæmonians* began their march with two thousand men, and arrived in three days on the confines of *Attica*, having marched in so short a time 1200 *Stades*⁴; such was their eagerness to be present at the battle: but a silly and ridiculous superstition

¹ HERODOT. ubi supra. ² HERODOT. l. vi. c. 29. ³ PHILOSTRAT. l. i. c. 17. ⁴ ISOCR. in Paneg. p. 113.

10,000, and 1000 *Plateans*, say *Justin* and *Orosius*; but *Probus* assures us, that the *Athenians* with their auxiliaries were in all but 10,000. This ever memorable victory was gained, if we believe *Plutarch* (29), upon the 6th day of *Bædromion* the third month in the *Attic* calender, after the summer solstice, *Phænippus* being at that time prætor at *Athens*, that is, in the third year of the 72d olympiad four years before the death of *Darius*, as we read in *Severus Sulpitius* (30), and ten years before *Xerxes* passed over into *Greece*, as *Thucydides* informs us (31). Most authors tell us that *Hippias* was slain in this battle; but *Suidas* says, that he escaped and died afterwards in the island of *Lemnos*. *Themistocles*, who became afterwards so famous, on this occasion first entered the school of war. We cannot omit in this place the glorious behaviour of one *Cynegyrus* an *Athenian* soldier, who having first his right and then his left hand cut off, while he was endeavouring to prevent one of the enemies ships from putting off, took hold of it at last with his teeth.

(29) *Plut. de glor. Athen. p. 349.* (30) *Sever. Sulp. l. ii. sacr. hist.* (31) *Thucyd. l. i.*

prevented their having a share in the most glorious action recorded in history; for the battle was fought a day before they arrived. However, they proceeded to *Marathon*, where they found the fields covered with dead bodies, and having congratulated the *Athenians* on the happy success of the battle, they returned home [†].

Darius, upon the news of the unsuccessful return of his army, was so far from being discouraged by such a disaster, that he added the defeat at *Marathon* to the burning of *Sardis*, as a new motive spurring him on to pursue the war with more vigour. He therefore resolved to head the army in person, and issued orders to all his subjects in the several provinces of the empire to attend him in this expedition. But after he had spent three years in making the necessary preparations, a new war broke out, occasioned by the revolt of *Egypt*. This gave him no small uneasiness; however, as he was wholly bent on his expedition against *Greece*, he resolved not to lay that aside, but at the same time to send part of his forces to reduce *Egypt*, and with the rest to march in person against his old enemies the *Greeks* (Y). But when he had prepared all things for these two expeditions, a great contest arose between his sons concerning the succession. According to an antient custom among the *Persians* the king was obliged, before he set out on any expedition, to name his successor; a custom wisely established to prevent the many inconveniences that attend an unsettled succession. *Darius* thought himself the

[†] Idem, *ibid*.

(Y) *Diodorus Siculus* (32) seems to insinuate, that *Darius* marched into *Egypt* to reduce the rebels, and that he succeeded in the enterprise. That historian relates, that upon *Darius's* desiring to have his statue placed before that of *Sesostris*, the chief priest of the *Egyptians* told him, that he had not equalled the glory of that conqueror, and that the king, no ways offended at the *Egyptian* priest's freedom, reply'd, that he would endeavour to surpass it. He adds further, that *Darius* had several conferences with the *Egyptian* priests upon matters of religion and government, and that having learned of them with what gentleness their antient kings used to treat their subjects, he endeavoured, after his return into *Persia*, to form himself upon their model. But *Herodotus*, more worthy of belief in this particular than *Diodorus*, only observes, that *Darius* resolved to make war at the same time upon *Egypt* and *Greece*, and to invade *Greece* in person, while part of his troops were employed in the reduction of *Egypt*.

(32) *Diodor. Sicul. l. i. p. 54 & 85.*

more

more obliged to comply with this custom as he was already advanced in years, and two of his sons seemed to have a just claim to the crown upon his demise. *Darius* had three sons by the daughter of *Gobryas* his first wife, all born before he came to the crown, and four more by *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, all born after his accession to the throne. Of the first *Artabazanes* was the eldest, of the latter *Xerxes*; and these two were competitors for the succession. *Artabazanes*, or, as *Justin* calls him, *Artamenes*, urged, that he was the eldest son, and therefore, according to the custom of all nations, ought to be preferred in the succession to the younger. On the other hand, *Xerxes* alledged that he was the son of *Atossa* daughter of *Cyrus*, who had founded the *Persian* monarchy, and claimed the kingdom in the right of his mother, it being more agreeable to justice, said he, that the crown of *Cyrus* should devolve upon one, who was a descendant of *Cyrus*, than upon one that was not. *Darius* had not yet declared in favour of either, when *Damaratus*, king of *Sparta*, being driven out by his subjects, arrived at *Susa*, and hearing of this dispute, secretly suggested to *Xerxes* another argument to support his pretensions; namely, that he was born after his father was invested with the royal dignity, whereas *Artabazanes* was only the son of *Darius* a private man; to him therefore the crown belonged as the king's eldest son, and not to *Artabazanes* the eldest son of *Darius*. He further supported his argument by the example of the *Lacedemonians*, who excluded from the crown the children that were born before their fathers accession, if they had any to succeed born after their advancement to the throne. These reasons appeared so just to *Darius*, that he declared *Xerxes* heir apparent to his crown. Our author is of opinion, that *Xerxes* was named to the succession, not so much by the strength of this plea, as by the influence his mother *Atossa* had over the inclinations of *Darius*, who in this matter was intirely governed by her authority * (Z).

THE

* Idem, l. vii. c. 2, & 3.

(Z) *Justin* and *Plutarch* (33) place this dispute after the decease of *Darius*, and both take notice of the prudent conduct of the two brothers on so nice an occasion. *Artabazanes*, according to them, was absent when the king died, and *Xerxes* immediately took all the ensigns of royalty, exercising all the functions of the regal dignity.

(33) *Justin*. l. ii. c. 10. *Plutarch*. de frat. amo. p. 448.

THE succession being thus settled, and all things ready both for the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* expedition, *Darius* died in the second year of the revolt of *Egypt*, after having reigned 36 years. This prince was endowed with many excellent qualities; his wisdom, clemency, and justice are greatly commended by the antients. He had the honour to have his name recorded in holy writ^a, as a favourer of God's people, a restorer of the temple, and a promoter of the true worship at *Jerusalem*. His kindness towards the *Israelites* was rewarded with a numerous issue, a long reign, and great prosperity. For though the *Scythian* and *Greek* expeditions proved unsuccessful, yet he was very fortunate in all his other undertakings, having not only restored and entirely settled the empire of *Cyrus*, which had been very much shaken by the unpolitic government of *Cambyzes* and usurpation of *Smerdis*, but also added many great and rich provinces to that prince's conquests, namely, *India*, *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and the isles of the *Ionian* sea (A).

Xerxes, Year of the Flood, 2514. Year before Christ 485. *Xerxes* succeeding his father employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of *Egypt*, which his father had begun. He confirmed, upon his first accession to the crown, all the privileges granted by his father to the *Jews*, and particularly that which assigned them the tribute of *Samaria*, for furnishing them victims to be offered in the temple^b.

IN

^a Ezra iv. Haggai and Zechar.^b Joseph. antiquit. l. xi. c. 5.

ty. But upon his brother's returning home, he quitted the diadem and tiara, went out to meet him, and shewed him all imaginable civility. They agreed to make their uncle *Artabanes* the arbitrator of their difference, and to acquiesce, without any farther appeal, to his decision. During the whole time this dispute lasted, all the demonstrations of an entire and fraternal affection passed between the two competitors. And when it was decided, as the one did not insult, so the other did not repine or express any dissatisfaction at the sentence, but immediately prostrating himself before him, acknowledged him for his master, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand. He continued all his life firmly attached to his interest, and at last died in his service in the battle of *Salamis*.

(A) The *Jews* (34) have a tradition, that the prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, died in the last year of *Darius*, and that on their death the spirit of prophecy ceased among the *Jews*,

(34) *Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin. David Ganz in Zemachus. David. Seder, Olam, Zuta, &c.*

IN the second year of his reign he marched against the *Egyptians*, and having reduced the rebels, and brought the country to a worse condition of slavery than what they had felt under his predecessors, he appointed his brother *Achæmenes* governor of that province, and returned to *Susa*. Puffed up with this success against the *Egyptians*, he determined to invade *Greece*. But before he engaged in an enterprize of that importance, he thought fit to assemble his council, and take the advice of the most illustrious persons of his court. When they were assembled, he laid before them the design he had of invading *Greece*, and acquainted them with the motives that prompted him to that expedition (B). *Mardonius*, the same person who had been so unsuccessful in the reign of *Darius*, hoping that the command of the army would be be-

which was the sealing up of vision and prophecy spoke of by *Daniel* (35). And misled by the same tradition they tell us, that the kingdom of *Persia* ended the same year; for they confound this *Darius* with the other who was conquered by *Alexander*, and will have the *Persian* empire to have lasted only 52 years, which they reckon thus: *Darius* the *Mede* reigned one year, *Cyrus* three, *Cambyses*, according to them the *Abasuerus* who married *Esther*, 32 years. This last *Darius* they take to be the same with *Artaxerxes*, who sent *Ezra* and *Nebemias* to *Jerusalem*, to restore the *Jews* to their antient state. For they tell us, that *Artaxerxes* was a name common to the *Persian* kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was to those of *Egypt*. This shews how little they were acquainted with the *Persian* history; and their countryman *Josephus* seems to have been as much in the dark, with respect to *Persia*, as they were.

(B) These were, the desire of following the footsteps of his predecessors, who had distinguished their names and reigns by noble enterprizes; the obligation he was under to be revenged on the *Athenians*, who without any provocation had fallen upon *Sardis*, and burnt down the sacred groves and temples; the eager desire he had to wipe off the dishonour his country had received at *Marathon*; and lastly, the prospect of many great advantages that would accrue to him from this war, which would be attended by the conquest of *Europe*, the most rich and fertile country in the universe. He added, that this war had been resolved on by his father *Darius*, and that he meant only to execute his designs. He concluded his speech with promising ample rewards to such as should distinguish themselves in this expedition, and desiring them to deliver their opinions in the matter with freedom (36).

(35) *Dan.* ix. 24. (36) *Herodot.* l. vii. c. 5, 6.

stowed upon him, not only approved of the king's determination, but extolled him above all the kings that had preceded him, and endeavoured to set forth the indispensable necessity they all lay under of revenging the dishonour done to the *Persian* name at *Sardis* and *Marathon*. The rest of the council, perceiving that the flattering discourse of *Mardonius* pleased the king, durst not venture to contradict it, but all kept silence for some time. At last *Artabanus*, the king's uncle, a prince venerable both for his age and prudence, addressing *Xerxes*, used all his endeavours to divert him from his present resolution, and at the same time reproached *Mardonius* with want of sincerity, and shewed how much he was to blame for desiring rashly to engage the nation in a war, which nothing but his own ambitious and self-interested views could tempt him to advise. He concluded with these words: "If
 " a war be resolved upon, let the king remain in *Persia*, and
 " our children be deposited in his hands. Then go on with
 " your expedition attended by the best forces you can choose,
 " and in what numbers you think fit. If the issue be favourable, I am willing to forfeit my own life and the lives of
 " my children. But on the contrary, if the event be such as
 " I have foretold, then let your children suffer death, and
 " you also, if ever you return". *Artabanus* expressed his sentiments in very respectful and inoffensive terms; but nevertheless *Xerxes* was extremely offended, and replied with indignation, that if *Artabanus* were not his uncle he should suffer that moment the due punishment for such an audacious behaviour, and commanded him to stay at home among the women, whom he too much resembled, while he marched at the head of his troops where his duty and glory called him. However, when the first emotion of his anger was past, he owned, that he had been to blame for treating his uncle with such harsh language; and was not ashamed to repair his fault, by openly confessing, that the heat of his youth and want of experience had made him trespass against the regard that was due to a prince so worthy of respect as *Artabanus* *. At the same time he declared, that he was ready to follow his advice, and lay aside the design of invading *Greece*, notwithstanding a phantom had appeared to him the night before in his sleep, and warmly exhorted him to undertake the war (C). All
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*. Idem, l. vii. c. 6, 7.

(C) *Herodotus* tells us, that *Xerxes*, reflecting in the night-time on the opinion of *Artabanus*, was very much perplexed, and concluded

the *Persians*, who composed the council, were overjoy'd to hear the king speak in that manner, and prostrating themselves before him, strove to outdo each other in extolling the prudence of his conduct. But he did not long continue in that mind; nay *Artabanus* himself, the only man who had openly disapproved the expedition, whether frightened by a dream, or dreading the king's displeasure, became a most sanguine and zealous promoter of the war ^d.

Xerxes, being now resolved to attack *Greece*, that he might omit nothing which could contribute to the success of his undertaking, entered into an alliance with the *Carthaginians*, who were at that time the most powerful people of the

^d *Idem*, *ibid.* c. 8, 9, &c.

cluded at last, that a war with *Greece* could not turn to his advantage. Having thus altered his resolution he fell asleep, and saw in a dream a man of an uncommon stature and beauty standing by him, and uttering these words: Have you then changed your design of leading an army into *Greece*, after having ordered the *Persians* to assemble their forces? You have not done well to alter your resolution, nor will you find any man of your opinion. Resume therefore without delay the enterprize you determined to undertake. The *Phantom*, having pronounced these words, disappeared; and the next morning *Xerxes*, neglecting his dream, summoned the council, and acquainted them, that he had altered his mind with regard to the *Grecian* expedition, and wished them joy of the advantages of peace which they were to reap at home. But the night following the same *Phantom* appeared again to *Xerxes*, telling him, that if he did not undertake without delay a war against *Greece*, he should become little and contemptible in as short a time as he had been raised to greatness and power. The king, terrified with this second dream, sent for *Artabanus*, acquainted him with what had happened, and entreated him to put on the royal robes, to sit on the throne, and pass the night in his bed. *Artabanus* at first begged to be excused as not deserving the honour of sitting in the king's throne; but being pressed by *Xerxes*, who was persuaded, that if the dream was from the gods *Artabanus* would see the same vision, he at last complied with his desire and cloathed himself with the royal robes. As he slept in the king's bed, the same *Phantom* appeared to him, threatening him with the greatest calamities, if he continued to oppose the king's intentions. This so terrified *Artabanus*, that he came over to the king's first opinion, believing, that there was something divine in these repeated visions, and the war against *Greece* was resolved on (37).

(37) *Idem*, l. vii. c. 8, 9, &c.

west, whereby it was agreed, that while the *Persians* invaded *Greece*, the *Carthaginians* should fall upon the *Greek* colonies in *Sicily* and *Italy*, that thereby they might be diverted from helping each other. The *Carthaginians* appointed *Hamilcar* their general, who not only raised what forces he could in *Afric*, but with the money sent him by *Xerxes* hired a great many mercenaries in *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*; so that his army consisted of 300,000 men, besides a proportionable number of ships for transporting his forces and the necessary provisions*. And thus *Xerxes*, agreeable to the prophecy of *Daniel*†, having by his strength through his riches stirred up all the nations of the then known world against the realm of *Greece*; that is, all the west under the command of *Hamilcar*, and all the east under his own banners, set out from *Susa* to enter upon this war in the fifth year of his reign, after having spent three years in making vast preparations throughout all the provinces of his wide-spreading empire. From *Susa* he marched to *Sardis*, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all his land-forces, while his navy advanced along the coasts of *Asia Minor* towards the *Hellepont*.

Two things *Xerxes* commanded to be done before he came to the sea-side; the one was a passage to be cut through mount *Athos*. This mountain reaches a great way into the sea in the form of a peninsula, and is joined to the land by an isthmus twelve furlongs over. The sea in this place is very tempestuous, and the *Persian* fleet had formerly suffered shipwreck in doubling this promontory. To prevent the like disaster *Xerxes* caused a passage to be cut through the mountain broad enough to let two galleys, with three banks of oars each, pass in front. By this means he severed from the continent the cities of *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thysus*, and *Cleone*. Our author observes, that *Xerxes* undertook this enterprize only out of ostentation, and to perpetuate the memory of his name, since he might, with far less trouble, have caused his fleet to be conveyed over the *Isthmus*, as was the practice in those days * (D).

HE

* DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. p. 1.
ubi sup. c. 34. & seq.

† Dan. xi. 2.

* HERODOT.

(D) This prince, believing that the very elements were under his command, wrote to mount *Athos* in the following terms; *Athos, thou proud and aspiring mountain, that liftest up thy head to the very skies, I advise thee not to be so audacious as to put rocks and stones, that cannot*

HE likewise commanded a bridge of boats to be laid over the *Hellepont*, for the passing of his forces from *Asia* into *Europe*. The sea, which separates *Sestos* and *Abydos*, where the bridge was built, is seven furlongs over. The work was carried on with great expedition by the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, who had no sooner finished it, but a violent storm arising broke it in pieces, and dispersed or dashed against the shore the vessels of which it was composed; which when *Xerxes* heard, he fell into such a violent transport of anger, that he commanded 300 stripes to be inflicted on the sea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it, enjoining those who

cannot be cut, in the way of my workmen. If thou makest that opposition, I will cut thee intirely down, and throw thee headlong into the sea (38). Our modern travellers tell us, that they can perceive no traces of this great work, and most of them are of *Juvenal's* opinion expressed in these words; *Perforatus Athos, Et quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historia*. The directors of this enterprize were *Bubaris* the son of *Megabyxus*, and *Artacheus* the son of *Arbæus*, both *Persians*. It was carried on in the following manner: All the forces on board the fleet were employed in the undertaking; they first drew a line before the city of *Sana*, situated at the foot of mount *Athos* towards the land, and then divided the ground among themselves, each nation having their portion allotted them. When the trench was considerably sunk, those who were at the bottom continued to dig, delivering the earth to their companions standing on ladders, who handed it to such as stood higher, till it was conveyed to those that waited to receive it at the edge of the canal, and by them carried to another place. Our author observes (39), that by digging perpendicularly, and making the bottom of equal breadth with the top, all the workmen except the *Phœnicians* had double the labour, by reason the earth fell down continually in great quantities from the upper parts. But the *Phœnicians* opened the ground, which was assigned to them, twice as large as others had done, and sloped the ground gradually till they came to the bottom. In a large meadow adjoining to this place there was a court of justice and a market, furnished with corn and other necessities brought from *Asia*. This work does not seem to us so very surprising and incredible, as some would make it, when we consider the number of hands and the time that were employed in perfecting it. For *Herodotus* tells us, that three whole years were spent in the undertaking, and an incredible number of workmen obliged to labour day and night in their turns. Besides, the canal was not cut through, as *Juvenal* seems to insinuate, but, behind mount *Athos*, where the *Isthmus* was but a mile and a half over, and broad enough only to let two gallies pass in front.

(38) *Plutarch. de ira cobib. p. 455.*(39) *Idem, ibid. c. 34.*

were

were trusted with the execution of his orders to pronounce these words: *Thou salt and bitter element, thy master has condemned thee to this punishment for offending him without cause, and is resolved to pass over thee in spite of thy billows and insolent resistance.* The extravagant folly and madness of this prince did not stop here; he commanded the heads of those who had the direction of the work to be struck off^s.

IN their room he appointed more experienced architects to build two other bridges, one for the army, and the other for the beasts of burden and the baggage. When the whole work was compleated, and the vessels, which formed the bridges, secured against the violence of the winds and the current of the water, *Xerxes* departed from *Sardis*, where the army had wintered, and directed his march to *Abydos*. When he arrived at that city, he desired to see all his forces together, and to that end ascending a stately edifice of white stone, which the *Abydenians* had built on purpose to receive him in a manner suitable to his greatness, he had a free prospect of the coast, seeing at one view both his fleet and land-forces. The sea was covered with his ships, and the large plains of *Abydos*, with his troops quite down to the shore. While he was thus surveying with his own eyes the vast extent of his power, and deeming himself the most happy of mortals, his joy being all on a sudden turned into grief, he burst out into a flood of tears, which *Artabanus* perceiving asked him, what had made him in a few moments pass from an excess of joy to so great a grief? The king replied, that considering the shortness of human life he could not restrain his tears; for of all these numbers of men not one, said he, will be alive a hundred years hence. *Artabanus*, who neglected no opportunity of instilling into the young prince's mind sentiments of kindness towards his people, finding him touched with a sense of tenderness and humanity, endeavoured to make him sensible of the obligation that is incumbent upon princes to alleviate the sorrows and sweeten the bitterness, which the lives of their subjects are liable to, since it is not in their power to prolong them. In the same conversation *Xerxes* asked his uncle, whether, if he had not seen the vision which made him change his mind, he would still persist in the same opinion and dissuade him from making war upon *Greece*. *Artabanus* sincerely owned, that he still had his fears, and was very uneasy concerning two things, the sea

^s Idem, c. 33—36.

and the land ; the sea, because there were no ports capable of receiving and sheltering such a fleet, if a storm should arise ; the land, because no country could maintain so numerous an army. The king was very sensible of the strength of his reasoning, but, as it was now too late to go back, he made answer ; that in great enterprizes men ought not to enter into so nice a discussion of all the inconveniencies that may attend them ; that bold and daring undertakings, though subject to many evils and dangers, are preferable to inaction, however safe ; that great successes are no otherwise to be obtained than by venturing boldly ; and that if his predecessors had observed such scrupulous and timorous rules of politics, the *Persian* empire would never have attained to so high a degree of glory and grandeur ^h.

ALL things being now in readiness, and a day appointed, for the passing over of the army, as soon as the first rays of the sun began to appear, all sorts of perfumes were burnt upon the bridge, and the way strewed with myrtle. At the same time *Xerxes* pouring a libation into the sea out of a golden cup, and addressing the sun, implored the assistance of that deity, begging, that he might meet with no impediment, so great as to hinder him from carrying his conquering arms to the utmost limits of *Europe*. This done he threw the cup into the *Hellepont*, with a golden bowl and a *Persian* scymetar, and the foot and horse began to pass over that bridge, which was next to the *Euxine*, while the carriages and beasts of burden passed over the other, which was placed nearer the *Ægean* sea. The bridges were boarded and covered over with earth, having rails on each side, that the horses and cattle might not be frightened at the sight of the sea. The army spent seven days and seven nights in passing over, though they marched day and night without intermission, and were by frequent blows obliged to quicken their pace. At the same time the fleet made to the coasts of *Europe*. After the whole army was passed, *Xerxes* advanced with his land-forces through the *Thracian Chersonesus* to *Doriscus*, a city at the mouth of the river *Hebrus* in *Thrace* ; but the fleet steered a quite different course, standing to the westward for the promontory of *Sarpedon*, where they were commanded to attend farther orders. *Xerxes*, having encamped in the large plains of *Doriscus*, and judging them convenient for reviewing and numbering his troops, dispatched orders to his admirals to bring the fleet to the adjacent shore, that he might

^h Idem, *ibid.* c. 45. & seq.

take an account both of his sea and land-forces. His land-army upon the muster was found to consist of one million and seven hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse, which together with twenty thousand men that conducted the camels and took care of the baggage, amounted to one million eight hundred thousand men. His fleet consisted of twelve hundred and seven large ships, and three thousand galleys and transports; on board of all these vessels there were found to be five hundred seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. So that the whole number of sea and land-forces, which *Xerxes* led out of *Asia* to invade *Greece*, amounted to two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. Our author tells us, that on his passing the *Hellepont* to enter *Europe*, an inhabitant of that country cried out; O *Jupiter*, why art thou come to destroy *Greece*, in the shape of a *Persian* and under the name of *Xerxes*, with all mankind following thee; whereas thy own power is sufficient to do this without their assistance? After he had entered *Europe*, the nations on this side the *Hellepont*, that submitted to him, added to his land-forces, three hundred thousand more, and two hundred and twenty ships to his fleet, on board of which were twenty four thousand men. So that the whole number of his forces, when he arrived at *Thermopylae*, was two millions six hundred and forty one thousand six hundred and ten men, without including servants, eunuchs; women, sutlers, and other people of that sort, who were computed to equal the number of the forces: so that the whole multitude of persons, that followed *Xerxes* in this expedition, amounted to five millions two hundred eighty three thousand two hundred and twenty † (E). Among these millions of men there was

† HERODOT. l. vii. c. 56—99—148—187.

(E) This is the computation of *Herodotus*, and with him agree *Plutarch* (40) and *Isocrates* (41); but *Diodorus Siculus* (42), *Pliny* (43), *Ælian* (44), and others fall far short of this number, making the army, which *Xerxes* led against *Greece*, not much more numerous than that with which his father invaded *Scythia*. These probably mistook the one for the other. *Herodotus* is the most antient author that has written of this war, and lived in the very age wherein it happened; wherefore we have preferred his account to that of others, the rather, because we find it to be the general opinion of all the antients, whether *Greeks* or *Latins*, that this was the greatest army that ever was brought into the field; and the ac-

(40) *Plutarch. in Themist.* (41) *Isocr. in Panathen.* (42) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xi.* (43) *Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10.* (44) *Ælian. var. histor. l. iii. c. 3.*

count

was not one that could vie with *Xerxes* either in comeliness or stature, or that seemed more worthy of that great empire. But this is a poor commendation when it is not accompanied with other qualifications. Accordingly *Justin*, after he has mentioned the number of his troops, emphatically concludes, *but this vast body wanted a head*. Besides the subordinate generals of each nation, who commanded the troops of their respective countries, the whole army was under the command of six *Persian* generals, viz. *Mardonius* the son of *Gobryas*, *Triatacæchmes* the son of *Artabanus*, *Smerdones* the son of *Otanes*, (the two latter were cousins to *Xerxes*), *Masistes* the son of *Darius* by *Atossa*, *Gergys* the son of *Ariazus*, and *Megabyzus* the son of the celebrated *Zopyrus*. The ten thousand *Persians*, who were called the immortal band, obeyed no other commander but *Hydarnes*. The fleet was commanded by four *Persian* admirals, and likewise the cavalry had their particular generals and commanders.

Xerxes, having thus numbered his sea and land-forces at *Doriscus*, marched from thence through *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Thessaly* towards *Attica*, ordering his fleet to follow him along the coast, and to regulate their motions according to the motions of the army. Wherever he came he found provisions prepared before-hand, pursuant to the orders he had sent; and each city was obliged to entertain him, which cost im-

count of *Herodotus* best agrees with the verses engraved on the monument of those *Greeks* that were slain at *Thermopylae*, where it is said, that they fought against three millions, as we read the inscription in *Herodotus*, or against two, as we find it in *Diodorus Siculus* (45). *Josephus* (46) tells us, that his countrymen too bore a part in this expedition, and proves it from a passage out of *Chærilus* (47), where it is said, that *Xerxes* was attended by a *People who used the Phœnician language, and dwelt in the Solymæan land on hills near a great lake*. As *Jerusalem* was also called *Solyma*, and all the country thereabout was mountainous, and lay near the great lake *Asphaltites*, commonly called the lake of *Sodom*, this description seems plainly to suit the *Jews*. But *Scaliger* (48), *Cunæus* (49), and *Bochart* (50), understand those verses of the *Solyms* in *Pisidia*. However, *Salmasius* (51) maintains the contrary opinion; and truly it is not at all likely, that when *Xerxes* obliged all the other nations to send their quotas of men, the *Jews* alone should be exempted. Whether therefore those mentioned by *Chærilus* were *Jews* or not, it must be allowed, that they also bore a part in this expedition.

(45) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 26.* (46) *Joseph. contra Apion. l. 10.*
 (47) *Chæril. ibid.* (48) *Scaliger in notis ad frag.* (49) *Cunæus, de Rep. Hebr. l. ii. c. 18.* (50) *Bochart. Geogr. Sacra, Part II. l. i. c. 2.* (51) *Salmas. in Linguae Hellenisticæ ossilegio.*

menſe ſums, and gave occaſion to the ſaying of a citizen of *Abdera*, after the king's departure, that his countrymen might thank the gods for *Xerxes's* moderation in being ſatisfied with one meal a day ⁸.

IN the mean time *Lacedæmon* and *Athens*, the two moſt powerful cities of *Greece*, againſt which *Xerxes* was moſt exaſperated, having had intelligence of the enemy's preparations and motions, ſent ambaffadors to *Argos*, to *Sicily*, to the iſlands of *Corcyra* and *Crete*, to deſire ſuccours and conclude a league againſt the common enemy. The people of *Argos* offered a very conſiderable number of troops, on condition they ſhould have an equal ſhare with the *Lacedæmonians* in the command. The latter conſented, that the king of *Argos* ſhould have the ſame authority as either of the kings of *Sparta*; but this offer did not ſatisfy the *Argians*, who thereupon ordered the ambaffadors to depart the territories of *Argos* before ſun-ſet. From *Argos* they proceeded to *Sicily*, where *Gelo*, the moſt powerful prince in all the *Greek* colonies, offered to aſſiſt them with a very numerous army and a mighty fleet, provided they appointed him commander in chief of all their forces both by ſea and land. This propoſal was rejected by the *Athenian* ambaffadors, who told him, that they did not want a general, but an army, and without preſſing him any further departed. The inhabitants of *Coreyra*, now *Corfu*, immediately put to ſea with a fleet of 60 ſhips, but advanced no farther than the coaſts of *Laconia*, where they waited the iſſue of an engagement, deſigning to ſide afterwards with the conqueror. The people of *Crete*, having conſulted the oracle to know what reſolution they ſhould take on this occaſion, abſolutely reſuſed to enter into the league. Thus were the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* abandoned by all their countrymen, except the *Theſpians* and *Platæans*, who ſent ſmall bodies to their aſſiſtance. The firſt thing they took care of in ſo critical a conjuncture was, to put an end to all intestine diviſions and diſcords; and accordingly a peace was concluded between the *Athenians* and the people of *Ægina*, who were actually at war. In the next place they appointed a general, the *Athenians* chooſing *Themiſtocles*, and the *Spartans* conſerring the ſupreme command of their forces upon *Leonidas* one of their kings. The only thing that now remained was, to determine in what place they ſhould meet the *Persians*, in order to diſpute their entrance into *Greece*. After various propoſals and diſputes it was reſolved, that they ſhould ſend a body of four thouſand men to *Thermopylæ*, which is a narrow paſs, being but 25 foot broad, between the mountains that

⁸ Idem, *ibid.* c. 108—132.

divide *Theffaly* from *Greece*, and the only way through which the *Persians* could enter *Attica*, and advance by land to *Athens*. The command of this small body was given to *Leonidas*, a prince of extraordinary courage, who accordingly marched with all possible expedition to his post, determined either to stop the innumerable army of *Xerxes* with that handful of men, or die in the attempt. Such was also the resolution of the 300 *Spartans* who attended him, and had been all chosen by himself.

IN the mean time *Xerxes*, advancing near the straights, was strangely surprised to find that the *Greeks* were resolved to dispute his passage. For he had always flattered himself, that on his approach they would betake themselves to flight, nor attempt to oppose his innumerable forces with so small a body, their whole army consisting of but eleven thousand two hundred men, and of these scarce four thousand being employed to defend the pass. He sent out a scout on horseback to view their numbers, and discover how they were encamped. The scout brought back word, that the *Lacedemonians* were, some performing their military exercises, and others putting their hair in order; for their custom was, as *Damaratus* (F), who was then in the *Persian* camp, informed the king, to comb and put in order their hair when they were to expose their lives to the greatest dangers. However, *Xerxes*, entertaining still some hopes of their flight, waited four days, without undertaking any thing, on purpose to give them time to retreat. During this time he used his utmost endeavours to gain and corrupt *Leonidas*, promising to make him master of all *Greece*, if he would come over to his party. His offers being rejected by that public-spirited prince with contempt and indignation, the king ordered him by a herald to deliver up his arms. *Leonidas*, in a style and with a spirit truly *Laconical*, answer-

(F) *Damaratus* was one of the two kings of *Sparta*, who, being banished by the adverse party, had sought refuge at the *Persian* court, where he was entertained with the greatest marks of honour and distinction. As the courtiers were one day expressing their surprise, that a king should suffer himself to be banished, *Damaratus* told them, that at *Sparta* the laws were more powerful than the king. This prince was in great esteem at the *Persian* court, but neither the injustice of the *Spartan* citizens, nor the kind treatment of the *Persian* king, could make him forget his country. He no sooner knew that *Xerxes* designed to invade *Greece*, but he secretly acquainted the *Greeks* with his resolution, and on all occasions spoke his sentiments to the king with a noble freedom and dignity (52).

(52) *Plutarch. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 220.*

ed him in a few words; *Come thyself and take them*^a. *Xerxes* at this answer, transported with rage commanded the *Medes* and *Cissians* to march against them, take them all alive, and bring them in fetters to him. The *Medes*, not able to stand the shock of the brave *Greeks*, soon betook themselves to flight, and shewed, as our author observes, that *Xerxes* had many men but few soldiers. In their room *Hydarnes* was ordered to advance with that body which was called *immortal*, and consisted of ten thousand chosen men. But when they came to close with the *Greeks*, they succeeded no better than the *Medes* and *Cissians*, being obliged to retire with great slaughter. The next day, the *Persians*, reflecting on the small number of their enemies, and supposing so many of them to be wounded that they could not possibly maintain a second fight, resolved to make another attempt, but could not by any efforts make the *Greeks* give way; on the contrary, they were themselves put to a shameful flight. The valour of the *Greeks* exerted itself on this occasion in such an extraordinary manner, that *Xerxes* is said to have three times leaped out of his throne, apprehending the entire destruction of his army¹.

Xerxes, having lost all hopes of forcing his way through troops that were determined to conquer or die, was extremely perplexed and doubtful what measures he should take in this posture of affairs; when one *Ephialtes* a *Melian*, in expectation of a great reward, came to him, and discovered a secret passage to the top of the hill, which overlooked and commanded the *Spartan* forces. The king immediately ordered *Hydarnes* thither with his select body of ten thousand *Persians*, who marching all night arrived at break of day, and possessed themselves of that advantageous post. The *Phoceans*, who defended this pass, being over-powered by the enemies numbers, retired with precipitation to the very top of the mountain, prepared to die gallantly. But *Hydarnes*, neglecting to pursue them, marched down the mountain with all possible expedition, in order to attack those who defended the straights in the rear. *Leonidas*, being now apprised, that it was impossible to bear up against the enemy, obliged the rest of his allies to retire, but stayed himself with the *Thespians*, *Thebans*, and three hundred *Lacedemonians*, all resolved to die with their leader, who being told by the oracle, that either *Sparta* should be destroyed or the king lose his life, determined, without the least hesitation, to sacrifice himself for his country. The *Thebans* indeed remained against their inclination, being de-

^a PLUTARCH. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 225. ¹ HERODOT. C. 210. DIODOR. Sicul. p. 6. CTESIAs in Persicis, c. 23.

tained by *Leonidas* as hostages, for they were suspected to favour the *Persians*. The *Thebians* with their leader *Demophilus* could not by any means be prevailed upon to abandon *Leonidas* and the *Spartans*. The augur *Megistias*, who had foretold the event of this enterprize, being pressed by *Leonidas* to retire, sent home his only son, but remained himself and died by *Leonidas*. Those who stayed did not feed themselves with any hopes of conquering or escaping, but looked upon *Thermopylae* as their graves. And when *Leonidas*, exhorting them to take some nourishment, said, that they should all sup together with *Pluto*, with one accord they set up a shout of joy, as if they had been invited to a banquet^{*}.

Xerxes, after pouring out a libation at the rising of the sun, began to move with the whole body of his army, as he had been advised by *Ephialtes*. Upon their approach, *Leonidas* advanced to the broadest part of the passage, and fell upon the enemy with such an undaunted courage and resolution, that the *Persian* officers were obliged to stand behind the divisions they commanded, in order to prevent the flight of their men, who, not being able to stand so violent a shock, would, without that precaution, have immediately turned their backs. Great numbers of the enemies falling into the sea were drowned, others were trampled under foot by their own men, and a great many killed by the *Greeks*, who, knowing they could not avoid death, upon the arrival of those who were advancing to fall upon the rear, exerted their utmost efforts. In this action fell the brave *Leonidas*, which *Abrocomes* and *Hyphantas*, two of the brothers of *Xerxes*, observing, advanced with great resolution to seize his body and carry it in triumph to *Xerxes*. But the *Lacedemonians*, more eager to defend it than their own lives, repulsed the enemy four times, killed both the brothers of *Xerxes* with many other commanders of distinction, and rescued the body of their beloved general out of the enemies hands. But in the mean time the army, that was led by the treacherous *Ephialtes*, advancing to attack the rear, they retired to the narrowest place of the passage, and drawing all together, except the *Thebans*, posted themselves on a rising ground. In this place they made head against the *Persians*, who poured in upon them on all sides, till at length not vanquished, but oppressed and overwhelmed by numbers, they all fell, except one who escaped to *Sparta*, where he was treated as a coward and a traitor to his country, every one avoiding his company, and giving him the ignominious nick-

^{*} Idem 212. DIODOR. Sicul. p. 7. CTESIUS ubi supra. c.

name of *Aristodemus the run-away* (G) ; but not long after he made a glorious reparation of his fault in the battle of *Plataea*, where he distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. Those who signalized themselves most among the *Lacedemonians* were *Alpheus* and *Maron*, both sons of *Orisiphantus*, among the *Thespians* *Dithyrambus*, but above all *Leonidas* and *Dieneces* ; *Dieneces* was a *Spartan*, and distinguished himself on this occasion above all his countrymen, the king excepted. When a *Trachinian* told him before the battle that the army of the *Barbarians* was so numerous, that with one flight of their arrows they would hide the sun, he answered, without betraying the least fear, that he was glad to hear it, because he liked to fight in the shade. *Xerxes* enraged against *Leonidas*, to the last degree, for daring to oppose him, caused his head to be struck off, and his body to be put upon a cross,

(G) Some say, as our author informs us (53), that *Eurytus* and *Aristodemus*, both *Spartans*, being obliged by a violent distemper in their eyes to retire to *Alpeni*, were there some time in suspense whether they should return to *Sparta*, or to *Thermopylae*, and there die with the rest of their country-men. At last *Eurytus*, hearing that the *Persians* had gained the top of the mountain, called for his armour, and ordered his servant to lead him into the field of battle (for he had almost quite lost his sight) where he was killed. But *Aristodemus* wanting courage staid at *Alpeni*, and after the battle returned safe to *Sparta*. Others say, that both *Eurytus* and *Aristodemus* had been dispatched some-whither with orders from the army, and that the latter might have been back before the fight, but delayed on purpose to avoid the danger, whereas his companion arrived in due time and died in the field. It is also said, that another of the three hundred *Spartans*, by name *Pantites*, survived this action and returned to *Sparta*. But not being able to bear the reproaches of the *Spartans* he laid violent hands on himself. As for the *Thebans* and their general *Leontides*, they were obliged for some time to fight against the *Persians* in conjunction with the other *Greeks*. But they no sooner saw the *Persians* descending the hill to attack them in the rear, but they abandoned the rest of their allies, and approaching the *Persians* with their arms stretched out, told them, that they had always favoured the *Persians*, that they had been the first among the *Greeks* to present them with earth and water, and that they were come to *Thermopylae* against their will, and no ways guilty of the loss they had sustained. Thus the *Thebans* saved their lives, though the enemies killed many of them as they advanced to surrender themselves. Many others were by command of *Xerxes* branded with the royal mark as slaves, and among these was *Leontides* their general (54).

(53) *Herodot. ubi supra.*(54) *Idem, ubi supra.*

which barbarous treatment redounded more to his own ignominy than to the dishonour of that great hero. Some time after a magnificent monument was erected at *Thermopylae* in honour of those brave defenders of *Greece*, with two inscriptions, the one general and relating to all those who died on this occasion, importing, that the *Greeks* of *Peloponnesus* to the number only of four thousand made head against the *Persian* army consisting of three millions: the other related to the *Spartans* in particular, and was composed by the poet *Simonides* to this purport: *Go, passenger, and acquaint the Spartans, that we died here in obedience to their just commands.* At those tombs a funeral oration was yearly pronounced in honour of the dead heroes, and public games performed with great solemnity, wherein none but the *Lacedaemonians* and *Thebians* had any share, to shew that they alone were concerned in the glorious defence of *Thermopylae* ¹(H).

Xerxes on this occasion lost 20,000 men; and being sensible that so great a loss was capable of alarming and discouraging his friends, he caused all those that were killed, except a thousand, whose bodies he left in the field, to be privately buried, and then proceeded in his march through *Boeotia* to *Attica*, where he arrived four months after he had passed the *Hellepont*.

THE very same day, on which happened the glorious action at *Thermopylae*, the two fleets engaged at *Artemisium* a promontory of *Euboea*. That of the *Greeks* consisted of 271 sail; but the *Persian* fleet was far more numerous, though they had lost a few days before, in a violent storm which continued four days, above 400 ships. Notwithstanding this loss they sent 200 ships with orders to sail round the island of *Euboea* and encompass the *Grecian* fleet, that none of their ships might escape. The *Greeks*, having intelligence of this design, set sail in the night-time in order to attack them by day-break. But having missed this squadron, they advanced to *Aphetae* where the whole *Persian* fleet lay, and after several encounters, in which the *Athenians* gained considerable advantages,

¹ Idem, *ibid.* c. 238. & seq.

(H) There was besides these inscriptions a third relating to the augur *Megistias*, expressed in these words: *Under this stone lies divine Megistias slain by the Medes; with an undaunted heart he saw his fate approaching, and refused to live, when the Spartans had resolved to die* (55).

(55) Idem, *ibid.* & seq.

they came to a general engagement, which was very obstinate, and the success pretty equal. However, the *Greeks* found it necessary, their ships having suffered a great deal, to retire to some safer place to refit, and accordingly steered their course to the straits of *Salamis*, a small island very near, and over-against, *Attica*. Though the engagement at *Artemisium* did not bring matters to an absolute decision, yet it contributed greatly to encourage the *Athenians*, who were now convinced, that the enemies, notwithstanding their great number, were not invincible ^a.

As *Xerxes* entered *Attica*, the *Athenians*, not being in a condition to make head against so powerful an army, were prevailed upon by *Themistocles* to put all the citizens on board the fleet, to secure their wives and children in *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*, and to abandon the city of *Athens*, which they were no-ways in a condition to defend. The *Persians*, arriving in the neighbourhood of *Athens*, wasted the whole country putting all to fire and sword. A detachment was sent to plunder the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, which was exceeding rich, by reason of the many offerings and donations sent thither from all the parts of the east. If we may believe what *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus* relate of this matter, the *Persians* no sooner advanced near the temple of *Minerva*, but a violent storm arising, accompanied with impetuous winds, thunder, and lightning, two great rocks rolled down from mount *Parnassus*, and crushed the greatest part of that detachment. The main body of the army arriving at *Athens* found it deserted by all its inhabitants, except a small number of citizens, who, literally interpreting *Apollo's* oracle, *That Athens should be saved by wooden walls*, had fortified that place with boards and palisadoes. They defended themselves with incredible courage and resolution, and at last, as they would hearken to no terms of accommodation whatsoever, were all cut in pieces. *Xerxes* burnt the city and all its temples down to the ground, and immediately dispatched a messenger to *Susa*, with the agreeable news of his success, to his uncle *Artabanus*, in whose hands he had left the government during his absence ^a.

IN the mean time the *Grecian* fleet being reinforced by a great many ships, which joined them from several parts of *Greece*, to the number of 300 sail, *Eurybiades*, commander in chief of all the naval forces, summoned a council, in order

^a HERODOT. l. viii. c. 1—18.

^a HERODOT. l. viii. c. 51:



to consult about the measures that seemed most proper in the present state of affairs. In this council a great debate arose among the commanders; some, and among these *Eurybiades*, were for retiring to the *Isthmus of Corinth*, that they might be nearer the army, which guarded that passage under the command of *Cleombrotus* the brother of *Leonidas*. Others, at the head of whom was *Themistocles* who commanded the *Athenian* fleet, were for remaining at *Salamis*, the most advantageous place they could choose to engage the numerous fleet of the enemies. For in the straits of *Salamis* the *Persians* could not, by reason of the narrowness of the sea, extend their line beyond that of the *Greeks*, and consequently would be obliged to fight upon equal terms, without reaping any advantage from their numbers. After many warm disputes, *Eurybiades* with all the other commanders came over to the opinion of *Themistocles*, fearing that the *Athenians*, whose ships made up above one half of the fleet, would separate from the allies, if they abandoned that post, as *Themistocles* in his speech had insinuated. It was therefore unanimously resolved, that in the straits of *Salamis* they should wait for the *Persian* fleet, and there engage them °.

A council of war likewise was held on the side of the *Persians*, in order to determine whether they should hazard a naval engagement, or no. All the commanders were for engaging, because they knew this advice to be most agreeable to the king's inclinations. Queen *Artemisia* was the only person that opposed this resolution. She was queen of *Halicarnassus*, and followed *Xerxes* in this war with five ships, the best equipped of any in the fleet, except those of the *Sidonians*. This princess distinguished herself on all occasions by her singular courage, and still more by her prudence and conduct; for our author observes, that there was not one who gave *Xerxes* so good advice as this heroine. She represented, in the council of war we are speaking of, the dangerous consequences of engaging a people that were far more expert in maritime affairs than the *Persians*, alledging, that the loss of a battle at sea would be attended with the ruin of their army; whereas, by spinning out the war and advancing into the heart of *Greece*, they would create jealousies and divisions among their enemies, who would separate from one another, in order to defend each of them their own country, and that then the king might, almost without striking a blow, make himself master of *Greece*.

• Idem, l. viii. c. 56. & seq.

This advice, though very prudent, was not followed, but an engagement unanimously resolved upon. *Xerxes*, in order to encourage his men with his presence, caused a throne to be erected on the top of an eminence, whence he might safely behold whatever happened, having several scribes about him to write down the names of such, as should signalize themselves against the enemies. The approach of the *Persian* fleet, with the news that a strong detachment from the army was marching against *Cleombrotus* who defended the *Isthmus*, struck such a terror into the *Peloponnesians*, that they could not by any entreaties be prevailed upon to stay any longer at *Salamis*. Being therefore determined to put to sea and sail to the *Isthmus*, *Themistocles* privately dispatched a trusty friend to the *Persian* commanders, informing them of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their fleet round the island in order to prevent their escape. The same messenger assured *Xerxes*, that *Themistocles*, who had sent him that advice, designed to join the *Persians*, as soon as the battle began with all the *Athenian* ships. The king, giving credit to all he said, immediately commanded a strong squadron to sail round the island in the night, in order to cut off the enemies flight. Early next morning, as the *Peloponnesians* were preparing to set sail, they found themselves encompassed on all sides by the *Persian* fleet, and were against their will obliged to remain in the straits of *Salamis*, and expose themselves to the same dangers with their allies. The *Grecian* fleet consisted of 380 sail, that of the *Persians* of 2000 and upwards. *Themistocles* avoided the engagement, till a certain wind, which rose regularly every day at the same time and was entirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As soon as he found himself favoured by this wind he gave the signal for battle. The *Persians*, knowing that they fought under their king's eye, advanced with great resolution, but the wind blowing directly in their faces, and the largeness and number of their ships embarrassing them in a place so strait and narrow, their courage soon abated; which the *Greeks* observing used such efforts, that in a short time, breaking into the *Persian* fleet, they entirely disordered them, some flying towards *Phalerus*, where their army lay encamped, others saving themselves in the harbours of the neighbouring islands. The *Ionians* were the first that betook themselves to flight. But queen *Artemisia* distinguished herself above all the rest, her ships being the last that fled, which *Xerxes* observing cried out, that the men behaved like women, and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men. The *Athenians* were

were so incensed against her, that they offered a reward of ten thousand drachmas to any one that should take her alive ; but she in spite of all their efforts got clear of the ships that pursued her, and arrived safe on the coast of *Asia*. In this engagement, which was one of the most memorable actions we find recorded in history, the *Grecians* lost 40 ships, and the *Persians* 200, besides a great many more that were taken with all the men and ammunition they carried. Many of their allies dreading the king's cruelty made the best of their way to their respective countries. *Xerxes*, being under no small apprehension, lest the conquerors should sail to the *Hellepont* and there obstruct his return, left *Mardonius* in *Greece* with an army of 300,000 men, and marched with the rest towards *Thrace* in order to cross the *Hellepont*. As no provisions had been prepared before-hand, his army underwent great hardships during the whole time of his march, which lasted five and forty days. The soldiers were obliged to live upon herbs, and even the bark and leaves of trees, which occasioned innumerable distempers, that swept off the greater part of them. The king finding that his army was not in a condition to pursue the march so expeditiously as he desired, advanced with a small retinue, leaving the rest behind ; but when he arrived at the *Hellepont*, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the storms, and was reduced to the necessity of crossing over in a fishing-boat. From the *Hellepont* he continued his flight to *Sardis*, where he took up his quarters for the ensuing year ^p.

THE first thing the *Athenians* took care of after the battle was, to send the first-fruits of their victory to *Delphos*, where they enriched the temple with the spoils of those who not long before had pillaged it. Their next thought was to reward those who had signalized themselves above the rest. It was a custom in *Greece*, that after an engagement the commanding officers should declare, who, in their opinion, had most distinguished themselves during the conflict, by writing down the names of the person that deserved the first, and of him who deserved the second prize. On this occasion each captain, being ambitious of that honour, wrote down his own name in the first place, and in the second the name of *Themistocles*, which plainly proved, that he deserved the preference to all. And accordingly he was distinguished with honours which to that time had never been bestowed upon any

^p Idem, c 130.

other, as we shall have occasion to relate in the history of Greece¹.

ABOUT the same time that the actions of *Thermopylae* and *Salamis* happened, the formidable army of the *Carthaginians*, consisting of 300,000 men, was entirely defeated by *Gelo* king of *Syracuse*. We shall give a particular account of this victory in the history of the *Carthaginians*.

¹ Idem, 117. JUSTIN. l. ii. c. 13.

A N

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